

# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

Vol. IX (1907 - 1908)



PUBLISHED BY  
THE DIRECTOR GENERAL  
ARCHEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA  
JANPATH, NEW DELHI-110001  
1981





# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

VOL. IX.—1907-08.



PUBLISHED BY  
THE DIRECTOR GENERAL  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA  
JANPATH, NEW DELHI-110011  
1981

*Reprinted 1981*

©  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA  
1981

**Price : Rs. 90**

**Printed at Pearl Offset Press, 5/33, Kirti Nagar Indl. Area New Delhi-15**

PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA  
AS A SUPPLEMENT TO THE "INDIAN ANTIQUARY."

---

# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

AND

RECORD OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

---

VOL. IX.—1907-08.

---

EDITED BY

E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.,

PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF HALLE

AND

(FROM PAGE 145)

BY

STEN KONOW, Ph.D.,

GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHER FOR INDIA

CALCUTTA.

OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT OF GOVERNMENT PRINTING, INDIA.

BOMBAY. BRITISH INDIA PRESS.

LONDON KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH,  
TRÜBNER & Co.  
NEW YORK WESTERMANN & Co.  
CHICAGO S. D. PEET.

LEIPZIG OTTO HARRASSOWITZ.  
VIENNA A. HÖLDER & Co.  
BERLIN A. ASHER & Co.  
PARIS E. LEROUX.

CALCUTTA :  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA CENTRAL PRINTING OFFICE,  
8, NASTING STREET.

# CONTENTS.

*The names of contributors are arranged alphabetically.*

	PAGE
<b>R. D. BANERJI —</b>	
No. 40. Patākellā grant of Mahārāja Śivarāja, [Gupta-] Samvat 283	285
„ 41 Mundēsvāri inscription of Udayasēna, [Harsha] Year 30	289
<b>D R BHANDARKAR, M A —</b>	
No. 4 Two grants of Indrarāja III, Śaka-Samvat 836	24
„ 25 Vasantgadhi inscription of Varmalāsta	137
„ 26. Daulatābād plates of Śankaragana	193
„ 27. Buchkalā inscription of Nāgabhaṭṭa	198
„ 38 Ghatiyālā inscriptions of Kakkuḥa	277
<b>T BLOCH, PH D —</b>	
No 42 Sahēt Mahēt umbrella staff inscription	290
<b>A. GOPINATHA RAO, M A —</b>	
No. 32. Māmballī plate of Śrīvallavangōḍai	234
<b>A GOPINATHA RAO, M.A AND T RAGHAVIAH, B A. —</b>	
No. 52. Kṛṣṇāpūram plates of Sadāśivarāja	328
<b>IRA LAL, B.A. —</b>	
No. 5. Ragholi plates of Jayavardhana II	41
„ 14 Kanker inscription of the time of Bhānudēva	123
„ 19 Inscriptions from Bastar State	160
„ 20 Kanker plates of Pamparājadēva	166
„ 23 Rājapura plates of Madhurāntakadēva	174
„ 24 Sihāwā inscription of Karnarāja	183
„ 39 Sārangarh plates of Mahā-Sudēva	231
„ 44 Spurious Lāphā plate of Prithvidēva	293
„ 48 Burhānpūr inscription of Ādil Shāh	306
„ 49 Nārāyanpāl inscription of Gundā Mahādēvi	311
„ 53 Arang copper-plate of Bhīmasēna II., Gupta Samvat 232	342
<b>PROFESSOR E HULTZSCH, PH D —</b>	
No. 3 Ālupa inscriptions at Udīyāvāra	15
„ 6 Mahyapūndi grant of Ammarāja II.	47
„ 7. Plates of Vijaya-Dēvavarman	53
„ 12 Talamanchi plates of Vikramāditya I.	98
„ 16 Vandram plates of Ammarāja II	131
„ 31. Tirumalai inscription of Rājendra-Chōla I.	239
„ 50 Timmapuram plates of Vishnuvardhana I Vishamasiddhi	317
<b>LATE PROFESSOR F KIELHORN, PH D, D LITT, LL D, C I E :—</b>	
No. 1 Two copper-plate inscriptions of the time of Mahēndrapāla of Kanauj	1
„ 2 Vasantgadhi inscription of Pūrnapāla	10
„ 9. The Chāhamānas of Naddōla	63
„ 13 Mādhātā plates of Dēvapāla and Jayavarman II. of Mālava	108
„ 15 Note on two copper-plate inscriptions of the time of Mahēndrapāla of Kanauj	130
„ 18. Mount Ābū Vimala temple inscription	148
„ 29. Dates of Chōla kings ( <i>continued</i> )	207
„ 30. Dates of Pāṇḍya kings ( <i>continued</i> )	222

	PAGE
No. 34. Pathāī pillar inscription of Parabala . . . . .	248
„ 36. Bālaghāt plates of Prithivishēna II. . . . .	267
„ 37. Orissa plates of Vidyādharabhañjadēva . . . . .	271
STEN KONOW, PH.D. —	
No. 11. Madras Museum plates of Vajrahasta III. . . . .	94
„ 21. Kharār plates of Mahā-Sudēva . . . . .	170
„ 43. Two Buddhist inscriptions from Sārnāth . . . . .	291
„ 46. Āngom Śāradā inscription of Rāmadēva . . . . .	300
„ 47. Chandrāvati plate of Chandradēva . . . . .	302
„ 51. Sārnāth inscription of Kumardēvi . . . . .	319
H. KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A. :—	
No. 55. Anmalonda inscription of Prōla . . . . .	256
PROFESSOR H LÜDERS, PH.D. —	
No. 33. Three early Brāhmī inscriptions . . . . .	239
K. B. PATHAK, B.A. —	
No. 28. Kēndūr plates of Kirtivarman II . . . . .	200
„ 45. Ābhōna plates of Śānkaragana . . . . .	286
D. R. SAHNI —	
No. 8. Benares inscription of Pantha . . . . .	59
R. SAWELL, I.C.S. (RETD.).—	
No. 22. Note on Bhujabala Mahārāja . . . . .	174
F. W. THOMAS, M.A. :—	
No. 17. Inscriptions on the Mathurā Lion-Capital . . . . .	135
V. VENKATYA, M.A., RAI BAHADUR —	
No. 10. Ambāsamudram inscription of Varaguna-Pāndya . . . . .	84
<hr/>	
INDEX.—By H. KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A. . . . .	347

# LIST OF PLATES.

No		PAGE
1	Udīyāvara inscriptions—Plate I . . .	to face page 17
2	“ “ “ II . . .	“ “ “ 19
3	“ “ “ III . . .	“ “ “ 20
4	“ “ “ IV . . .	“ “ “ 22
5	Bagumrā plates of Indrarāja III—First set . . .	between pages 30 & 31
6	“ “ “ “ Second „ . . .	“ “ “ 34 & 35
7	Plates of Jayavardhana II . . .	“ “ “ 41 & 45
8	Malyapūndi grant of Ammarāja II . . .	“ “ “ 52 & 53
9	Plates of Vijaya-Dēvavarman . . .	“ “ “ 58 & 59
10	Benares inscription of Pantha . . .	to face page 60
11	Ambāsamudram inscription of Varaguna-Pāndya . . .	“ “ “ 90
12	Madras Museum plates of Vajrahasta III . . .	between pages 96 & 97
13	Talamanchi plates of Vikramāditya I . . .	“ “ “ 100 & 101
14	Māndhātā plates of Dēvapāla . . .	“ “ “ 110 & 111
15	Ūnā plates of Avanīvarman II Yōga . . .	“ “ “ 130 & 131
16	Vandram plates of Ammarāja II . . .	“ “ “ 134 & 135
17	Inscriptions on the Mathurā Lion-capital, Plate I . . .	to face page 136
18	“ “ “ “ “ II . . .	“ “ “ 142
19	“ “ “ “ “ III . . .	“ “ “ 144
20	“ “ “ “ “ IV . . .	“ “ “ 146
21	Mount Ābhū Vimala temple inscription . . .	“ “ “ 158
22	Map of Bastar State . . .	“ “ “ 160
23	Kankar plates of Pamparājādēva . . .	“ “ “ 168
24	Kharār plates of Mahā-Sudēva . . .	between pages 172 & 173
25	Rājapura plates of Madhurāntakadēva . . .	“ “ “ 178 & 179
26	Shāwā inscription of Karmarāja . . .	to face page 186
27	Vasantgadh inscription of Varmalāta . . .	“ “ “ 190
28	Daulatābād plates of Śankaragana, Plate I . . .	between pages 196 & 197
29	“ “ “ “ “ II . . .	to face page 198
30	Buchkalā inscription of Nāgabhaṭṭa . . .	“ “ “ 200
31	Kēndū plates of Kīrtivarman II, Plate I . . .	between pages 202 & 203
32	“ “ “ “ “ II . . .	“ “ “ 204 & 205
33	Trumalai inscription of Rājendra-Chōla I . . .	to face page 232
34	Māmballī plate of Śrīvallavangōdai . . .	“ “ “ 236
35	British Museum stone of Kanishka, Plate I. . .	“ “ “ 239
36	“ “ “ “ “ II. . .	“ “ “ 240
37	Mathurā inscription of Samvat 74 . . .	“ “ “ 242
38	Pathārī inscription of Parabala . . .	“ “ “ 252
39	Anmakonda inscription of Prōla . . .	between pages 262 & 263
40	Bālāghāt plates of Prithivishēna II . . .	“ “ “ 270 & 271
41	Orissa plates of Vidyādharambhañjādēva . . .	“ “ “ 276 & 277
42	Sārangarh plates of Mahā-Sudēva . . .	to face page 283
43	Paṭākellā plate of Śivarāja . . .	between pages 286 & 287
44	Mundēsvārī inscription of Udayasēna . . .	to face page 289
45	Sahēt-Wahēt Buddhist inscription . . .	“ “ “ 291
46	Sāmāth stone umbrella inscription . . .	“ “ “ 292
47	Sāmāth Buddhist image inscription . . .	“ “ “ 293





## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

---

- Page 4, para. 1, line 7,—for Mahēndrapaladēva read Mahēndrapālādēva.
- " " " 10,—for Haddāla read Haḍḍālā.
- " 7, footnote 17, line 1,—for nistrimsa read nistrimṣa.
- " 9, text-line 46,—for -bhūpālams= read -bhūpālāmś=
- " 16, line 3 from bottom,—for Śāntaras read Śāntaraś
- " 17, " 9,—for Aluva read Āluva.
- " 48, line 2 from bottom,—for Chēḍi read Chēḍi.
- " 56, line 1,—for Thursday read Friday.
- " 58, para. 2, line 2,—for Godavarī read Kistna
- " 60, line 13 from the top,—for Jhālrapātan read Jhālrapāṭan
- " 65, footnote 6, line 1,—for actua read actual.
- " 71, line 4 from the top,—[I think the word *tāmbūlāya* should mean "betel chewe with areca-nut and chunam" which the women spat out of grief This is re and may be compared to rubies (*padmarāga*).—H. K. S.]
- " 72, last line,—for Jāvalipura read Jāvālpura.
- " 75, verse 12 —[There is no allusion to any legend here. The poet wants to say the Brahman out of arrogance (*dambhatah*) weighed the king's prowess (*i.e.* the sun) on one side and his fame (*i.e.* the moon) on the other and found the tw balanced so well on the scale of which the rod was the (heavenly) Gaṅgā, the the pin (*kaṇṭaka*) in the middle was *dhruva* (*i.e.* stable) The other meanin intended is the Pole star (*Dhruva*) which occupies the middle of the heavenl orbit and is almost fixed in space —H. K. S.]
- " 99, last but one para, line 3,—for Polikesin read Polikēsin.
- " 100, text-line 2,—for वन read वन.
- " " 17,—for लक्ष्मी read लक्ष्मी.
- " 119, footnote 3, line 2,—for Śūdra- read Śūdra-.
- " 120, text-line 3,—for Mamdōdarivashpa- read Mamdōdarivāshpa-.
- " 125, line 10,—for Kandika-bandha read Kaudika-bandha.
- " 143, translation of B,—for Rātūla read Rājūla.
- " 156, footnote 5, last line,—for Kushmāṇḍini read Kūshmāṇḍini.
- " 160, para. 3, line 5,—for Tirathgarh read Tirathgarh
- " 165, footnote, line 6,—for Dattakamimānsā read Dattakamimāmsā.
- " " line 8,—for Rudrāmba read Rudrāmbā.
- " 166, para. 3, line 2,—for 1783 read 1779
- " 168, line 9 from the top,—for Pāḍi read Pāḍi
- " 169, line 2,—for Lākshmīdhara read Lākshmīdhara.
- " 170, text line 6,—for -prasūta sama[sta\*]- read -prasūta-sama[sta\*]-
- " 170, text-line 8,—for ravidinā read ravidinā
- " 171, para. 5, last line,—for °chchhrēṣhta read °chchhrēṣṭha
- " 172, line 8,—insert a hyphen at the end of the line.
- " " footnote 7, line 2,—for Śāmbilaka read Śāmbilaka
- " 175, line 4,—insert (Nāgarī) after Sanskrit.
- " 176, line 16,—for Mēḍipōta read Mēḍipōta
- " " footnote 2,—for Yājñavalkya read Yājñavalkya.
- " 178, line 13 from bottom,—for Mālavā read Mālava

- Page 179, footnote 1, line 3,—for *Sakkara-kôttam* read *Śakkara-kôttam*
- „ 180, footnote 5,—for *Siyadoni* read *Siyadōni*.
- „ 181, para. 5, line 4,—[*Mudhasēli* perhaps stands for the Telugu *mudhasali* which means 'old, ancient,' i.e. a headman respected on account of old age, compare *nāṭṭu-mudumai*, above, p. 21, footnote 3 —H K S]
- „ 185, text-line 4,—for *तप पयोषि°* read *तप पयोषि°*.
- „ „ footnote 1, line 2,—for *Devakūta* read *Dēvakūta*
- „ 205, para. 3, line 4, for *Kārtikēya* read *Kārtakēya*.
- „ „ footnote 7,—for *Conjeeverum* read *Conjeeveram*
- „ 223, No 63, translation, line 2,—for *Uttara=Phalguni* read *Uttara-Phalguni*
- „ 235, para. 3, line 2,—for *Ayurūr* read *Ayurur*.
- „ 236, lines 15 and 17,—for *Ayrūr* read *Ayurur*
- „ „ text-line 9,—for *=kkīl-* read *kīl-*.
- „ 237, text-line 17 and translation, line 7,—for *Ayurūr* read *Ayurur*
- „ 238, lines 3 and 11 and footnote 10,— Ditto
- „ 257, footnote 4,—[From the Palnādu inscriptions we learn that the *Kākatīya* king *Ganapati* was ruling from his capital *Orungallu*, already in *Śaka-Samvat* 1173 and that his daughter and successor *Rudramahādēvi* was also ruling from the same city in *Śaka* 1191 —H K. S.]
- „ 261, footnote 6, line 7 from bottom,—for *Kulōttunga-Chōla I* read *Kulōttunga-Chōda I*.
- „ 266, line 4,—for *Kākatī* read *Kākatī*.
- „ 282, para. 5, line 4,—for *Kharar* read *Khariār*.
- „ 283, line 7,—for *Tūndrā* read *Tūndrā*.
- „ 284, translation, line 1,—for *Sarabhapura* read *Śarabhapura*.
- „ „ footnote 6, line 3,—for *Jējabhukti* read *Jējabbhukti*
- „ 300, line 9,—[Comparing the symbol for *i* in *°pilupati* with the *i*-symbol in *°parihīnam* (line 19) and in *°ndirgha* (line 24) it appears as if the form *Mahāpilupati* was also meant here as in the *Sāṅkhēdā* plate of *Śāntilla* (*Ep Ind.* Vol II. p. 23) —H. K. S.]
- „ 307, table, 1st column,—for *Gazni* read *Ghazni*.
- „ „ „ 3rd „ for *Ādil Shah Aynā* read *Ādil Shāh Aynā*.
- „ 313, line 2,—for *Halavur* read *Halavūr* and for *Banvāsi* read *Banavāsi*.
- „ 316, para. 3, line 3,—for *bhandāri* read *bhandārī*.
- „ „ line 8 from bottom,—for *Brahmañjhāka* read *Brahmañjhāka*.
- „ 321, last para. line 6,—for 493 read 793
- „ 330, footnote 8,—for *Amuktamālyada* read *Āmuktamālyada* and for *Vishṇuchittiyam* read *Vishṇuchittiyam*.
- „ 331, para. 4, line 7,—for *Kuttukkāl* read *Kuttakkal*
- „ „ „ 8,—for *Pāṭṭaikulam* read *Pāṭakkulam*.

# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

---

## VOLUME IX.

---

### NO. 1 — TWO COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF MAHENDRAPALA OF KANAUJ.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, CIE ; GÖTTINGEN.

IN February 1904 Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha of Udaipur in Rājputāna most kindly sent me photographs of two Sanskrit inscriptions on copper-plates, which had been found some years before at Ūnā, a town in the southernmost part of the peninsula of Kāthiāwād, in the Junāgadh State<sup>1</sup>. Both inscriptions are of the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja Mahēndrapāla* or, as he is called in one of them, *Mahēndrāyudha*, of Kanauj, and record grants to a temple of the Sun by two feudatories of his, *Balavarman* and his son *Avanivarman II. Yōga*, who belonged to a *Chālukya* family. One is dated in the [Gupta-] Valabhī year 574, corresponding roughly to A D 893, the other in the [Vikrama] year 956, corresponding to about A D 899. In March 1904 I gave a short account of the contents of these inscriptions, in *Nachrichten d. K. Ges. d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, and I have since tried to secure impressions of the originals. Not having succeeded in doing so, I now venture to publish the texts from Mr. Ojha's photographs.

#### A.—Plates of Balavarman ; Valabhi-samvat 574.

These are two plates, each of which is inscribed on one side only. They contain 36 lines of on the whole well-preserved writing in Nāgarī characters<sup>2</sup>. The language is Sanskrit, it is generally easy to understand, but line 17 contains a revenue term which I have not met with elsewhere and am unable to explain. Lines 7-9 give two verses on the vanity of fortune, etc., and the necessity of works of piety, and lines 22-29 six of the ordinary imprecatory verses, the rest is in prose.

The inscription records a grant of land by the *Mahādāmanta Balavarman*, the son of *Avanivarman [I]*, of the *Chālukya* lineage, a feudatory, who had obtained the five *mahāśabdas*, of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramāvara Mahēndrāyudhadēva* who meditated on the feet of the *P M P Bhōjadēva*. From *Nakshispura*, *Balavarman* informs the various officials and others that, after fasting on the sixth *tithi* of the bright half of Māgha, he gave the village of *Jayapura*, belonging to the *Nakshispura* group of eighty-four which

---

<sup>1</sup> See *Indian Atlas*, quarter sheet 13, S E, Long 71° 5', Lat 21° 49'.

<sup>2</sup> Since no facsimiles can be published, it would be useless to give full particulars regarding the forms of individual letters, but I may mention here that the conjuncts *ry* and *rtḥ* are denoted by (well known) special signs which contain no superscript *r*.

he had acquired by his own arm (*svabhūṣṭāpārjita-Nakṣasapūra-chaturasīthilā*), to (a temple of) the Sun under the name *Tarundityadēva*, which stood on the banks of the river *Kanavirkā*. The boundaries of the village were—on the east the village of *Sihavāhalaka*, on the south the village of *Rā[jyastha]la*, on the west the village of *Pēdhullaka*, and on the north the village of *Ambullaka* (*Ambullāka*). After the usual admonition to preserve this gift, and six imprecatory verses, lines 29-34 give the names of twelve witnesses—four Brāhmanas, four merchants, and four *Mahattaras*. They are followed by the name of the writer, which cannot be read with certainty, and this, again, is followed by the date *śrī-Valabhi-samvat 574 Māgha-suddha 6*, the numerals of which are ordinary decimal figures. The inscription, in line 36, ends with the signatures *sva-hastā=[tra] śrī-Va(ba)lavarmmanah ||* *sva-hastāḥ śrī-Dhīka*, where (the second) *sva-hastāḥ* is preceded by a mark which seems to represent the actual sign-manual of Dhīka. Who this Dhīka was, does not appear from the present inscription, but the grant B makes it probable that he was a high official of the king Mahēndrāyudha (*Mahēndrapāla*), whose permission was necessary for the making of the grant.

### B.—Plates of *Avanvarman II Yōga*; [*Vikrama-jamvat 956*].

These are three plates, the second of which is inscribed on both sides, while the first and third are inscribed on one side only. They contain 68 lines of well-preserved writing in Nāgari characters. The engraving is done carelessly, so that the text contains numerous mistakes, the correction of some of which, especially in two passages where proper names are concerned, is very difficult. The language is Sanskrit. Lines 1-45 contain twenty-four verses which, after glorifying the Sun, treat of the genealogy of the donor and of his and his ancestors' exploits, and two imprecatory verses are cited in lines 65-67, the rest of the text is in prose.

The inscription records a grant of land by the *Mahāśimanta Avanvarman II*, surnamed *Yōga*, of the *Chālukya* race (verse 2). In this race there were two 'great kings' (*mahā-mukhi-pati*), the brothers *Kalla* and *Mahalla* (v 3), the former of whom is eulogized in conventional terms (vv 5 and 6). *Kalla* had a son, whose name cannot be made out with confidence (v 7), and this chief had a son whose name ended with *dhavala*, and whose full name perhaps was *Vāhukadhavala* (v 9). This last named chief destroyed (or defeated) in battle a certain *Dharma*, conquered kings who were well-known *rājādhirāja paramēśvaras*, and defeated a *Karpāta* army (vv 10 and 11). His son was *Avanvarman I* (v 12), and his son, again, was *Balavarman* (the donor of the grant A, above). *Balavarman* defeated a certain *Vishadha* (v 16) from whom he took away a pair of big drums (*uru-dhakkā*), and, by slaying *Jajjapa* and other kings, 'freed the earth from the *Hūna* race' (v 17). His son was *Avanvarman II*, also called *Yōga* (v 18), who routed the armies of a certain *Yakṣhadāsa*<sup>1</sup> and other kings whose countries were invaded by him (vv 19 and 20), and put to flight *Dharanivarāha* (v 21).

In lines 45 ff this *Mahāśimanta Yōga* (i.e. *Avanvarman II*), a feudatory of the *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Mahēndrapālādēva* who meditated on the feet of the *P M P Bhōjadēva*, informs his officials and others, as well as future kings, that, with the approval of the illustrious *Dhīka*,<sup>2</sup> he gave the village of *Ambulaka* (*Ambullaka*),<sup>3</sup> which

<sup>1</sup> Verse 19 records that, after destroying the army of *Yakṣhadāsa*, *Avanvarman* took away from him the musical instrument (*tārāya*) called *Sāgarakāśhōka*.—In my previous account of this inscription I suggested that *Yakṣhadāsa* may have ruled the Madra country; but this is wrong. As the engraver of the grant in several other places has engraved *m* instead of *y*, the actual reading *muddha-bhāmam* in line 36 must undoubtedly be altered to *quddha-bhāmam*, not to *Madra bhāmam*.

<sup>2</sup> The inscription, the text of which is not quite certain here, seems to indicate that *Dhīka* was an *antapāla* or 'frontier-guard' of *Mahēndrapāla*, and that *Avanvarman II* was a subordinate of his (as his father *Balavarman* had been before him). See the end of the grant A.

<sup>3</sup> This village (*Ambulaka* or *Ambullaka*) is mentioned also in the grant A.

belonged to the *Nakshisapura* eighty-four (*Nakshisapura-chaturāsiti*) in the *Saurāshtra mandala*, to (a temple of) *Tarunādityadēva*, located near the river *Kanavirkā* in the vicinity of the village of *Jayapura*<sup>1</sup>. The boundaries of the village were—on the east the village of *Viyaraka*, on the south the village of *Jayapura*, on the west the villages of *Sēnduvaka* and *Kōrintbaka*, and on the north the village of *Vavulika*. After the usual admonition to preserve this gift and two imprecatory verses, the inscription, in line 68, ends with the date *samvat 956 Māgha-sudi 6*, the numerals of which here also are ordinary decimal figures.

The *Chālukya* chiefs mentioned in the preceding are not known from other inscriptions. The large *Bilhari* inscription, in *Ep Ind* Vol I p 266, mentions a *Chaulukya Avanivarman* whose daughter *Nohalā* was married by the *Kalachuri* *Chēdi* king *Yuvarāja I Kēyāvararsha*. That *Avanivarman* may have been a contemporary<sup>2</sup> of *Avanivarman II Yōga* of our grant B, but—even assuming that the terms *Chālukya* and *Chaulukya* might be used synonymously<sup>3</sup>—he cannot be identical with him, because his father and grandfather were *Sadhanva* and *Simhavarman* (not *Balavarman* and *Avanivarman*).

For *Balavarman*, a feudatory of *Mahēndrayudha* (*Mahēndrapāla*), the grant A furnishes a date in about A D 893. We therefore may assume that his grandfather *Vāhukadhavala* (?) lived about the middle of the 9th century A D, and was almost certainly a feudatory of *Mahēndrapāla*'s predecessor *Bhōjadēva* (*Mihra*) of *Kanauj*, for whom we possess dates from A D 843 to A D 881. Now in the inscription No 77 of my *Southern List* this *Mihra* (*Bhōjadēva*) is stated to have been defeated by the *Gujarāt Rāshtrakūta Dhruvarāja II*. Thus at any rate would show that he was at war with the *Rāshtrakūtas*, and I believe that such a war is actually referred to in the account of *Vāhukadhavala*'s (?) exploits related in the grant B. In my opinion, the *Karnāta* army which is said to have been defeated by him can only have been an army of the *Rāshtrakūtas*. As regards (the king) *Dharma* who is stated to have been destroyed (or defeated) by the same chief, I know of no king *Dharma* who could have been a contemporary of his, excepting the well-known *Pāla* king *Dharmapāla*, and I see no reason why *Dharma* should not be identified with that *Pāla* king, who at one time or another undoubtedly was at war with the rulers of *Kanauj*.

*Balavarman* himself defeated a certain *Vishadha*, and by slaying *Jajjapa* and other kings 'freed the earth from the *Hūna* race'. Who *Vishadha* was, it is impossible to say. Wars with *Hūna* kings are frequently mentioned in Indian inscriptions of the Middle Ages,<sup>4</sup> and we know of a *Hūna* princess, *Āvalladēvi*, who was married by the *Kalachuri* *Karna* in the 11th century, but in recording the name of *Jajjapa* our grant B for the first time discloses the name of an individual *Hūna* king, who must be placed in about the last quarter of the 9th century.

The kings or chiefs mentioned as opponents of *Avanivarman II. Yōga*, for whom we have a date in about A D 899, are *Yakshadāsa* and *Dharanivarāha*. The former is unknown to us. The latter I do not hesitate to identify with the *Chāpa Mahāśaktmantādhipati* *Dharanivarāha*, known to us from his *Haddālā* plates<sup>5</sup> which were issued from *Vardhamāna* (or *Wadhvān* in

<sup>1</sup> This village was granted to the same temple of the Sun by the grant A.

<sup>2</sup> A daughter of the *Kalachuri* *Yuvarāja I, Kundakadēvi*, was married by the *Rāshtrakūta* *Amoghavarsha III Baddiga*, for whom we now possess dates in A D 937 and 939.

<sup>3</sup> In Nos 354 and 355 of my *Northern List* certain chiefs are described as both *Chālukyas* and *Chaulukyas*.

<sup>4</sup> See my note on the grammarians' *ajayaj-Jarib Hāda* in *Nachrichten d. K. Ges. d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1903, p. 305 ff. The *Pāla* *Dēvapāla* humbled the pride of the *Hūnas* (*Ep Ind* Vol II p 168, v 18), according to the *Kharḍa* plates of the *Rāshtrakūta* *Kakkarāja II Amoghavarsha* of A D 972 this king fought battles with the lord (or lords) of the *Hūnas* (*Ind Ant.* Vol XII p 265, l 32); the *Paramāra* *Utpala* (*Mufjarāja*) took away the life of the *Hūnas* (*ibid* Vol XVI p 28, l 41), his younger brother *Sundharāja* conquered the king of the *Hūnas* (*Ep Ind* Vol I p 235, v 16), etc.

<sup>5</sup> See my *Northern List*, No 353.

Kāthiāvād) in A D 914, and in which he is represented as a feudatory of a *Rājādhirāja* Mahipāladēva whose proper identification, as will be seen below, can no longer offer any difficulty

The place **Nakshisapura**, the nine villages mentioned in connection with the two grants, and the river **Kanavinkā** I have not, I regret to say, been able to identify. The main point of general interest connected with these localities is, that the **Nakshisapura** group of **Aghty-four**, which was held by the two donors, according to the inscription B belonged to the **Saurāshtra** *maṇḍala*. The name **Saurāshtra** we know to denote the southern part of Kāthiāvād, and since the two chiefs Balavarman and Avanivarman II describe themselves as feudatories of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Mahēndrāyudhadēva or Mahēndrapaladēva (of Kanauj), it follows from these inscriptions that towards the end of the 9th century A D the kingdom of Kanauj extended as far south as, and included, the province of Kāthiāvād. Moreover, it becomes quite certain now that the *Rājādhirāja* Mahipāladēva, who in the Haddāla plates of A D 914 is mentioned as the overlord of the Chāpa *Mahasāmantādhipati* Dharanivaraha, must be identified with the *Mahārājādhirāja* Mahipāladēva of Kanauj (whose Asmi inscription is dated in about A D 917), the successor of Mahēndrapaladēva, and cannot have been one of the Chūḍasāmās of Gurnār-Juṇāgadh.

In the grant A the king, known to us from the grant B and other inscriptions as Mahēndrapala, is called **Mahēndrāyudha**. This name of course at once recalls the names **Indrāyudha** and **Chakrāyudha**, the former denoting a king who according to the *Harivamsa Purāṇa* was ruling the north in Śaka-samvat 705=A D 783-84, and the latter another king, to whom the sovereignty of Mahōdaya (Kanauj) was given, after the defeat of Indrarāja (i.e., in my opinion, Indrāyudha), by the Pala Dharmapāla, and who was defeated by Nāgabhatta, the grand father of Bhōjadēva of Kanauj. It may also be mentioned that in Rājāsēkhara's *Karpūra-maṇjari*<sup>2</sup> a certain merchant is represented as having gone to 'Kanauj, the capital of **Vajrāyudha**, the king of Pañchāla'. That story would seem to show that in the opinion of Rājāsēkhara, who was Mahēndrapala's *guru*, a name with the somewhat unusual ending *āyudha*, such as **Vajrāyudha**, was a suitable or characteristic name of a Kanauj king. Most probably Mahēndrapala himself was known to Rājāsēkhara also by the name Mahēndrāyudha.

The date of the grant A, *śrī-Valabhi-samvat* 574 *Māgha-suddha* 6, is by a long way the earliest date in which we find the technical expression *Valabhi-samvat*. In the inscriptions of the Valabhi kings themselves the year of a date is ordinarily preceded by only *saṃ*, rarely by *saṃvat*, and hitherto the earliest inscription containing the term *Valabhi-samvat* was the Vērāval inscription of the temple-priest Bhāva-Bṛhaspati of *Valabhi-samvat* 850 (No 503 of my *Northern List*). In the Mōrbi plate of Jāinka (*ibid* No 502) of the year 585 of the same era the number 585 in line 19 is preceded by simply *saṃvat*, while in line 17 the year is described as a *Gauṇḍa* (i.e. Gupta) year. — It is curious that in Kāthiāvād we should find the Gupta-Valabhi, Vikrama and Śaka eras employed in dates of the same period and in almost the same localities.

#### A.—PLATES OF BALAVARMAN, VALABHI-SAMVAT 574.

##### TEXT.<sup>3</sup>

##### First Plate

1 Om<sup>4</sup> [||\*] Jayaś=ch=ābhayudayaś=cha || Svasti [||\*] Nakshisapurāt-parama  
bhattāraka-mahārāj[s]dhi-

<sup>1</sup> Of Nāgabhatta Mr Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha has discovered in the Jōdhpur State a stone inscription dated in about A D 815 (*saṃvat-sa sa* [14] 872)

<sup>2</sup> See Dr Sten Konow's edition, pp 74 and 266

<sup>3</sup> From a photograph supplied by Mr Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha

<sup>4</sup> Denoted by a symbol.

- 2 rāja-paramēśvara śrī-Bhōjadēva-pād[ā\*]nudyāta-paramabhattachāka-mahārājādhirāja-para-  
 3 mēśvara śrī-Mahēndrāyudhadēva-pāda-piśādākshta-<sup>1</sup>samadhigata-pañchamah āśa v d a -  
 (bda)-mahāśāntas= [Ch]ā-  
 4 lukyanvaya-prasūta śi-<sup>2</sup>Avanivarman-suta-śrī Va(ba)lavarmmā sarvvān=ēva rāja-  
 rajanya-i-ājasthānīy-ōpanīk-āmā-  
 5 tyā-[cha]tabhata-bhāta-[da]ndavā(pā)ska-dand[ō]ddharanika-<sup>3</sup>drangika-mahattara-chāru-<sup>4</sup>  
 chāra-bhata-bastyasvārōbha(ha)ka-piabhritīh<sup>5</sup>  
 6 yuktaka-miyuktakām svān=ā(a)nyām[ā=cha] yathāsamva(ba)dhya mānakān=  
 samanuvo(bō)dhayaty=astu vah samviditam yathā padma-pattē<sup>6</sup>  
 7 sthita-jala[va] taralā sī drishta-nashtañ=cha jīvitam<sup>7</sup> | <sup>8</sup>Padmapatra-jalavimdu-  
 chamchalam jīvitavyam=akhilās=cha sampadāh |  
 8 ity=avētya jagatah sthiti[m\*] nripāh kum dhanah kuruta dharmam=anidyah<sup>9</sup>  
 || Pallavāgra-jalavimdu-chamchalē klēśa-  
 9 jala-parivēsthitē bhavē | yō na chintayati kamma-satpatham tasya janma  
 bhavat=īha nihphalam<sup>10</sup> || ēvam sarvvam=adhriva-  
 10 m=ālō[kya] dharmō math sthāpyatām || Tan=mayā <sup>11</sup>svabhujōpārjita  
 Nakshisapurachaturasitika-pratīva(ba)ddhō Jayapur-ā-  
 11 bhūdhānō grāmah<sup>12</sup> Māgha-sūklapaksha-shashtīyām<sup>13</sup> upōpya(shya) gandha-dhūpa-  
 pushya(shpa)-dīpa-snāna-vilēpan-ōpelēpana-[sanmā<sup>14</sup>]-  
 12 rjana-khaṇḍasphutita-sudhā-kīrcchak-ādi-sūsū u(sī ū)shā-kritē sva-mātāpitrōr=ātmanas=  
 cha<sup>15</sup> aṇik-āmushm[ī\*]ka-punya-yasō-  
 13 bhividdhayē bhagavatāh sarit-Kanavirika-tat-āvasthita-Sahasradīhēt śrīmatas=  
 Taru[nā]dityadēvāya<sup>16</sup> bhakti-bhā-  
 14 vīta-manasī<sup>17</sup> udak[ā\*]tisarggēna dharmadāyō nīsrīstah pratūpāditaś=cha || Yasya  
 pūrvvatāh Sīhāvāhalaka-grāma-  
 15 sīmā maryād[ā\*] [ī\*] dakshīnatāh Rā[jyastha]la-grāma-sīmā maryādā |  
 apānatāh Pēdhillaka-grāma-sīmā [ma\*]ryādā | nta-  
 16 ratah Amvullaka-<sup>18</sup>grāma-sīmā maryādā | ēvam chaturāghāta(ta)n-ōpalakshitah  
 sa-bhōgabhāgah sa-hirany[ā\*]dānah  
 17 sa-dandadāśparādhaḥ sa-sīmāparyantah s-ōdra[m\*]gah sa-vrikshamālākulāh  
 sa-parikarah chōllakavimvā-  
 18 gikakōshyadī-sahitah<sup>19</sup> āchātābhatapravēśa-varjītō<sup>20</sup> bhūmichchidra-nyāyāna  
 dharmadāyō nīgn(sri)stah ||  
 19 Asya bhūmijātō bhōjāpayatah krishatah karshāpayatō vā asmad-vamsajair-anyair=  
 vvā bhoktribhīh

<sup>1</sup> Read, probably, -piśādāksita-<sup>2</sup> Read sry-<sup>3</sup> Instead of this word which I do not remember to have met with elsewhere, I should have expected here, next to dandapāśika, as in other grants, -chaurōddharanika<sup>4</sup> It is just possible that the two aksharas chāra were struck out in the original, and that the intended reading here is chāra bhata<sup>5</sup> Read -prabhritin=ānyuktaka miyuktakān=<sup>6</sup> Read -pattra-sthita-palatat=taralā śrīr=<sup>7</sup> Read jīvitam<sup>8</sup> Metre of this verse and of the next Rāthōddhātā — Read Padmapattra<sup>9</sup> This of course cannot be right, but the actual reading does not suggest to me a suitable conjecture<sup>10</sup> Read nishphalam<sup>11</sup> Originally svābhū<sup>o</sup> was engraved, but the sign for d has been struck out<sup>12</sup> Read grāmō<sup>13</sup> Read shashtīyām=<sup>14</sup> Read samnārjāna<sup>15</sup> Read =ch=<sup>16</sup> Read, in accordance with the preceding, <sup>17</sup>dāsyā<sup>17</sup> Here and in other places below the rules of sandhi have not been observed<sup>18</sup> Read Amvullaka, in line 54 of the grant B the name is spelt Amvullaka<sup>19</sup> This term, the reading of which is quite clear in the photograph, I am unable to explain. The word chōllakā occurs above, Vol III p 267, l 28, and Prof Hultzsch draws my attention to Vol VI p 88, note 9<sup>20</sup> One would have expected here achātābhatapravēśah, and some other term ending with varjītah (like, e.g., vārpadatta dāivabrahmadāya-varjītah)

- 20 pratishê[dhô] na karaniyah pâlayitavyas=cha || yataḥ sām[ā\*]nyam bhūmida-  
phalam=avēty=āyam=asmad-dā-

*Second Plate*

- 21 yô-numantavyô smat-prity-ābhyarthanayâ cha pâlanīya itī || Tathâ ch=ôktam  
[bha]gava-  
22 tā vyâsê(sê)na<sup>1</sup> Vyâsēna || <sup>2</sup>Yân=īha dattâni purâ narēndriah dānâni dharm-  
ârtha-yasâ-  
23 s-karâni | nirmâlāya-vânta-pratimâni tâni kô nâma sâdhuḥ punar=âdadita ||  
24 <sup>3</sup>Shashtur=vvarsha-sahasrâni svarggê tishthati bhūmidah | [â]chchb[ê]ttâ ch=  
ânumentâ cha [tāny=ê]-  
25 va narakê vasêt || Va(ba)hubbu=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjanah<sup>4</sup> Sâgar-âdibhū |  
yasya yasya yadâ [bhū]-  
26 mis=tasya tasya tadâ phalam || <sup>5</sup>Shashtu=vvarsha-sahasrâni <sup>6</sup>shashtu=vvarsha-  
sâtâni [cha] | [gavâm kôta-pradânê]-  
27 na bhūmi-harttâ na śudhyati || Vimdhy-âtavishv-atôyâsu(su) śushka-kôtara-  
vâsinah | [kṛṣṇâhayaô hi jâ]-  
28 yantê bhūmi-dāyam haratta(ntu) yê || Sva-dattâm para-datt[âm\*] vâ .ya[tn]âd-  
raksha narâdhupa | mahim mahibh[ritam śrêṣṭha]  
29 dânach=chhrêyô=nupâlanam || ☉ || Ava(tra) sâkshî via(brâ)hmana-Dêhada-suta-  
Bhâvaḥ | tathâ vrâ(brâ)hmana-[Kau ?]-  
30 nara-suta-Nâgêśvarah || tathâ vrâ(brâ)hmana-Jajjaka-suta-Harih || tathâ  
vrâ(brâ)hmana-Bhâ[skma]-suta-  
31 Vâsudevah || tathâ vanik<sup>6</sup> Nôgha-suta-Isuvaḥ | tathâ vanik<sup>6</sup> Nâga-suta-  
Pâ[ha]llah || ta-  
32 thâ <sup>7</sup>vanu-Jēulla-suta-Nannakah | tathâ vanak<sup>8</sup> Samgama-suta-Dēuthah || tathâ  
sa(ma)hattara-Dram[g]iya-  
33 suta-Sihah | tathâ mâ(ma)hattara-Gôvâsa-suta-Ajannah | tathâ mahattara-Gôvâsa  
suta-Mêha[m]pa[kā]-  
34 ḥ | tathâ mahattara-Dhâra-suta-Kanhakah || Likhitam ch=antan-mi(ma)yâ kula-  
putraka-<sup>9</sup>Datta-suta-[Dhâ ?]-  
35 [r]âd[tyê]n=êti || ☉ || Sri-Valabhi-samvat 574 Mâgha-suddha 6 || ☉ ||  
36 Sva-hastô=[tra] śri-Va(ba)lavarmmanah || ☿<sup>10</sup> sva-hastah śri-Dhika<sup>11</sup> || ☉ ||

**B.—PLATES OF AVANIVARMAN II YOGA; [VIKRAMA]-SAMVAT 956**

**TEXT.<sup>12</sup>**

*First Plate*

- 1 Ôm<sup>13</sup> || [I\*] Jayaś=ch=ābhy[u\*]dayas=cha || Jayati<sup>14</sup> jagatām prasūtur=visv-âtma  
sahaja-bhūṣhanam nabhasah | drutaka-  
2 nakasād-prâsa-dâśâśatamayikha-mâl-ârchataḥ<sup>15</sup> Savitâ || [I\*] <sup>16</sup>Āst=īha sârô va(ba)hir-  
amtarâ cha chchhidrah par-

<sup>1</sup> Read, probably, *vādayasēna*

<sup>2</sup> Metre *Indravajrâ*

<sup>3</sup> Metre of this verse and the rest *Ślôka* (Anushtubh) — Read *śhashtim varsha-*

<sup>4</sup> Read *râjadhâh Sagar-*

<sup>5</sup> Read *śhashtim varsha-*

<sup>6</sup> Read *vanig N*

<sup>7</sup> Read *vanyu-Jê*

<sup>8</sup> Read *vanik-Saṅ*

<sup>9</sup> The same word occurs e.g. in *Ind Ant* Vol. XII. p. 161, line 69

<sup>10</sup> This mark, which does not look like a letter, apparently represents the signature of Dhika

<sup>11</sup> One would have expected *-Dhikasya* See line 52 of the grant B.

<sup>12</sup> From a photograph supplied by Mr. Gaurahankar Hrachand Oja

<sup>13</sup> Denoted by a symbol

<sup>14</sup> Metre *Ārya*

<sup>15</sup> Read *-mâl-dohitah*

<sup>16</sup> Metre *Indravajrâ*



- 3 tò na vipatrasāta<sup>1</sup> | bhēdyah parān = n = aiva mahīpatinām Vā(chā)lukya-  
nām = āpara-tunga-[vam]śah |(1) [2\*] <sup>3</sup>Va(ba)bhūva-
- 4 tuti(s=ta)[tra] mahā-mahīpatī mah[ā\*]-matī Kallā-Ma[ha]lla-samjūta | yayōh  
sītā kirtur-upāgamad-gu-
- 5 naih parām prasiddhi(m) satata[m\*] sunirmalāh || [3\*] <sup>3</sup>Saubhāratāñ=cha  
yayōr=āśi(sī)d=anyōnyam=avibhūta(nna)-
- 6 yō[h\*] |(1) kalavappamāmyātam<sup>4</sup> Rāma-Lakshmanay[ō]r=iva || [4\*] Madhyé<sup>5</sup>  
nripānām suvibhūyī(śu)tānām
- 7 rāja Kallāh kula-kī[r\*]tī-yu[ktā]h | kā[m\*]tyā mahatyā sthūrayā sūyā  
va(cha) kalpadrumānām=1-
- 8 va pāyātā[h] || [5\*] Rājya[m]<sup>6</sup> ma[chra<sup>7</sup>] mahīpatau gunagan-ālamkārabhūtē  
sati kshīnā[rā]tī-pa-
- 9 rākram-ān[v]ita-tansu nribhātaka<sup>8</sup> śāsati | lōkānām=abhavan=manō satī-yuta[m\*]  
dharma-pra-
- 10 [dh]āna[m] sadā tustit=[vva(bba)ndhu]janasya gaunya-janitā dānāñ=cha  
satyattīsha(?)<sup>9</sup> || [6\*] <sup>10</sup>Tasmān=mahīś[a\*]d=vi-
- 11 tatōka-virtti<sup>11</sup> lakshmi-nidhānam śāsanam gunānām |(1) śaurasya bhūmr=  
vvasatur=mmatinām
- 12 rājyaabhāma(?)<sup>12</sup> tanayā(yō) va(ba)bhūva || [7\*] <sup>13</sup>Valgattayaraggamātuga-  
mattamātanga-duggamān | yach-cha-
- 13 ndadandatasrastah śātratō=sūriyan=vana || [8\*] Ajani<sup>14</sup> tatō=pi śrīmām[ngā?]-  
hukadhavalō<sup>15</sup>
- 14 mahāvu(nu)bhāvō yah | dha[r\*]mmam=avann=api nityam ranōtyamō(?) |  
ninasadramam<sup>16</sup> |(1) [9\*] <sup>17</sup>Rajādūhā-
- 15 ja-paramēvara-bhūmmā[th]ān=yas=tān=api svabhūja-vīrya=vaśād=viṇṇ[γ]ś |  
16 nistamsanubhaya-vilū[ṇi]ripūttimāgar=a.vjair=ivē kshiti tālam

## Second Plate, First Side

- 17 samatē puvinya || [10\*] <sup>18</sup>Kunta[thā?]śāsi[ha]si-pa[ch]ura nara-kari-prājā(jya)-  
valgat-turāngam

<sup>1</sup> Read *vipatrasākhah*, i.e. both *vi-pattra sākha*, 'without leaves and branches' and *vipattra-sākhah*, 'whose branches protect from misfortune'. A bamboo (*vamsa*) has leaves and branches. But the Chālūkyas (*vamsa*) is a different kind (*apara*) of *vamsa*, one that has no leaves and branches, i.e., in the other sense of the adjective, it is a race the branches of which protect from misfortune. Similarly the other epithets in the verse suggest other differences between the two kinds of *vamsa*. The word *apara* of the last Pāda is practically equivalent to *apūva*, which is employed in a similar verse above, Vol III p. 298, line 6 of the text. *Apara* is used in the same way (not in the sense 'before which no other excels') in the verse in *Ind Ant* Vol XII p. 198, line 10.

<sup>2</sup> Metre Vamśastha

<sup>3</sup> Read *kuladharmma samāyātāh*

<sup>4</sup> Metre Sārdūlavikrīḍita

<sup>5</sup> Read, probably, *nribhātaka*

<sup>6</sup> Metre Indravajrā

<sup>7</sup> I am unable to give the name of the chief, concealed in this corrupt passage. The verse would be right if we were to read *Rājendra-nāma*, but I am not sure about this conjecture.

<sup>8</sup> Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh) — Read the verse *Valgat turāngamat= tūnga-matta-mātanga durgamā yach-chaṇḍadandatasrastah śātratō=śūriyan=vanam* || For *chaṇḍadanda* see above, Vol VI p. 10, v. 20.

<sup>9</sup> Metre Āryā

<sup>10</sup> Here again I cannot give confidently the name intended in the original. The right reading may possibly be *śrīmām=Vāhukadhavalō*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *ranōdyatō=mnasā=Dharmam*. The name at the end of the verse undoubtedly is *Dharmam*.

<sup>12</sup> Metre Vasantatīkā — Read the second half of the verse *nistamsanubhaya-vilūna-ripūttimāgar=a.vjair=iva kshiti tālam samatē pravāḍya* ||

<sup>13</sup> Metre Sragdarā — Read *Kuntaprasādhastha*.

- 18 **Karnātām** śai(sai)nyam=ājō(jau) bhayarabita-manā bhūriśō-bhu(nu)praviśya |  
 ēkākī khaḍga-  
 19 yashtyā drutam=aśistayā<sup>1</sup> yō=rīmūddhi-pravāha[m] vāh-ārūdhō=vagādham kamala-  
 20 vanam=iva śrattya-khēdu<sup>2</sup> lulāva || [11\*] <sup>3</sup>Tasmād=amjāyata sutō ṣvanivarmma-  
 nāmā śaurya-pratā-  
 21 pa-vinay-ādi-guṇanupatēta<sup>4</sup> | sannābhavad=bh[r\*]śam=imām=avatā dhanitrim=  
 anvarthatān=nijana=ā  
 22 niyata yēna nāma |(l) [12\*] <sup>5</sup>Avaniva[r\*]mmani ya[tra] sukarmmam  
 vyatbita-śātravamarmmani valmmani(?) [l]  
 23 yuvati-nurmita-naimmani bhūpatō(tau) na janatābhīr=sā[r\*]mmam śa[m\*]kitam ||  
 [13\*] Tasya<sup>6</sup> sūnur=ajan=iha  
 24 sukarma mitra-va(ba)ndh[u]janantabira-<sup>7</sup>śa[r]mmā | kirtitō vidita śātravamarmā  
 yō janair=abhi-  
 25 dhayā **Va(ba)lavarmmā** || [14\*] <sup>8</sup>Satatam=avitath-okti śnāna-jāpy-ādi-śā(śi)lah  
 pranayisatasahasra-  
 26 dhina-vistīrnasampat | bbrijasura-<sup>9</sup>vibit-śō yah sad=ārabhya vā(bā)lyātvi(t=Tri)-  
 nayana-charan-ā-  
 27 rebhāśilavān=samprajātam(h) |(l) [15\*] Prathita-karitarāmgam śātanistrimśa-pāmh<sup>10</sup>  
**Vishadham=avaśa-**  
 28 m=iśah sādhu ptvā samikē [l\*] sthīrataram=urudhakkā-yugmam=śū dradhīyan<sup>11</sup>  
 śruti-sukha-  
 29 dam=akhunnō yō=grahin=ma[m\*]dra-nādam || [16\*] Chatura-turaga-durggān=samyati  
 dhvasta-śātru[h\*] sphuta-  
 30 m=iha jagatīśān<sup>12</sup> Jajjap-ādin=nihatya | prasabham=abhumanaskō yō vyedhatta  
 [ksh]itīśō  
 31 bhuvanam=udam=abinō Hūna-vamśēna hinam || [17\*] Kuvalayadala-nētrah  
 sannat-āmsasthalā-<sup>13</sup>  
 32 kah | prakatam=Ava[u]ivarmmā [n]āma tasy=[ā]tmaj[ō]=bhūt | prithula-  
 katir=udārāh kshāma-ma-  
 33 dhyas=tathā yō vidita iha jagatyām **Yōga-nāmn=āparēna** || [18\*] Samgrāmē<sup>14</sup>  
**Yākshadāsa[m\*] va(ba)la-**

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 34 m=a[kh]ilam=apī<sup>15</sup> dhvamsayitvā pravirō yah samjagrāha tūryam patutara-  
 nnadam Sāgarakshōbha-  
 35 nāma | yasy=ālamkāra-bhūtām<sup>16</sup> pta-ripa jagrihuh pattayō=pi pratitāh  
 śamkha-[chchha]tra-dhvajadī-<sup>17</sup>  
 36 n=ahamahamukayā mu(yu)ddha-bhūmm praviśya || [19\*] Kōṇḍanda-dhvasta-dhārā-  
 śara-kara-nakharē vi[kra]m-āva(ba)ddha-  
 37 chitē līlābhīm(nu)-ānyasē(śē)nā samadagajaghatā-tumbhatumgasthalikē<sup>18</sup> | yasmin=  
 ā[kra]mya bhūmm

<sup>1</sup> Read =aśistayā yō=rīmūddhā-

<sup>2</sup> Metre Vasantatilakā — Read Tasmād=amjāyata

<sup>3</sup> Metre Drutavilambita

<sup>4</sup> Metre Evagatā

<sup>5</sup> Metre of verses 15-18 Mālinī

<sup>6</sup> Read dhyā-guru-

<sup>7</sup> Read dradhīyan=

<sup>8</sup> Read jagatīśān=

<sup>9</sup> Read sannat āmsasthalikah pra<sup>o</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Metre of verses 19 and 20 · Sragdhārā.

<sup>11</sup> The syllable pī was originally omitted and is engraved in the margin

<sup>12</sup> Read bhūtān=

<sup>13</sup> Read -chchhatra-dhvaj-ādī-

<sup>14</sup> Read -tumga-kumbhasthalikē | yasmin=

<sup>15</sup> Read arasta-khēdāh

<sup>16</sup> Read -guṇair=upēta

<sup>17</sup> Read -bandhūjanat śhita

<sup>18</sup> Read -pānir=

- 38 [sthā]tavatī hī nujā<sup>1</sup> sghavad=Yakshadāsa-[kshō]nīp ādyaiskumragan=iva<sup>2</sup> ripu-  
nivahaiḥ dūrataḥ sram  
39 prañśē || [20\*] <sup>3</sup>Vyōmā yāntam=adhikam mṛgay[ā\*] piyō yah sūtra<sup>4</sup> na  
muñchati sa kim Dhairānīvaiśbah [i\*] maty=é-  
40 ti [vō]mpuṇhaya<sup>5</sup> sahaś(s)=aiva jasya dūrān=nanāmā<sup>6</sup> matimām Dharanivarāhaḥ  
|| [21\*] <sup>7</sup>Khadga-khamdita-dhandā[ai]m<sup>8</sup>  
41 unda-mundāgha-<sup>9</sup>manditam | ya'i=ājibh[ā\*]ji juti[ti] sasapāna<sup>10</sup> ianāmganam ||  
[22\*] <sup>11</sup>Naiapatim=amum muktivā  
42 kalē kalau satī sa[m\*]prati tiyagati paritātum saktō na kaśchid=ap=iha  
mām | su[ja]va-niva[hō] ma-  
43 tv=ēti va nnatikamavi[kra]ma<sup>12</sup> satana-manasam ślimamti yam samāśāyad=  
u[chchhr]ita[m\*] || [23\*] Tēna<sup>13</sup> prava(cha)ndamarūda[bhāra]-  
44 chālā[m\*] vi[bhūtum] <sup>14</sup>[padmāsth] <sup>15</sup>itāmva(bu)kanikā-ta[ia]lātan=āśū[n]<sup>16</sup> |  
vidy[u\*]dvilāsa-va(cha)palāñ=cha vichī[m\*]tya la-  
45 kshimī prāvatiyate sphutam=ayam kshitidāna-dha[ī]mmah || [24\*] Sa cha  
mahāśāmanā-si-Yōga śvam=u[kta] <sup>17</sup>vān patha<sup>18</sup>  
46 <sup>19</sup>sa-prāman=ēv=ūbbisamvadhyaakam svān=anyāmś=[cha] gamibhāvī-bhūpālams=cha  
samanuvō(hō)dhayaty=astu  
47 yah samviditam yath=śmābhūh pratāpapiṇata-samastāśamanta-sō(mam)līmāī-śi-chita-  
chayanay-  
48 galasya śasādharaka-anikar-āmalayaśa[h\*]pravaha-dhavalita-dhāīvalayasya  
samihitābhya-  
49 dhikapiṇadān-ānandita-vamdivrind-ōpagiyamāna-samastagunaganasya paramabhattā-  
50 ka-mah[a\*]iājādhira-jaiami(mē)śvara-si-Bhōjadī(dē)va-pādānu d h y ā t a - p a r a m a -  
51 bhattāraka-mahār[a\*]jadhira-jaiamēsvaia-si-Mah ē m d r a p ā l a d ē v a - p i a s ā -<sup>17</sup>

## Third Plate

- 52 pāda-prasād-āvāpta<sup>18</sup> tantū(nm)yukta-tam[ti]amcha<sup>19</sup>pāla<sup>19</sup>śrī-Dhika-pratava(ba)ddha=ta-  
53 d anumatyā cha Śau(sau)rāshtramandal-āntahpātī-Nakshisapurachaturā(ra)śi ti-  
prati-

<sup>1</sup> Read *nyām simhavad*=<sup>2</sup> Read *ādyash kuramga*= iva ripu nivahai=<sup>3</sup> Metre Vasantatilakā — The general meaning of the verse clearly is that a certain Dharamvarāha, for whose identification see above, p 3 f, was put to flight by, or fled before, Avanivarman But I am not sure about every detail of the verse — The first words of the verse perhaps are either *vyōmā-dapi yāntam* or *vyōma prayāntam*=<sup>4</sup> Read *sattvam*<sup>5</sup> I cannot correct this<sup>6</sup> Read *nanāsa matimān*=<sup>7</sup> Metre Śiōka (Anushubh)<sup>8</sup> Read, probably, *dandāram* (in the sense of 'elephant')<sup>9</sup> Read *mund āgha*-<sup>10</sup> Read *lastra-pānu*<sup>11</sup> Metre Harini<sup>12</sup> Read *Trivikrama vikramam*<sup>13</sup> Metre Vasantatilakā<sup>14</sup> Read *taralāms=tath=āśūn*<sup>15</sup> Read *yathā* (?), but the words *śvam=uktān yathā* would be quite out of place here<sup>16</sup> Read *sarvān=ēv=ūbbisamvadhyaakān-si ān=anyāmś=ch=āgamidhān*<sup>17</sup> These two *aksharas* (the first two syllables of the word *prasāda*) are quite out of place here In agreement with the preceding adjectives one would have expected *Mahēndrapāladhāsyā*, but the writer proceeds as if the whole preceding passage, commencing with *pratāpapiṇata*, were a single compound, qualifying *Mahēndrapāla āśva*<sup>18</sup> Here, in my opinion, some words have been omitted As the text stands, we do not learn from it what the chief Yōga had received from Mahēndrapāla<sup>19</sup> The two *aksharas* in brackets are quite doubtful I can only suggest that the intended reading may possibly be *tadamtapā'a*-

- 54 va(ba)ddha<sup>1</sup>-Amvulak-ābhudhāna-grāmah sa-vrikshamālakulaḥ sa-simāparyan[t\*]a<sup>h</sup>  
 55 sa-bhogabhāgah sa-hiranyādānaḥ sa-dandadasāparidhaḥ sābhajamānavēśhtikah  
 56 sakala-rājakiyaṇām-ahastapraکشهpanima(ya) ā-chamdr-ārکش(rkk)-ārnava-kahitā-  
 sarit-par[vv]ata-sama-  
 57 kālīna<sup>3</sup> ih=aiṛa Jayapura-grām-ābhyaśē Kanavirikā-sand-upakanthē nivish[t\*]a<sup>h</sup>-  
 Ta[rū]nā-  
 58 dityadēvāya khandasphutita-suka(dhā)-dugdha-rā[r]chchaka-snapanā-vilēpana-pushpa-  
 dhūpa-dīpa-t[ai]a-nē(nai)vē-  
 59 dya-dārik-ādy-upakritayē m[ā\*]tāpitṛōr-ātmanas=ch=[ai]hik-āmushmika punya-yas[ō]-  
 bhivriddhayē bhūmichohhidra-  
 60 nyāy[e\*]na pravi(t)ipādtas=tad-ajam svadha[r\*]mmadāya-nirthi(rvvi)sēpra(sha)h  
 pālāya(yi)tavō gūna(ma)ntavyas=cha || yaśya(sya) ch=ā-  
 61 ghātānāni pūr[vv]ato Viyaraka-grāma sīmā | dakṣinatō Jayapura-grāma-  
 sīmā(mā) || aparatah Sē-  
 62 ṇḍuvaka-Kōrinthaka-grāma-sīmē | uttanatah Vavulka-grāma-sīmā | tad=ē[na]m  
 chaturāghātano(na)-pari-  
 63 kshipta-grāmam bhūmatō bhōjayatah ksha(kri)shataḥ karsha[ya]taḥ pratidāsa-  
 tē(tō) rā(vā) na kauscha[n=ā]lp=āpi paripam-  
 64 thanā vyāśē<sup>4</sup> vā kāryah | yatah sāmānyasanapalam=avity=<sup>5</sup>asmat-prityā pālāniya  
 ita(tu) || Tathā d(ch)=ō-  
 65 kiam Vyāśē(sā)na | <sup>6</sup>Va(ba)hubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājani(bhi)h Śa(sa)gar-  
 ādibh[ā]h [i\*] yasra<sup>7</sup> yanya yadā bhūmisuśa tasya ta-  
 66 rā palam || <sup>8</sup>[Y]ān=iba dahā[na]<sup>9</sup> purā narēndrar=ddānāni<sup>10</sup> |  
 mmārāragasaskarāni | nūmmalyavāna-prati-  
 67 māni tāni kō nāma śā(sā)dhuh punar=ādadita ||  
 68 Samvat 856 Māgha-sudi 6 [i\*]

No 2 — VASANTGADH INSCRIPTION OF PURNAPALA,  
 THE VIKRAMA YEAR 1099

By PROFESSOR F KIELHORN, CIE, GOTTINGEN

About the year 1840 the stone, which bears this inscription, was taken by Captain T S Burt from a tank at Vasantgadh<sup>11</sup> in the Sirohi State of Rājputāna, and the inscription was published in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng* Vol X p 66 ff, from a very unsatisfactory transcript prepared by Pandit Kamalākānta. For a long time the stone seems to have been lost sight of; but it has lately been rediscovered by my indefatigable friend, Mr Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha of Udaipur, and is now deposited at the town of Sirohi. I re-edit the text from impressions which have been kindly sent to me by Mr Ojha.

<sup>1</sup> Read <sup>2</sup>ddh-Ambulak In line 16 of the grant A. the name is spelt *Amvullaka*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *śtipadyamānavēśhtikah* (or *vēśhtikah*, which occurs often elsewhere).

<sup>4</sup> Read *kālīna*

<sup>5</sup> Read *vydśāh*

<sup>6</sup> Read *sāmānyam dāna-phalam=avitya*

<sup>7</sup> Metre. Śloka (Anuvāṭh)

<sup>8</sup> Read *yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaḥ*

<sup>9</sup> Metre: Indravajrā

<sup>10</sup> Read *daṭṭāni*

<sup>11</sup> Read *ni dharmm āriha-yatas-karāni | nūmmālya-vēnta-*

<sup>12</sup> Vasantgadh (Basantgadh) apparently is situated to the east of Mount Ābā, but I do not find it on the map of the Rājputāna Agency. At or near the same place an important inscription of the time of king Varmalāta, of the [Vikrama] year 682, has lately been discovered.

The inscription contains 23 lines of writing which covers a space of about 2' broad by 1' 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ " high. At the upper proper right corner part of the stone is broken away, so that between about 15 and 2 *aksharas* are missing at the commencement of lines 1-9. Otherwise the writing is well preserved and may be read with certainty nearly throughout. The size of the letters, between  $\frac{1}{8}$ " and  $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The characters generally differ little from the ordinary Nāgarī, but they include a few signs which are peculiar to the earlier northern inscriptions. The letter *b* everywhere is denoted by a sign of its own, and the secondary *d* is often written by a superscript line, once (in *Trashtuh=prasāddi*, l 13) we have the sign of the *upadhīmāntya*, and once (in *bhāryām*, l 12) the conjunct *ry* is made up of the full sign for *r* and the secondary form of *y*. Between verses 32 and 33 and at the end of the text a conch-shell has been engraved, and between verses 33 and 34 a circular ornament. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and, excepting the words *asy=ānvayō=pr* and *nagay=ānvayō=pr* in lines 8 and 13, the whole is in verse. Both the language and the verses often are incorrect, and as a piece of literary composition the inscription is worthless. Here, to show how very limited was the author's knowledge of grammar, I need only point out forms such as *nāmam*, l 5, *vśmam*, l 9, *vśmam*, l 14, and *vyōmē*, l 21 (for *nāma*, *vśma*, *vśmabhūh*, and *vyōmni*), from passages regarding the reading of which there cannot be any doubt. And what liberties were taken by him, simply for the sake of the metre, in the spelling of words, may be seen from instances like *Pārnāpāla*, l 7, *samdhāt*, l 19, *svapāna*, l 15 (for *Pārnāpāla*, *samdhv*, *sōpāna*), etc.<sup>1</sup>

The object of the inscription is, to record that a queen named Lāhni, a younger sister of the Paramāra Pūrnāpāla and widow of a king Vighararāja, at Vata<sup>2</sup> (Vata-nagara, Vata-pura) restored an ancient temple of the Sun, and restored or founded a tank (*vāpi*), apparently the very tank where this record has been found. And the inscription is divided into three parts, the first and second of which give the genealogies of Lāhni and Vighararāja, while the third glorifies the town Vata and the pious work executed there by the widowed queen. The whole is introduced by two verses, in one of which (so far as it is preserved) the author pays homage to Mahēśvara (Śiva), Prichētasa (the poet Vālmiki), and Vāni (the goddess of eloquence), while in the other he invokes the protection of the god Hari (Vishnu).

Verse 3 relates that through the anger of (the sage) Vasiṣṭha there was produced a youth or prince (*kumāra*) from whom the Paramāra (or Paramāra) family took its origin.<sup>3</sup> In his lineage there was Utpalarāja; from him sprang Āranyarāja, and from him Adbhutakrishnarāja. His son (or, if a name should have been lost at the commencement of line 4, his son's son) was Mahipāla, and from him sprang Dhandhuka. To Dhandhuka there was born from his wife Amritadēvi Pūrnāpāla, who ruled the Ārbuda territory (*bhū-mandalam=Ārbudasya*).<sup>4</sup> In his reign, his younger sister Lāhni was married by king Vighraha (Vighararāja).

Vighararāja's genealogy, in verse 12, commences with a twice-born named Yōta, who by his bravery acquired the title of king (*bhūpa*). In his lineage there was the king (*nrpa*) Bhavagupta, who, after restoring the temple of 'the Sun dwelling at Vata' (*Vata-vās-bhānu*), reigned at Vata. In his lineage, again, there was Saṃgamarāja, who ruled Badari in Vamśāratha. From him sprang Durlabharāja; from him, Chacha, and from him, Vighararāja, who, as stated

<sup>1</sup> The author's mistakes have been more fully pointed out in the notes on the text. The inscription emphatically teaches us that the mistakes which may be found in an inscription need not necessarily be ascribed to the writer or engraver.

<sup>2</sup> In line 9, verse 13, the word is used in the plural (*Vatshu*), and in the inscription of Varmalāta, mentioned above, the place appears to be called *Vatīkarasthāna*.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. *Ep Ind* Vol II p 190, verse 18. In the present inscription we have the name *Pramdāra* in verse 8, and *Paramāra* in verse 10. The name is written *Pramdāra* also in the unpublished Bhārūda inscription of Pūrnāpāla of the [Vikrama] year 1102, of which I possess impressions.

<sup>4</sup> In the Bhārūda inscription mentioned in the preceding note Pūrnāpāla is said to rule the *Ārbuda-mandala*. The inscription actually has *Ārtmarudamandalam prasādati*.





- vijitya lōkān || [15\*] <sup>1</sup>Dvijhvaṇipuvāhano lalanakāntarāmānvitah || kulōchchaya-  
kūtonnatu=vvīdhitachhī ulakshmi-
- 11 vapuh || svapanūshadhritāvanu=balaṇvishtachakrō ॥ bhān || babbūva nivarōttamah  
sa naranūpadhūn=Madhavah || [16\*] <sup>2</sup>Piōtphullastakmalā mukhām karatala-  
sukamūḥapamkaja-nibh[ng]im || Śriyam=iva kulajam iajūi-Lahinim=ūdha-
- 12 vām<sup>3</sup> sah || [17\*] Bhāyām<sup>4</sup> sa ch=āvūpya gunaiḥ samitam chitt-ēpsitām=var<sup>5</sup>  
bubhuje cha bhūgam || s=āpi priyam pi=pya patin=tu iēmē yadvach=Chhach=  
īndrēna samam varēm<sup>6</sup> || [18\*] A=am=mitō bhaittari daiva-yōgād=bhātūr=  
griham s=āpi gatā viyuktā || āvāsit, vai nagarē Vate=smin=daivāt=pra-
- 13 hinē bahusāh kramēna || [19\*] || Nagai-ānvayō=pi<sup>7</sup> || || Tapta= tapam<sup>8</sup>  
Vānin=āpi yatra nyagio[ḍha-sakt-a]rama māpavasya<sup>9</sup> || sthānē=rkka-Bharggau  
svanatō<sup>10</sup> Vasishthō muktī-pradau sthūpatavān=varishthah || [20\*] Tadvad=Vat-  
ākhya nagaram vanē=smin<sup>11</sup> Tvashthū=prasādit=kritivam<sup>12</sup>
- 14 n=Vasishthah || prākāra-vapr-ōpavanais=tadā[g]rih prāsāda-vēsmā<sup>13</sup> sughanam  
sutumgah || [21\*] <sup>14</sup>Śrutimant-odam=akshobhyam shadāngavarita-samkulam ||  
vēd-ārnavam dvijāḥ samyag=yatīa tīrtv=āpy=agarvita[h] || [22\*] <sup>15</sup>Lōkair=  
dāharmā paraiḥ svakarmma-nratāih sadbhūh sad=āvāsitam ||
- 15 vrityartham<sup>16</sup> [cha sa?]māgatāih praudisām nityam vaṅgban=vitam || [pa]-  
rūlah<sup>17</sup> panikajanan=vyasamkūh sū(sū)rair=janaḥ samkulam || Indira-sthānam=  
iv=āparam Vata-puram lshōni-talē samsthitam || [23\*] <sup>18</sup>va=udgatā yatra  
sarit=Śarasvatī svapāna-pankt=iva<sup>19</sup> nrinām
- 16 nūmajetām || supunyapushpōdakaphēna-vāhmī dvij-āstāmānām rananovadhishthitā<sup>20</sup> ||  
[24\*] YC<sup>21</sup> sarvām-pūlayantē nagarahita-ratih<sup>22</sup> nūtmānā<sup>23</sup> h prasāmitāḥ ||  
dēvān=viprān=yajamētē kanakadhana mahiṣastratnādi-dānāih || khyātu=yēshām cha  
nityam tu(tu)bhavana-
- 17 valayē sud-gunan=ēva nitā || ti=smin=paurāḥ samastāḥ sakalajana-hitā Bhānavē  
bhaktimantah || [25\*] <sup>24</sup>S=ātr=āgatā Lāhimi-nama-lājūi bhaittu=vyiyōgādhi-  
nipitātāgi || smin=purē vipra-janaḥ samētya tūpta [tu] tēshām [va]chanāt=  
prabaddhā || [26\*] Bhā-
- 18 nōi=griham daiva-vaśād=vibhagnam Vāsishtha-paurāḥ sukritam yad=āsit ||  
vamaśi<sup>24</sup> sarvām saba jivitēna jūātvā griham kūtitam=asū Bhānōh || [27\*]

<sup>1</sup> Metre Prithi

<sup>2</sup> This apparently is intended for an Āryā verse, but it is quite incorrect. Ed omits the whole or it

<sup>3</sup> Read van=sah

<sup>4</sup> Metre of verses 18-21 Indravajrā

<sup>5</sup> Read ēpsitam vai, or, perhaps, ēpsitam vai

<sup>6</sup> Read vai=na

<sup>7</sup> Instead of these words and of the first half of the following verse Ed has Vasishtharājō=pi atr=āst=atōm  
yam Vasishtharājōdnayō<sup>8</sup>pi (jātanatrapa Tarunādipi) atra nyagrōdhasy=atramah

<sup>8</sup> Wrong for tapō

<sup>9</sup> The intended reading may be -Mādhava-sya, but I am not sure about the meaning of the verse. Some  
legend, which is unknown to me, seems to be referred to.

<sup>10</sup> Read sa-nataḥ, or, perhaps, sa-mataḥ

<sup>11</sup> Read =smin=Tea<sup>o</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Read =kṛtāvan=Va<sup>o</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Wrong for -vīmāhīḥ, which would not have suited the metre

<sup>14</sup> Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh)

<sup>15</sup> Metre Śārdūlavikṛitā

<sup>16</sup> Read vrittyartham — The sa in the following brackets seems to be engraved below the line

<sup>17</sup> There is hardly any doubt here about the actual reading, but the text must be incorrect. I cannot suggest

a satisfactory emendation. Ed has paardnāv=gagikājanav=

<sup>18</sup> Metre Vāmśastha

<sup>19</sup> Wrong for sōpāna pamktir=iva, which would not have suited the metre

<sup>20</sup> Read janam=iva nishthitā

<sup>21</sup> Metre Sragdharā.

<sup>22</sup> Read -rād

<sup>23</sup> Metre of verses 28-30 Indravajrā

<sup>24</sup> Wrong for vindī (or vāndīkām), which would not suit the metre.



- <sup>1</sup>Susishṭa-samdhim ruchira[m] supādam śail-śeṣṭakam cha sthūa-singha-karnnam<sup>2</sup> || yadvad=Dhmādnis=śikharais=cha tadvat=kritvā
- 19 mkētam Vata-vāsi-bhānōh || [28\*] Lōka-prap-aishā sulcitā cha vāpi susishṭasamdhī-ghatitōtpalā<sup>3</sup> cha || sōpāna-pamktyā susubhā(bhā) subaddhā nīsrē(ērē)ni-bhūt-ēva divaukasasya || [29\*] Dēvaih samastan=11,11)shibhūis=cha jushṭā pāpāpabhā vyāpya jagat-sthitā yā || jūnūō-
- 20 dhptā<sup>4</sup> Lāhīni-punyahētōh Śārasvatī śēsha-janasya vāpi || [30\*] Nishpādya<sup>5</sup> sukritau kritvā<sup>6</sup> artham datvā<sup>7</sup> punah-punah || vaināśikam=idam ch=ānya[\*]= jñātvā lōkasya charppitau<sup>8</sup> || [31\*] <sup>9</sup>Yāvad=gaur=llōka-dh[ā\*]trī pravahati [pa?]rutō<sup>10</sup> yāvad=arkō=ntarikshē || yāvad=vichyas=sa-
- 21 mudī pavana-vidhūnitāh<sup>11</sup> samtātāh prōchchalanti || yāvad=vyōmē<sup>12</sup> susīgham piacha[la?]ta mihura-syamdā(da)nasya=aika-chakram || vāpy-ōkau tāvad=āstām=<sup>13</sup> udukara sadrisau śrēyasē kārakasya || [32\*] || <sup>14</sup>Krit=ēyam Hari-puttrēna Mātrīsarmma-dvyanmanā || śastr-llōka hitā-
- 22 rthāya Lāhinyās=cha<sup>15</sup> hit-aishinā || [33\*] <sup>16</sup>Āsich=cha Nāgāt=sthapatēs=ta Durggah || Durggārkkatō Dēuka-sūtradhārah || asy=āpi sūnuh Śivapāla-nāmā || yēn=ōtkrit=ēyam<sup>17</sup> susubhā praśastih || [34\*] <sup>18</sup>Navanavastir=ih=āsida-Vikramāditya-kālē || jagati
- 23 dasāsātānām=agratō yattrā pūrnā [\*] prabhavati Nabha-māsē sthānakē Chuttrabhānōh || Mrigasīrasī śāsāmkē krishna-pakshē navamyām || [35 \*\*]

## No 3 — ALUPA INSCRIPTIONS AT UDIYAVARA.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH D, HALLE (SAALE)

The ancient royal family of the Ālupas is one of those whose early history is wrapped in obscurity—'carent quia vate sacro' as Horace (*Carm* IV 9) expresses it. All that was until recently known regarding them will be found on page 309 of Dr Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*. A few additional records of them were published by Mr Rice in his *Epigraphia Carnatica*. The Ālupas or Ālūvas are referred to in inscriptions of the two Western Chalukya kings Pulakēśin II<sup>19</sup> and Vinayāditya, of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III,<sup>20</sup> and of the Kādamba Jayakēśin I, and the poet Bilhana mentions them in connection with his patron Vikramāditya VI. They are thus proved to have existed as a ruling family in the period from the seventh to the eleventh centuries of the Christian era.

As regards the name Ālupa, Dr Bhandarkar suggested that it 'seems to be preserved in the name of the modern town of Alupai on the Malabar coast'<sup>21</sup>. This is very improbable, because Ālūvāy (Alwy) is situated in Travancore, while the inscriptions of the Ālupas are

<sup>1</sup> Ed omits this verse<sup>2</sup> Read *śmshakarnnam* — This word *śmshakarna* apparently is a technical term, relating to architecture<sup>3</sup> Read *-ghatitōpalā*; the preceding *samdhā* for the sake of the metre stands for *samdhā*,<sup>4</sup> Read *dhptā*<sup>5</sup> Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh) 1<sup>6</sup> Observe the hiatus<sup>7</sup> Read *datvā*<sup>8</sup> Read *ch=arppitau*<sup>9</sup> Metre Śragdhāṭ<sup>10</sup> Read *puratā*(?)<sup>11</sup> For the sake of the metre for *vidhūnitāh*<sup>12</sup> Wrong for *vyōmē*, which would not have suited the metre<sup>13</sup> This *āstām* is wrongly used here for *datvā* (from *da*) or *syātām* (from *as*).<sup>14</sup> Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh)<sup>15</sup> The name of the queen is written here with (the dental) *n*<sup>16</sup> Metre Indravajrā<sup>17</sup> *Utkrītā* wrong for *utkrītā*<sup>18</sup> Metre Mālinī — Ed omits the last Pada of the verse and has instead of it *sa 1099*<sup>19</sup> See now above, Vol VI p 10<sup>20</sup> See below, p 16 and note 7.<sup>21</sup> *History of the Dekkan*, p 51, note 3

found in South Canara, Kadûr and Shimoga. The original meaning of the word *Âlupa* or *Âluva* is probably 'a ruler,' from the Dravidian root *al*, 'to rule'

A few individual names of kings are preserved to us. The Sorab plates of Vinayâditya were issued at the request of Gunasâgara-Âlupendra's son Chitravâha-Mahârâja, who was in possession of the district (*urhaya*) of Edevolal in the N.E. of Banavâsi in North Canara.<sup>1</sup> According to the Hanur plates of Vinayaditya which are dated two years after the Sorab plates, another village in the district (*Uhuva*) of Edevolal forming part of the Vanavâsi-mandala, was granted at the request of Âluvaraja<sup>2</sup> & e perhaps Chitravâha-Mahârâja. The same two princes (Gunasâgara and Chitravâha) may be meant in an inscription at Kigga in the Koppa tâluka of the Kadûr district,<sup>3</sup> which states that, when Âluvarasa, whose second name was Gunasâgara, was ruling the Kadamba-mandala,—Aluarasa, (his) great queen and (his son) Chitravâhana made a grant to a local temple.<sup>4</sup> Another inscription (Kp 37), which is on the other face of the same stone, is dated while some Chitravâhana was ruling Ponbuchchu,<sup>5</sup> the modern Humcha.<sup>6</sup> Finally, an inscription at Mavali in the Sorab tâluka of the Shimoga district states that in the time of Pribhûtarâsha Gôindarasa, & e the Rashtrakûta king Gôvinda III, a certain Chitravâhana ruled the Âluvakhêda six-thousand, while Râjâdityarasa ruled the Banavâsi-mandala.<sup>7</sup>

If the Chitravâhana of the first Kigga inscription was really the same person as the Chitravâha of the Sorab plates, it would follow that the Âlupa or Âluva prince Gunasâgara was governor of the Kadamba-mandala, & e the Banavâsi province, in or immediately before the time of the Western Chalukya king Vinayâditya, and that Gunasâgara's son Âluvarâja Chitravâha or Chitravâhana (I) granted two villages in the district of Edevolal, which formed part of the Banavâsi province, during Vinayâditya's reign. Consequently Chitravâhana I seems to have succeeded his father Gunasâgara in the government of Banavâsi. In the time of Gôvinda III, however, the Banavâsi-mandala had been taken from the Âlupas and was entrusted to Râjâditya, while the Âluvakhêda six-thousand was administered by a second Chitravâhana, who on the strength of his name may be assumed to have belonged to the Âlupa family. To judge from the Mavali inscription, he proved troublesome and had to be coerced by the force of arms. That Chitravâhana, whom the second Kigga inscription mentions as residing at Humcha, may or not be identical with this Chitravâhana II, but must be distinct from Chitravâhana I, whose capital was most probably Banavâsi. If this identification is correct, Ponbuchchu, the modern Humcha, would have been the head-quarters of the Âluvakhêda six-thousand, which in a later record is mentioned as Âlvakhêda among the boundaries of the Poyasa kingdom.<sup>1</sup>

Mr Rice's volumes contain many records of certain later families which seem to be connected with the ancient Âlupas. These are the Changâlvas,<sup>8</sup> Kongâlvas,<sup>9</sup> Nâdâlvas,<sup>10</sup> Sântaras,<sup>11</sup> and the rulers of Kalasa and Kârkala.<sup>12</sup>

In the course of a tour in 1901, Mr H. Krishna Sastrî, B.A., discovered a number of archaic Kanarese pillar inscriptions of the Âlupas at Udiyâvara near Udipi in the South Canara

<sup>1</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol. XIX p. 147. A facsimile of the Sorab plates has since appeared in *Ep Carn* Vol. VIII. p. 92 of the Translations.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol. VII p. 302, and *Ep Carn* Vol. XI Dg 66.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol. VI Kp 38.

<sup>4</sup> A further remark on the same inscription will be found below, p. 21, note 3.

<sup>5</sup> The Kanarese text has *pinduvâde* for *Ponbuchchûde* in the Roman text.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 17 below.

<sup>7</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol. VIII Sb 10, with Plate facing p. 3 of the Roman texts.

<sup>8</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol. VI Cm 180, line 5.

<sup>9</sup> *Id* Vol. IV Introduction, p. 16, Vol. V p. viii, Vol. IX p. 19.

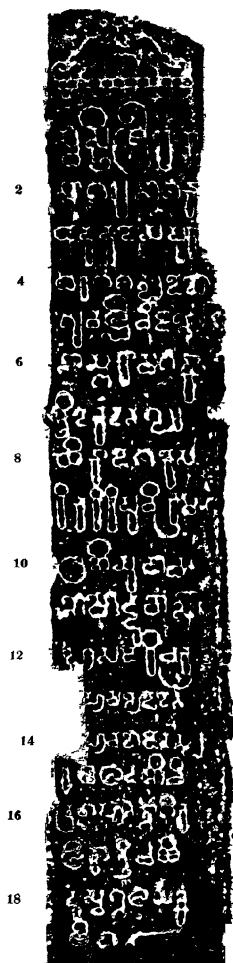
<sup>10</sup> *Id* Vol. V p. vii, Vol. IX p. 18.

<sup>11</sup> *Id* Vol. V p. vii.

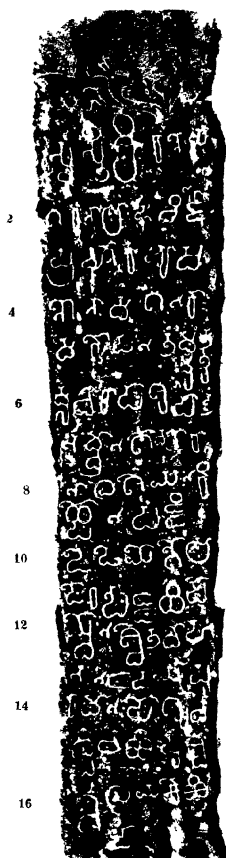
<sup>12</sup> *Id* Vol. VI p. 10, Vol. VII p. 17, Vol. VIII p. 6. Compare *Dyn Kan Distr.* p. 458 and note 2.

<sup>13</sup> *Ep Carn*, Vol. VI p. 19. Compare above, Vol. VII p. 109 ff. and Vol. VIII p. 124 ff.

I — Scale one sixth



II — Scale one fifth



district Of these records I now edit the eight most complete and important ones Regarding some difficult points in them I have consulted my old friends Venkayya and Kṛṣṇa Sastri, whose remarks proved of much assistance in unravelling the meaning of these enigmatical ancient documents

The first five Udiyāvara inscriptions are on Virakals, i.e. stones set up as memorials of deceased heroes, the remaining three refer to grants of tolls The three first inscriptions must all belong to the same period, for Nos I and II mention a certain Ranasāgara, and Nos II and III one Śvētāvāhana. These two names and, in addition to them, Chitravāhana in No I look like those of Āluva princes, among whom we have already found a Gunasāgara and two Chitravāhanas. As the alphabet resembles that of the Māvali inscription,<sup>1</sup> we may identify the Chitravāhana of No I with Chitravāhana II., who ruled the Āluvakhēda six-thousand in the time of Gōvinda III. Consequently Nos I-III. must be assigned to about A.D. 800. From the first few lines of No I we learn that Chitravāhana II seized Udiyāvara in the course of a war with Ranasāgara, who seems to have been a rival claimant to the throne Nos II and III refer to the storming of Udiyāvara by Śvētāvāhana, and No II. records the death, on this occasion, of a follower of Ranasāgara. From this it may perhaps be concluded that, after the time of the inscription No I, Ranasāgara succeeded in ousting Chitravāhana II, but that, later on, he was in his turn defeated by Śvētāvāhana, who may have been a near relative of Chitravāhana II

The remaining Udiyāvara inscriptions date from the reigns of the two Ālupa, Āluva or Ālva kings Pṛithivīsāgara (Nos IV-VI) and Vijayāditya (Nos VII and VIII) alias Māramma (No VII) It is impossible to say at present how these two princes were connected with Chitravāhana II, Ranasāgara and Śvētāvāhana But, as the alphabet of their inscriptions agrees with that of Nos I-III, they must be assigned to about the same period

In each of the eight subjoined inscriptions Udiyāvara is referred to by one of its older names Udayāpura (Nos V. and VIII), Udayapura (Nos II, III, VI, VII) or Udeyapura (Nos I and IV) In the three last it is mentioned together with Patu (No VI), Pombulcha (No VII) or Ponvulcha (No VIII) Patu and Pombulcha are known to have been ancient names of the modern Humcha in the Nagar taluka of the Shimoga district<sup>2</sup> This Humcha seems to have been the capital of the Ālupa kings For an inscription at Kigga is dated while Chitravāhana (II) was ruling Ponbuche<sup>3</sup>

### I.—Inscription of Chitravāhana (II) and Ranasāgara.

This inscription (No 94 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar in front of the Śambhukallu temple at Udiyāvara It records that a follower of Chitravāhana (II) met with his death when the 'lord of the earth' (viz Chitravāhana) occupied and entered Udeyapura (Udiyāvara) 'during the trouble of Ranasāgara,' i.e. in the course of a war with the latter

#### TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Rana-
- 2 sāgaranā sam(sam)ka-
- 3 tadul=Udeyapuram
- 4 dhareg[i]śan=pade-po-
- 5 guvall Viyana-
- 6 nāygarā magan=Kā-

<sup>1</sup> See above, p 16 and note 7

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol VIII p. 126.

<sup>3</sup> See p 16 above

- 7 l̥de kadan-aggha-  
 8 l̥ k̥ālega-k̥ōsa-  
 9 11 kariripu-vikraman  
 10 aniyu[1\*] d̥āva-  
 11 nam=oddu on-s̥i-  
 12 hasad-arī-chakra-  
 13 [vyū\*]haman=odedon  
 14 [ā\*]havad=ode[da]n=pa-  
 15 ra-[ba]lad=anī Chī-  
 16 travāhanarggāgi ka-  
 17 l̥-kānta eri-  
 18 da svaṅggālayakk-ē-  
 19 12don [11\*]

## TRANSLATION.

Hail 'Prosperity'! When during the trouble of Ranasāgara<sup>1</sup> the lord of the earth<sup>2</sup> occupied and entered Udayapura, — Vijanāyga's<sup>3</sup> son Kāltide, (*who was*) eminent in war, a lion in battle, brave as a lion, applying a cattle-rope<sup>4</sup> to the array (*of his enemies*), breaking the body of bold hostile armies, breaking in battle the array of the enemy's forces, ascended to the abode of heaven, having fought<sup>5</sup> (*with*) the splendour of a hero on account of Chitravāhana

## II.—Inscription of Ranasāgara and Śvētavāhana.

This inscription (No 108 of 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar lying near a well in the back-yard of Rāghavēndrabhatta's house at Udiyāvāra and commemorates the death in battle of a follower of Ranasāgara. He fell while Udayapura (Udiyāvāra) was entered by Śvētavāhana, whom I take to have been the victorious opponent of Ranasāgara. The dead warrior is described as a zealous devotee of the 'lord of Paṭṭi,' and he and his two immediate ancestors as adherents of the 'Pāsupata lord' Paṭṭi (or Pombuchcha) is the modern Humcha.<sup>6</sup> It may be concluded from the present inscription that this town was the seat of the head of a Śaiva *matha*

## TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [11\*] Rapa[sā]-  
 2 garanā ālu Viñjan  
 3 Pra[hā]rabhūsha-  
 4 nanā magan Kā-  
 5 makōdan tammuttu-  
 6 mūvarā Pāsupā(pa)ṭam  
 7 namvraṇ g=ōva[do]rā

<sup>1</sup> I.e. 'the trouble caused by Ranasāgara'

<sup>2</sup> *Vīr* probably the Chitravāhana mentioned in l 15 f

<sup>3</sup> *Nāyga* is a *tadbhava* of *adyaka*

<sup>4</sup> With *dāvanam=oddu* compare *dāvan kattu*, 'to tie cattle in a row to a long rope fastened by two pegs,' in Kittel's *Kannada Dictionary*. Compare above, Vol VIII p. 134, and *Ep. Carn.* Vol VI Introduction, p. 19, note 1. *Dāvan* is a *tadbhava* of *dāmant*, 'a long rope to which calves are tied by means of shorter ropes' (Monier Williams)

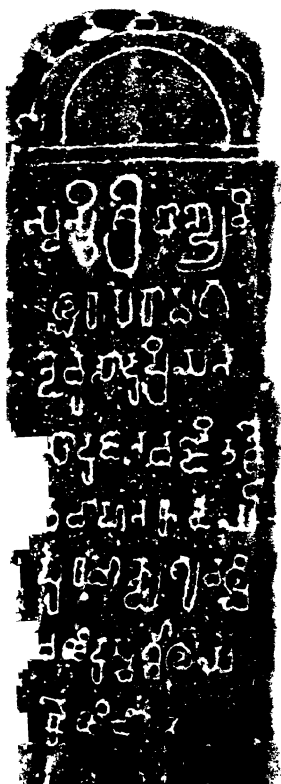
<sup>5</sup> Here and in the four next inscriptions *eri* is the same as *eri*, 'to strike, to stab'

<sup>6</sup> See p. 17 above

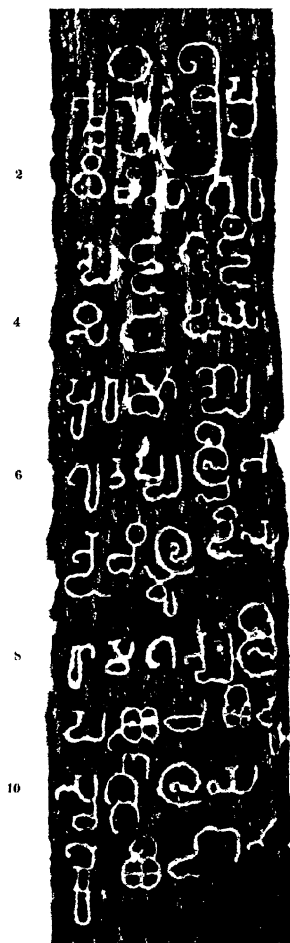
<sup>7</sup> As suggested to me by Rāi Bahadur Venkayya, *namerdā* is meant for the Tamil *namērdā*, 'lord' (literally 'our lord'), read *namērdāga*.



III — Scale one third



IV — Scale one fourth



- 8 nálageyan ki(ki)-
- 9 lpon Patti-
- 10 odehyong=<sup>1</sup>bā(va)-
- 11 doran=patt-aḷi-pā-
- 12 yvon Śvétatavāha-
- 13 nan Udayapu-
- 14 ramān poguva-
- 15 lli epdu śva(śva)-
- 16 igga(rggā)layakk=ēri-
- 17 [don] [||\*]

## TRANSLATION

Hail! Prosperity! When Śvétatavāha was entering Udayapura,—Ranasāgara's servant, Viñja Prabhārabhūshana's son Kāmakōḍa, who pulled out the tongue of those who were not attached to the Paśupati lord of those three persons themselves,<sup>2</sup> (and) who seized, destroyed and assaulted those who were not attached to the lord of Patti, ascended to the abode of heaven, having struck down (*his enemies*)

## III — Inscription of Śvétatavāhana

This inscription (No 105 of 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar in front of the same house as the preceding inscription and commemorates the death of another hero on the same occasion

## TEXT

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Pāṇḍyavi-
- 2 llarasarā maga-
- 3 n=Dēvu sādū(dhu)-pnyan=a
- 4 sādū(dhu)jana-varjitan=Śvé-
- 5 tavāhanar=Udaya-
- 6 puramān=poguvall
- 7 epdu svarggālaya-
- 8 kk=ēpdon [||\*]

## TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! When Śvétatavāhana was entering Udayapura,—Pāṇḍyavillarasas son Dēvu, (*who was*) beloved by the good (*and*) shunned by wicked people, ascended to the abode of heaven, having struck down (*his enemies*)

## IV —Inscription of Prithivīsāgara

This inscription (No 103 of 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar in the south-west corner of the court-yard of the Śambhukallu temple at Udiyāvara. It forms the memorial of a warrior who was killed when Prithivīsāgara stormed Udayapura (Udiyāvara) after his coronation

## TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Pri-
- 2 thivīsāgara-

<sup>1</sup> Read odehyong=

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* the Paśupati priest whose adherents Kāmakōḍa, his father Prabhārabhūshana (and his grandfather) Viñja were. I owe this explanation to Dr Fleet. With *tammuttu māvar* compare *tammul-ayvar* and *tammuc-eruvār* in Kittel's *Kannada Grammar*, p. 241. Dr Fleet has noted the similar expression *tammutt-irbāḍ* or *tammutt-irbōḍ*, above, Vol VI p. 161, note 7.



- 3 n-pattam gatti-  
 4 sī Uḍ[e]ya-  
 5 puramān-po-  
 6 gutappalli Na-  
 7 ndavilmudiya-  
 8 rā magan=Pai-  
 9 paṇe eṇḍu  
 10 svaiggaḷaya-  
 11 kk-ēṇḍon [!\*]

## TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! When Prithivisāgara, having had (*himself*) crowned, was entering Udeyapura,—Nandavilmudi's son Palipare, having struck down (*his enemies*), ascended to the abode of heaven

## V — Inscription of Prithivisāgara.

This inscription (No 101 of 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar in the court-yard of the same temple and records that another follower of the Ālupa king Prithivisāgara fell at the storming of Udayāpura (Udayāvara).

## TEXT.

- 1 Svasti sī [!\*] Pṛithu(ṭhi)visāgara  
 2 śrīmad-Ālupendra duṣṭa-bhaya-  
 3 nkararge ṣṣṭa bhṛityan=appa Po-  
 4 lokka Priyachelva [U]ḍa[yā]-  
 5 puraman pugutappa-  
 6 lī āha[pa](va)-ra[nga]ḍu=urn-  
 7 bhātara [e]ṇḍu Priyache-  
 8 lva chelva-saṃpanna<sup>1</sup> ka(kha)la-  
 9 [ḷa\*]na-vayjitan dharegi(ḷi)-  
 10 [ṣa\*]nge ḍavadora pata-  
 11 [t]iya aḷidu suralō-  
 12 kakke ēṇḍan [!\*] Keleya  
 13 Vāḷ[e]ṇṇayan nṛpaḍa [!\*]

## TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! When Polokku Priyachelva, who was the beloved servant of Prithivisagara, the glorious Ālupendra, the terror of the wicked, was entering Udayāpura,—(*this*) Priyachelva, (*who was*) endowed with beauty (*and*) shunned by wicked people, ascended to the world of the gods, having struck down great warriors on the stage of battle (*and*) having destroyed the foot-soldiers<sup>2</sup> of those who were not attached to the lord of the earth<sup>3</sup> (*His*) friend Vāḷereya set up (*this memorial stone*)<sup>4</sup>

## VI — Inscription of Pṛithivisāgara

This inscription (No 102 of 1901) is engraved on another octagonal pillar in the court-yard of the same temple. It opens with the name and *brūdas* of the Ālupa or Āḷuva king

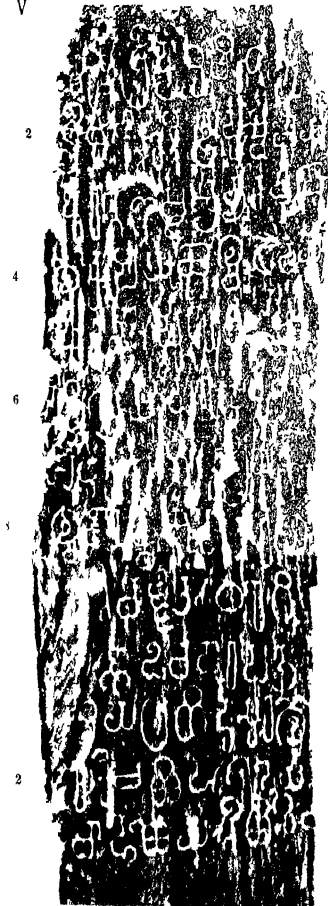
<sup>1</sup> Read *saṃpanna*

<sup>2</sup> As Mr. Krishna Sastri suggests, *pataḷi* is perhaps a *taḍḍhava*, used collectively, of *paḍḍi*

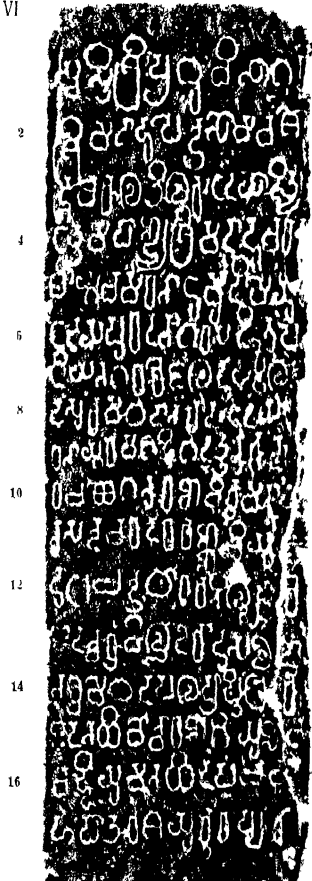
<sup>3</sup> i.e. the Ālupa king Prithivisāgara

<sup>4</sup> Bai Bahadur Venkayya would prefer to take *eṇḍu* as synonymous with the Tamil *ṇṇa*; and to translate "Keleya set up (*this stone representing*) a chief (*with*) a sword (*in his hand*)"

V



VI



Scale one fourth

Prithivīsāgara, who claimed descent from the lunar race and bore the surnames Udayāditya and Uttama-Pāndya, and records that he confirmed a previous grant of tolls to the two cities (*nagara*) of Udayapura (Udiyavara) and Pati. The last is evidently the same as Patti, the modern Humcha<sup>1</sup>. The imprecatory passage at the end of this inscription and of the two next ones (VII and VIII.) mentions two sacred places. Vāranāśi and Śivavaḷi. The former is of course the modern Benares. Regarding the second, Mr Krishna Sastri contributes the following information —

"The Shivali (Śivali) sect of Brāhmanas in South Canara take their name from this place. In the *Madras Manual of Administration*, Vol III p 610, we are told that the town Oodip (Udipi), 'considered the most sacred spot in the Canarese country,' is 'formed of parts of Badagabett, Moodandambore, Poollore and Shivali villages'. In the *Madras Postal Directory* Shivali figures as a village served by the Udipi post office."

### TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śri [!]\* Pṛidhu(thi)visāgara
- 2 śrīmad-Ālupēndra Sōmavamsō-
- 3 d̥bhava kulatilakan Udayāditya
- 4 Uttama-Pāndya śrīmad-Āluvara[sa]-
- 5 r-B[ō]ygavarmara nātu-mudimeyu[!]
- 6 Udayapurada nā(na)gara-sahitam Pa-
- 7 ṭiya nagar akke jaladu[am sthala[du]-
- 8 lam sumkam=ardha-dāna kādara [!]\* Udaya[pu]-
- 9 ranāyagara magan=[S]ingadattan[um] Ku[mā]-
- 10 ra Breganum Ranavikrama[nātha]-
- 11 nu Sandavaradaia Kannachiyu[m] [!]\* [I]-
- 12 du a(ā)chandrathā(tā)rakam nīpu[d=a]ke(kke) [!]\*
- 13 Idan=vakram-illāde kādu sah[po]-
- 14 n=āśvamēdbada pa(pha)la prāp̥ti aku(kkum) [!]\*
- 15 Idan=a[ivon]=Vārana(nā)śiyum Si(śi)va-
- 16 valliyyuman=ahida pamcha[ma]-
- 17 ha(hā)pātaka-sam(sam)yuktar=appar [!]\*

### TRANSLATION

Hail! Prosperity! During Bōygavarma's headmanship of the district,<sup>3</sup> Prithivīsāgara, the glorious Ālupēndra, who sprang from the race of the Moon, the ornament of (his) family, Jdayāditya Uttama-Pāndya, the glorious Āluvarasa, confirmed the gift of one half (of) the tolls both on water and on land to the city of Pati, together with the city of Udayapura. (The recipients of this gift were)<sup>4</sup> Udayapurānāyga's<sup>5</sup> son Singadatta; Kumāra Brega, Ranavikrama[nātha], and Sandavarada's (son) Kannachi. Let this stand as long as the moon and the stars! (To) him who without fraud confirms and grants this, shall be the acquisition of the fruit of a horse sacrifice. He who destroys this, shall be covered with the five great sins (of) he who destroys Vāranāśi and Śivavaḷi.

<sup>1</sup> See p 17 above

<sup>2</sup> See Kittel's *Kannada Grammar*, § 183, 8

<sup>3</sup> As suggested to me by Rai Bahadur Venkayya, *nāḍu mudime* is the equivalent of the Tamil *nāḍu mudumar*, 'the headmanship of a district'. Compare *Ep. Carn.* Vol VI Kp 88, where *Kundavarmmarasam mudime geve* has the reading of the Text in Kannada characters, p 323) has to be translated by 'while Kundavarmmarasa was headman'.

<sup>4</sup> The words *idda padedor* may be supplied from VII 1 10, and VIII, 1. 10f

<sup>5</sup> See above, p 18, note 3

## VII.—Inscription of Vijayāditya Māramma.

This inscription (No 98 of 1901) is engraved on two contiguous faces of another octagonal pillar in the court-yard of the same temple. Like the preceding inscription, it confirms a previous grant of tolls to the two cities of Udayapura (Udiyāvara) and Pombulcha (Humcha). The Ālupa or Ālva king who confirmed this grant was called Vijayāditya Māramma. Like the Prithivīsagara of the preceding inscription, he bore the surname Uttama-Pāndya and traced his descent from the lunar race. Besides, he claimed the sovereign titles *Paramēśvara* and *Adhivājarāja*.

## TEXT.

- 1 Ōm<sup>1</sup> svasti śrī [||\*] Vija[y]āditya Ālu-
- 2 pēndra paramēśva(śva)ra ādhir[ā].<sup>2</sup>
- 3 jarājan Uttama-Pāndyan-Śō(śō)mavamśō-
- 4 dbhava śrī-Māramm-Ālvarasar [U]<sup>3</sup>
- 5 Udayapurada naka(ga)ra-sahitam Pombu-
- 6 lehadā naka(ga)rakke sunka kādudu sauku-
- 7 rakke [pu]ttige ondare malavege pa-
- 8 lī padināju palam adakeya pē-
- 9 rīnga(ngē) mūn[ā]ju velasina pēriṅge
- 10 padina(nā)ju pala[m] [!]\* Idā padedor Su-
- 11 sēnavadiyaya Svarnnagōśasi Mutta-
- 12 varara Adiyasettiyu Mandukara
- 13 Parasēbyan Sēnavadiyara Nagakumāran [!]\*
- 14 Idu a(ā)chandrataraka[m] nīpuḍ-akke [!]\* Ida kādo
- 15 attaguna asva(śva)mēda(dha)da pa(pha)lam=akke [!]\*
- 16 Idan=a|ido B[ā]raṇāsiyu Śivavalliyu-
- 17 ma a|ida pañchamaha(hā)pātakan-ak[u](kkum) [!]\*
- 18 Ranaadhāri-lkhita ||<sup>4</sup>

## TRANSLATION

Ōm Hail! Prosperity! Vijayāditya Ālupēndra Paramēśvara Adhivājarāja Uttama-Pāndya, who sprang from the race of the Moon, the glorious Māramm-Ālvarasa, confirmed the tolls (*due*) to the city of Pombulcha together with the city of Udayapura, (*viz*) per double bag (*of grain*),<sup>5</sup> one and a half basket<sup>6</sup> (*of grain*), per *malave*<sup>7</sup> (*of cotton*), sixteen *pala* (*of cotton*), per load of areca-nuts, three hundred (*nuts*), (*and*) per load of pepper,<sup>8</sup> sixteen *pala* (*of pepper*). They who obtained this (*were*) Sūśēnavadi's (*son*) Svarnnagōśasi,<sup>9</sup> Muttavara's (*son*) Adiyasetti, Manduka's (*son*) Parasēbya, (*and*) Sēnavadi's (*son*) Nagakumāra. Let this stand as long as the moon and the stars! (*To*) him who confirms this, let there be the eightfold fruit of a horse-sacrifice! (*To*) him who destroys this, shall be the five great sins (*of one*) who destroys Bāranāsi and Śivavallī. Written by Ranaadhāri.

<sup>1</sup> Expressed by a symbol

<sup>2</sup> Read *adhivāra*.

<sup>3</sup> Corrected from *a*. The engraver has for the sake of clearness repeated the *u* at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>4</sup> In the original the final stop is represented by a four petalled flower.

<sup>5</sup> *Sankura* is perhaps the same as *sankara* No. 4 in Kirtel's *Kannada Dictionary* 'a double sack for manure and grain to be carried on the back of a bullock'.

<sup>6</sup> *Puttige* is the same as *putti*, 'a basket'.

<sup>7</sup> Mr. Krishna Sastry suggests that this may be another form of *manu* or *manuvu*, 'a mound'.

<sup>8</sup> Originally I had taken *velasina* for *velasina*, 'corn'. But as the toll was not levied by measure, but by weight, I adopt Mr. Krishna Sastry's suggestion, who compares *melasina*, 'black pepper'.

<sup>9</sup> With *gōśasi* compare *gōśasiya* in the inscription VIII. 1. 11, and Dr. Fleet's remarks, above, Vol. VI. p. 255, note 2.

VII

2

4

6

8

10

12

14

16

18

VIII

2

4

6

20

10

12

14

Scale one fourth

## VIII —Inscription of Vijayāditya.

This inscription (No 97 of 1901) is found on the same pillar as the preceding one (VII) It is engraved on the same two contiguous faces as VII, but begins at the opposite end of the pillar, which must have been placed upside down when the new inscription (VIII) was incised on it. A third face of the pillar bears six lines of writing (15-20) which appear to be connected with VIII. This circumstance enables us to conclude that VIII was engraved at a later date than VII. When the writer of VIII had reached line 14, he was confronted with the end of the inscription VII, and was therefore obliged to finish his copy on another face of the pillar.

The contents of VIII resemble those of VII. The king is the same, only one of his names, Māramma, is omitted here. He is stated to have confirmed the same grant of tolls to the two cities of Udayāpura (Udiyāvāra) and Ponvulcha (Humcha). But the names of the local representatives receiving the grant differ from those in VII. This shows that some time must have elapsed between the incision of both records, although both belong to the same reign.

## TEXT.

*First and Second Faces*

- 1 Svasta śrī [||\*] Vijayādhi(ḍi)tyan
- 2 Ālupēndra paramēsva(śva)ra ā(a)-
- 3 dhi(ḍhi)rājarājan Uttama-
- 4 Pāndyan-SōmavanSōbhavan<sup>1</sup>
- 5 Ālugarasār Arakellārā
- 6 nātu-mudī(ḍi)meyul Udayā-
- 7 purāda naka(ga)ra-sahitam Ponvulcha-
- 8 da naka(ga)rakke sunkadā ardda(rddha)-[dā]na
- 9 kā[daḥa] avargge attaguna
- 10 asva(śva)mēda(dha)dā pa(pha)lam=akkum [||\*] Idā
- 11 [pa\*]dedor Muttavurera<sup>2</sup> Saruvigōsāsiga
- 12 Kodalsettiyarā Madāmmaṇ Vija[s]e-
- 13 ttagarā Dharmanāygan=Manugasā-
- 14 ttavar Sarvvavandu Paleyarmman [||\*]

*Third Face*

- 15 ī okkal=paḍed[u]-
- 16 vu [||\*] Idā aḥivo
- 17 Sivavāḷḷiyu<sup>3</sup> Vā-
- 18 rānāsīyuman
- 19 aḷida pañchama-
- 20 hāpātakan=akkum<sup>4</sup> [||\*]

## TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! The eightfold fruit of a horse-sacrifice shall be to him— Vijayāditya Ālupēndra Paramēśvara Adhirājārāja Uttama-Pāndya, who sprang from the race of the Moon, Ālugarasa— who, during Arakella's headmanship,<sup>5</sup> of the district,<sup>5</sup> confirmed the gift of

<sup>1</sup> Read =SōmavanSōbhavan<sup>2</sup> Read Muttavurera, as in VII 1 11 f<sup>3</sup> Read Sivavāḷḷiyum<sup>4</sup> The \* of *kkum* is expressed by two different symbols behind and below the k<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 21, note 3.

one half of the tolls to the city of Ponvulcha together with the city of Udayapura. They who obtained this (were) Muttavara's (son) Saruvigōśānga, Kodaietti's (son) Madāmma, Vijasetti's (son) Dharmanāyga,<sup>1</sup> Manugāśtiava, Sarvavandu<sup>2</sup> (and) Puleyarma. These ryots obtained (it). (To) him who destroys this, shall be the five great sins (of one) who destroys Śivavalli and Vārāṇasī.

No. 4.—TWO GRANTS OF INDRARAJA III,  
SAKA-SAMVAT 836

By D R BHANDARKAR, M A

These two epigraphic documents were first brought to the notice of the students of Indian antiquities by the late H H Dhruva, who published a transcript of them with his remarks in the *Zeitschr. D Morg Ges* Vol XL p 322 ff. They were afterwards edited with lithographs by Dr R G Bhandarkar, with a translation by Mr (now Prof) S R Bhandarkar, in the *Journ Bo Br R As Soc.* Vol XVIII p 253 ff. About three years ago, when Prof Hultzsch first thought of having the inscriptions re-edited in this Journal, no trace whatever of them could be found, and it was on a chance visit to the State Museum at Baroda in 1903 that I saw the plates exhibited there. On my informing Prof Hultzsch of their whereabouts, he asked Rai Bahadur Venkayya to obtain them on loan through the Resident at Baroda from the Curator of the Baroda State Museum, and I re-edit the inscriptions at the suggestion of Prof Hultzsch, and from the excellent ink-impressions supplied by Rai Bahadur Venkayya.

[Along with the two sets of plates, two seals were received from the Resident at Baroda in December 1903. As the seals had been detached from the plates, it was not possible to ascertain which seal belonged to which set. But before returning the plates and seals on the 7th December 1904, I put down some notes about them, of which the following is a copy.]

[The plates measure on an average 13" by 9½". The rings bearing both the seals had been cut before they were received in my office. The larger of the two seals measures about 3" by 2¾". The ring whose ends are secured at the bottom of the seal is 3½" in diameter and ½" thick. The seal bears, in relief on a countersunk surface, as the principal figure, an image of Garuḍa—whose wings are distinctly seen—squatting on a seat which is probably meant to consist of two serpents. These appear to entwine his waist and to terminate in his hands, each of which is holding a hood. What looks like his sacred thread is perhaps a third serpent. The Garuḍa faces to the full front and has on his proper right a representation of Ganapati in the upper corner, lower down a *chauri*, and below it a lamp. On the proper left in the upper corner is a goddess riding on a lion, and below the lion a *śaśṭika* surmounted by a *chauri*. On each side of the head of Garuḍa is a circle which may be meant for the sun and moon. Below the squatting Garuḍa is an inscription which is not quite distinct, but which seems to be शीनङ्गिबर्षदेवस. Along the margin of the seal is a border of various indistinct emblems, among which a *līṅga* and an elephant-goad are recognisable. The emblems on the smaller seal, which measures about 1¼" by 1½", are also cut in relief on a countersunk surface, but are not quite distinct. The central figure is Garuḍa, squatting, as in the bigger seal, apparently on a couch consisting of two serpents, which seem to entwine his waist and to terminate in his hands. Each of the hands of Garuḍa appears to hold a hood. What looks like his sacred thread may be a third serpent. To his proper right at the upper corner is a projection which may stand for Ganapati, and below it is a lamp stand. To the proper left at the upper corner is another

<sup>1</sup> See above, p 18, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Is* Sarvabandhu

projection, which is perhaps intended to represent a goddess. Below the goddess is a lamp stand above a *svastika*. The ring whose ends are secured at the bottom of the smaller seal measures 3" in diameter and  $\frac{1}{2}$ " in thickness. Two sets of impressions of each of the two inscriptions were sent to Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar in August 1903.—V V ]

As regards the find-spot of the plates, H. H. Dhruva, who first edited them, says —“ On the 6th of July 1881, as a Dubla servant of Mulji Khushal, Patel of Bagumrā, was furrowing the earth with the plough in his field, the ploughshare drew out of it these plates.” This clearly shows that the plates were found at Bagumrā, and consequently we must, as was first pointed out by Prof. Kielhorn,<sup>1</sup> speak of them as Bagumrā, and not as Nausāri, charters of A D 915.

Each of the two sets consists of three copper-plates, which are, to judge from the impressions, about 13" long and 9" broad. The inscription is engraved on the inner sides of the first and third plates, and on both sides of the second plate. The engraving is clear and well executed. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. For some of the forms of individual letters attention may be drawn to *g* in *gatasya* and *svarggam*, l 13, to *ñ* in *lāñchhana*, l 8, and *rājñah*, l 13, to *m* in *°m=anyat=pu°*, l 17, *°m=ānandi*, l 37, and *grāmakūṭa*, l 46, to *bh* in *bhūpāh*, l 28, and to *s* in *santarpṇāṇā*, l 57, so far as the first record is concerned, and to *k* in *kānt-ēndu*, l 1, to *kh* in *śamkha*, l 29, to *g* in *saras-āmbhōjā*, l 5, and *jagati*, l 7, and to *bh* in *kaustubha*, l 2, so far as the second record is concerned. The language is Sanskrit throughout. In respect of orthography, the following points may be noticed. The letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, consonants are doubled after *r*, *visarga* has been (permissibly) omitted once before the following *sth* in *vaksha-sthala*, l 2 of both grants, *n* has been substituted for *ñ* in *kāñchh*, l 11 of No II, *visarga* followed by *s* has been at least thrice changed to that letter in *Ranavagrahas=samabhava°*, l 33, *°palakṣitas=sōḍramgah*, l 51, and *°lakṣhas=sōḍṛdhah*, l 55 of the second record, *anusūdra* followed by a nasal has been twice changed to that letter in *sammānita*, l 18 of No I and l 20 of No II, and in *gōp-ānganānān=nayana*, l 6 of No I, the dental nasal has been used instead of an *anusvāra* before *s* in *sānsati*, l 25 of No I and l 27 of No II. Lastly, the same word is spelt *lāñchhana* in No I l 8, but *lāncchhana* in No II l 9.

Each of these two records registers the grant of a village to a Brāhmana, made by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Indra III or, as he is described in lines 43-45 of No II, 'the P.M.P., the prosperous Nityavarshananarādēva, who meditated on the feet of the P.M.P., the prosperous Akālavarshadēva,' i.e. his grandfather Krishna II. Indra III had, when the grants were made, gone to Kurundaka from his capital Mānyakhēta for the *paṭṭabandha*<sup>2</sup> festival. On that occasion he had himself weighed against gold, and, without coming out from the pan, gave away, together with twenty lakhs and a half of *drammas*, Kurundaka and other villages, granted afresh four hundred villages resumed by previous rulers, and finally bestowed the village of Tonna, according to No II, on a Brāhmana of the Lakshmana *gōtra*, a student of the Vāṇi-Mādhyandina *sākhā*, and named Siddhapabbhatta, the son of Śrī-Vennapabbhatta, originally of Pātaliputra; and the village of Umvarā (or Umbarā), according to No. I, on a Brāhmana of the same *gōtra* and student of the same *sākhā* as the above grantee, but named Prabhākaraḥbhatta, the son of Rānapabbhatta. The charters are dated, in words, on the 7th tithi of the bright fortnight of Phālguna of the Yuva-samvatsara, the Śaka year 836 (expired), which corresponds to the 24th February A.D. 915.

After the introductory *ōm svasti* and the opening verse invoking the protection of Viṣṇu and Śiva with which almost all the Rāshtrakūṭa grants begin, we have verse 2 in praise of

<sup>1</sup> See above, Appendix to Vol VII p. 15, note 5.

<sup>2</sup> For the meaning of this word see above, Vol. VII p. 27, note 2.



the god Krishna. In the verse following we find Indiarājadeva (III), the royal grantor of the charters, compared to the god Upendra (Vishnu). In verse 4 we are informed that the god Brahman sprang from the water-lily in the navel of Vishnu, from Brahman his son Attri, from Attri the Moon, and from the Moon the dynasty of the Yadus, where Krishna was born. In the next verse we are told that there arose king Dantidurga in the Sātyaki branch of the Yadu dynasty, to whom of herself reposed the goddess of sovereignty of the Chālukya family. This means that Dantidurga was the first Rāshtrakūta king who defeated the Chālukyas and made himself master of their dominions. From verse 6, if we notice the *double entendre* clearly intended, we learn that Dantidurga first reduced the lowermost, i.e. southern, country, then turned his arms against the *Madhyadīpa*, and finally conquered the city of Kāñchi. According to an inscription in the Daśavatara cave at Elurā,<sup>1</sup> Dantidurga subdued the rulers of Kāñchi, Kalinga, Kōsala, Śīśaīla, Mālava, Lāta, Tanka, and so forth. If we are right in understanding verse 6 as we have done, Dantidurga first gained victories in the South and conquered the kings of Śīśaīla, Kalinga, and so forth, then turned to the central part of India and subjugated the princes of Kōsala, Mālava, Lāta, and so forth, and finally came back again to the South and vanquished the lord of Kāñchi.

Verse 8 tells us that after Dantidurga his paternal uncle Krishnarāja (I) came to the throne. The next verse makes mention of his son Nirupama(-Dhruva), but omits the name of his elder brother Govinda II, probably because the author of the inscription wanted to give a direct genealogy of the royal grantor, with reference to whom Govinda II was a collateral prince, while he mentioned the name of Dantidurga as the latter was the founder of the dynasty. But by no means can this omission be taken as favouring the view that Govinda II did not reign. I have elsewhere adduced reasons for dissenting from this view,<sup>2</sup> and in support of my position may now be stated the incontrovertible fact that the Dhulā copper-plate grant<sup>3</sup> of Govinda II's nephew and feudatory Suvarnavarsha-Kaaka distinctly refers itself to his reign, and gives the date Śaka 701, when we must consequently suppose Govinda II, to have been alive and wielding supremacy. Verse 10 informs us that Nirupama(-Dhruva) won two white parasols in battle, one from the lord of Kōsala and the other from the king of the North. Who these princes were we have no means to determine. But it looks tempting to identify the king of the North either with the Indrāyudha mentioned in the *Jama Harvamśa*, or with Chakrāyudha, the ruler of Kanauj and contemporary of Dharmapāla of the Pala, and of Govinda III. of the Rāshtrakūta, dynasty.<sup>4</sup>

Verse 11 says that from Nirupama(-Dhruva) sprang Jagattunga(-Govinda III), who, in his turn, beget Śrivallabha(-Amoghavarsha I). The next verse tells us that Amoghavarsha

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. V p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> *Journ. Bo. Br. R. A. S.* Vol. XV p. 133 f.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. VIII p. 183.

<sup>4</sup> In an unpublished grant of Amoghavarsha I in the possession of my brother Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar, two princes of the names of Chakrāyudha and Dharmā are mentioned as having gone to the Himalayas to do homage to Govinda III who had gone thither on an expedition of conquest. It can hardly be seriously doubted that Dharmā is Dharmapāla, the second prince of the Pala dynasty, and that Chakrāyudha is the same as the Chakrāyudha of the Bīlāgalpur grant, whom Dharmapāla restored to his lost throne. Prof. Kiehn (Nachrichten von der K. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, 1905, p. 303) has already identified this Chakrāyudha with the Chakrāyudha of the Gwalior inscription, who was conquered by Nāgabhatta. Nāgabhatta again was a contemporary of Govinda III (*Journ. Bo. Br. R. A. S.* Vol. XXI p. 422, note 2). We have thus four princes, viz. Govinda III, Nāgabhatta, Chakrāyudha and Dharmapāla, who were contemporaries. We know from Rāshtrakūta records that Govinda III reigned from A. D. 794 to 813. We must, therefore, suppose Dharmapāla to have flourished about this time. As this synchronism was not known before, it was but right to assign Dharmapāla to A. D. 801, the date of the Pāṭāli inscription referring itself to the reign of the Rāshtrakūta prince Parāśala (*Nachrichten von der K. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1901, p. 523 f.). But now we see that this date would be rather too late for Dharmapāla. Besides, there is nothing to show that this Parāśala is a matter of fact identical with Parāśala, the father-in-law of Dharmapāla.

I. raised the glory of the **Batta** sovereignty immersed in the ocean of the **Chalukyas** and thereafter assumed the epithet **Vīranārāyaṇa**. If we read between the lines, we cannot fail to notice that the **Rāshtrakūṭa** sovereignty had been shaken by the **Chalukyas** of **Vēṅgi** to its very foundations in the early part of **Amoghavaṣa**'s reign. The **Chalukya** contemporary of **Amoghavaṣa** I was **Narēṇḍiamrigarāja-Vijayāditya II**,<sup>1</sup> who, in an Eastern **Chalukya** record, is represented to have fought, during twelve years, by day and night, a hundred and eight battles with the armies of the **Gangas** and the **Rattas**. The latter can be no other than the **Rāshtrakūṭas** of **Mālkḥēd**, and it thus appears that **Narēṇḍiamrigarāja-Vijayāditya II** was a powerful king. We can, therefore, very well understand that he might have for a time eclipsed the glory of the **Rāshtrakūṭas**. **Amoghavaṣa** I, however, was by no means slow to retrieve his lost reputation, and seems to have wreaked a terrible vengeance upon the **Chalukyas**, whom, as verse 13 informs us, he destroyed, just as a man burns chick-pea plants, the stalks of which have been pulled out by the root. That he inflicted a severe defeat on the Eastern **Chalukyas** can also be seen from the **Cambay** and **Sāṅgī** charters,<sup>2</sup> in which he is said to have gratified the god **Yama** with unprecedented morsels of cakes which were the **Chalukyas**. Verse 13 incidentally gives us the information, if my interpretation is correct, that the **Chalukyas** whom **Amoghavaṣa** I vanquished had devastated **Stambapura**, which is the same as **Tamralūpta**, identified with the modern **Tamlūk**, the head-quarters of the subdivision of the same name of the **Midnapur** district, **Bengal**.

From **Śrīvallabha** (-**Amoghavaṣa** I), who was a comet of destruction to the **Chalukya** family (v 14), sprang **Kṛṣṇnarāja (II)**, whose fights with the **Gūjjaras** used to be still remembered by old men, as we are informed in verse 15. I have elsewhere pointed out that the **Gūjjaras**, with whom the **Rāshtrakūṭas** were often at war, ruled over Northern India and had their capital at **Mahōdaya** or **Kanauj**, and consequently the **Gūjjara** prince defeated by **Kṛṣṇnarāja II** (A D 888-911) must have been **Mahēndrapāla** (A D 899-907), the patron of the poet **Rājasēkhara**.

**Kṛṣṇnarāja II**, had a son of the name of **Jagattunga** (v 16), who married **Lakṣmī**, the daughter of **Ranavīgraha**, the son of **Kokkalla** of the **Hahaya**, i.e. **Kalachuri**, dynasty (vv 17-19). It is worthy of note that **Ranavīgraha** is here called **Chēdīśvara**, i.e. lord of **Chēdī**. The same fact is hinted by a verse in **Jahlana's Sūktamuktāvalī**, quoted by Dr. **Bhandarkar** in his paper on the **Karḥād** plates of **Kṛṣṇa III**,<sup>3</sup> which purports to say that of rivers the **Narmadā**, of kings **Ranavīgraha**, and of poets **Sūtananda** were the ornaments of **Chēdī**. The name **Ranavīgraha** does not occur in the list of the names of the **Kalachuris** of **Chēdī**. From a **Ratanpur** inscription,<sup>4</sup> however, we learn that **Kokkalla** had eighteen sons, of whom the first-born was a ruler of **Tripurā**, and the others lords of *mandalas*, i.e. minor chiefs. If this statement deserves any credence, **Ranavīgraha**, being a ruler of **Tripurā**, i.e. of **Chēdī**, and not of a *maṇḍala*, was the eldest son, and the successor of **Kokkalla**. But from the **Benares** copper-plate inscription<sup>5</sup> it appears that **Kokkalla** was followed by his son **Mugdhātunga-Prasiddhādihavala**. We may, therefore, suppose that **Ranavīgraha** and **Mugdhātunga-Prasiddhādihavala** were one and the same prince.

The issue of the marriage of **Jagattunga** with **Lakṣmī** was **Indrarāja (III)**, whose epithets **Ratta-Kandarpadēva** and **Śrī-Kīrti-Nārāyaṇa** are mentioned in verses 20 and 21. The next verse contains a *double entendre*, and so far as its mythological sense goes, it does not present any difficulty. But the historical sense of this verse is by no means clear. This much is certain that it records the defeat of a king of the name of **Upēndra** by the **Rāshtrakūṭa** prince **Indrarāja III**. But who this **Upēndra** was and how the epithets *kr̥ta-*

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX p. 100.<sup>2</sup> *Above*, Vol. IV p. 280.<sup>3</sup> *Above*, Vol. VII p. 43, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII p. 252 f.<sup>4</sup> *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I p. 38.<sup>5</sup> *Id.* Vol. II, p. 301.

*Gôvardhan-âdadhâra* and *hêl-ônmûlita-Mêru*, used in connection with the kings Upendra and Indrarâja respectively, are to be interpreted, is far from clear. At one time I thought that Upendra referred to Mahipâla of the Pratihâra dynasty of Mahôdâya, for whom I then contended that the Bhâgalpur grant of the Pâla dynasty gave the other name Chakrâyudha.<sup>1</sup> But I have stated above that, beyond all doubt, Dharmapâla and Chakrâyudha, whom he re-instated on the throne, were contemporaries of the Râshtrakûta prince Gôvinda III.<sup>2</sup> Chakrâyudha cannot, therefore, be identified with Mahipâla, who was a contemporary of Indra III., the great-great-grandson of Gôvinda III. According to Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji,<sup>3</sup> the word *Mêru* in the expression *hêl-ônmûlita-Mêru* signifies *Mêra* or *Mêhra*, and the whole expression speaks of the defeat of some contemporary Mêhra king of North Kâthiâwâd by Indrarâja III. Prof Kielhorn, on the other hand, holds that *Mêru* probably is Mahôdâya,<sup>4</sup> i.e. Kanauj, implying thereby that it records the capture of Kanauj by Indrarâja III. specified in the Singli charter. With regard to the other expression, viz. *krîta-Gôvardhan-âdadhâra*, no interpretation has been proposed, and we must wait for the publication of other inscriptions to enable us to understand perfectly the historical sense of this verse.

In the preamble of the prose passage preceding the formal part of the inscription, the P. M. P. *Śrīman-Nityavarshanaśrīndradêva*, i.e. Indrarâja III., is spoken of as "meditating on the feet" of the P. M. P. *Śrīmad-Akâlavarshadêva*, i.e. his grandfather Krishna II. This indicates that Jagattuṅga, the father of Indrarâja III., did not come to the throne. The same may be concluded from the statement of our inscriptions that the battles of Kṛṣṇarâja II were remembered and described by old men in Indra III.'s time. This shows that hardly a generation had passed since the occurrence of that event, and that consequently there was no Râshtrakûta sovereign intervening between Kṛṣṇa II. and Indra III. The same conclusion is pointed to by the fact that the Khârêpâtan grant of Rattarâja,<sup>5</sup> in setting forth the Râshtrakûta genealogy, takes the succession direct from Kṛṣṇa II to Indra III., and refers to Jagattuṅga only further on as the father of Amoghavarsha-Vaddiga. But our conclusion is placed beyond all doubt by the Dôlî and Karhâd plates of Krishna III.,<sup>6</sup> which distinctly speak of Jagattuṅga as having died without obtaining the sovereignty.

The composer of our inscriptions was Trivikramabhatta, the son of Nêmaditya. There can hardly be a doubt that he is identical with Trivikramabhatta, the author of the *Nalachampû*, of the Śândilya *gôtra*, and the son of Nêmaditya (*var lect Dêvâditya*).<sup>7</sup> Another *Śândilya-kavi-chakrasartin* Trivikrama was the sixth ancestor of the astronomer Bhâskarabhatta, a contemporary of king Bhôja of Dhârâ. The oldest mention of Trivikrama is in Bhôja's *Sarasvatikanthâbharana*, while he himself quotes Bâna. The authorship of a *Maddalâs-champû* is also attributed to this Trivikrama.

As regards the localities mentioned in the grants, Pâtâliputra from where the grantee of No. II emigrated is obviously Patnâ, the principal town of the district of the same name in Bengal, and Mânyakhêta, the capital of the royal grantor, is Mâlkhêd in the Nizam's Dominions. Kurundaka, where Indrarâja III. had repaired for his *paṭṭabandha*, was first identified by Mr. A. M. T. Jackson with Kurundwâd at the junction of the Krishna and Paichagangâ in the Southern Marâtha country.<sup>8</sup> In No. I the village granted is Umvarâ (or Umbarâ) near Kammanijja in the country of Lâta, and the boundaries specified are Tôlêjaka to E, Môgalikâ to S., Samki to W., and Javalakûpaka to N. Umvarâ as was first pointed

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. VII p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 26, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> *History of Gujardt*, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I Part I p. 130.

<sup>4</sup> See above, Appendix to Vol. VIII p. 16, note 2.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. III p. 238.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. IV p. 283, Vol. V p. 138.

<sup>7</sup> Weber, *Berlin Catalogue*, Vol. II p. 1205.

<sup>8</sup> *History of Gujardt*, p. 130, note 3.

out by Dr Bhandarkar, is the modern Bagumrā, with the prefix *bag*<sup>1</sup> Tōlējaka and Mōgahkā cannot be identified, but Samkī and Javalakūpaka are Sanki, one mile S W of Bagumrā, and Jolwa, one and a half mile N of Bagumrā. In No II the village granted is Tenna near Kammanijja, and the boundaries specified are Vāradapallikā (or Bārada) to E, Nāmbhitātaka to S, Valīśā (or Balīśā) to W, and Vavviyana (or Babbiyana) to N. They have been identified with Ten, Bārdoli, Nadida, Wanesa and Baben respectively. Kammanijja, in the vicinity of which lay both the villages granted, is Kāmrej. All these villages are to be found in the Nausāri division of the Baroda State. The Bagumrā grant of the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭa Dhruva II mentions Trennā, both as a village and a territorial division, and speaks of the village of Trennā as having been bestowed upon a certain Brāhmana by his grandfather Dhruva I (A D 834-35). "The explanation of its being given away again by the present record," as Dr Fleet has rightly said, "is, no doubt, to be found in the statement, made in the present record, that Indra III gave away four hundred villages which had been confiscated by previous kings, this was evidently one of them."<sup>2</sup>

TEXT<sup>3</sup> OF No I.

## First Plate

- 1 स्खि<sup>4</sup> [॥] स<sup>5</sup> वोव्याद्देधसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं । हरश्च यस्य  
कान्तेन्दुकलया कमलकृतम् ॥ [१\*] जयति<sup>6</sup>
- 2 विवुधवन्मुखि<sup>7</sup> च्विस्तारिवचस्थलविमलविलोलकौस्तुभः कंसकेतुः । सुखसरसिज-  
रङ्गे यस्य नृ-
- 3 त्यन्ति लक्ष्म्याः स्मरभरपरिताम्यत्तारकास्ते कटाक्षाः ॥ [२\*] स<sup>8</sup> जयति  
भुजदण्डसञ्चयश्रीः समर-
- 4 समुद्रतदुर्वारारिचक्रः । अपहृतवल्लिमण्डलो<sup>9</sup> नृसिंहः सततमुपेन्द्र इवेन्द्रराज-  
देवः ॥ [३\*]
- 5 अस्ति<sup>10</sup> श्रोनायनाभिस्फुरद्[र]सरसाश्वीजजम्बा स्वयंभू(1)स्तस्मादधिः सु-  
तोभृदमृतकरपरिस्थ-
- 6 न्द<sup>11</sup> इन्दुस्ततोपि । तस्माद्[शो] यदूनां जगति स ववृधे यस्य तैस्त्रैर्वि-  
लासैः शार्ङ्गि गोपाङ्गनानाङ्ग-
- 7 यनकुवलयैरर्च्यमानश्चचार ॥ [४\*] [त]न्नाम्ये<sup>12</sup> विततसात्यकिवंशजम्बा श्रौद-  
न्तिदुर्गाष्टप-
- 8 तिः पुरुषोत्तमोभूत् । चालुक्यवंशजलधेः<sup>13</sup> स्वयमेव लक्ष्मीर्यं शंखचक्र[कर]-  
लाञ्छन-

<sup>1</sup> Journ Bo Br R A S Vol XVIII p 256<sup>2</sup> Ind Ant Vol XXXI. p 396<sup>3</sup> From inked estampages supplied to me by Rai Bahadur Venkayya<sup>4</sup> The \* is not well formed<sup>5</sup> Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh)<sup>6</sup> Metre Mālini<sup>7</sup> Read विवुधवन्मुखि<sup>7</sup><sup>8</sup> Metre Pushpitāgrā<sup>9</sup> Read °वसि°<sup>10</sup> Metre Sragdharā<sup>11</sup> Read °परिस्थन्द<sup>12</sup> Metre. Vasantatilakā, and of the next verse.<sup>13</sup> Read °वश°,

- 9 साजगाम ॥ [५\*] क[त्वा]स्पदं हृदयहारिजघन्यभागे स्वीरं पुनर्मृदु  
च मध्यदे-  
10 शं [५\*] यस्यासमस्य [सम]रे वसुवाङ्गनायाः कांचीपदे प[द]मकारि  
भूयः । [६\*] आ' सितोः सातुव-  
11 प्रभवत्कपि[कुलो]मूनफुल[मव]ज्जादा [कौला]साङ्गवानोचलच[र]णरणा  
नादितान्तात् ।  
12 यस्याञ्चां भूमिपालाः करमुकुलमिल[म्बो]लिमालायमानमानम्वैरुत्तमाङ्गि-  
तललुट्ज्वा-  
13 नवो मानयन्ति ॥ [७\*] जित्वा' जगन्निजभुजे[न पु]नर्जिगीषोः स्वर्गं र्  
मिव तस्य गतस्य राज्ञः । तत्रा-  
14 भवत्परमधानि पदे पितृव्यः श्रीकृष्णराजपतिः प्रथितप्रतापः ॥ [८\*]  
कुन्दरीवदनचान्दनपत्र-  
15 भंगलीलाय[म]ानघनविस्तृतकान्तकीर्तिः । श्रीराष्ट्रकूटकुलगैलमलंकरिणो  
दभू-  
16 त्रिरुपमो निरवयवीर्यः ॥ [९\*] कीर्तिः<sup>4</sup> कुन्दरुचः<sup>5</sup> समस्तभुवनप्रस्थान  
सितो लक्ष्म्याः

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 17 लक्ष्म्याः<sup>6</sup> पाणितले विलासकमल पूर्णन्दुविम्बद्युति<sup>7</sup> । एकं कपितक्ते  
श्वरकरादाच्छिन्नमन्यत्पु-  
18 नयेनीदीचनराधिपाद्यश इव श्वेतातपत्र<sup>8</sup> रणे ॥ [१०\*] तस्माज्जिभे<sup>9</sup>  
कुगी जम्ब सन्धानि-  
19 त[द्विज]ः । सोपि श्रीवल्लभं सलुं राजराजमजीजनत् ॥ [११\*] नि-  
[य]श्चलुक्थायौ<sup>10</sup> रट्टराज्ययि-  
20 यं पुनः [१\*] पृथ्वीमिवोद्वरन्वीरी<sup>11</sup> वीरनारायणीभवत् ॥ [१२\*] समूलोन्मूर्ति  
स्तम्बान्दण्डनानी-<sup>12</sup>  
21 तकण्टकः । <sup>13</sup>योदहदेषिणश्चण्डचलुक्थाद्यणकानिव ॥ [१३\*] <sup>14</sup>[उच्चैश्चलु]क्थाद्य  
कन्दलकालके-

<sup>1</sup> Metre Sragdharā

<sup>2</sup> Read 'प्रवल'

<sup>3</sup> Metre Vasantatilakā; and of the next verse

<sup>4</sup> One of the two circles of the *visarga* has been omitted

<sup>5</sup> The repetition of this word is superfluous

<sup>6</sup> Corrected by the engraver from 'श्वेतातपत्र'

<sup>7</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh), and of the next two verses.

<sup>8</sup> 'वीरी' is also possible.

<sup>9</sup> Read 'साम्या'.

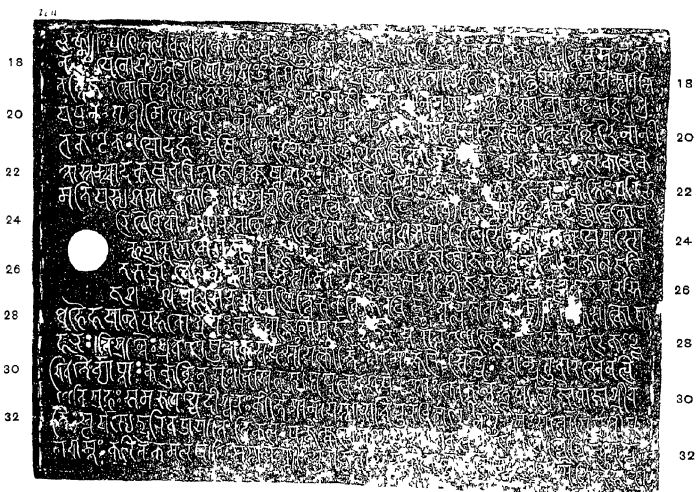
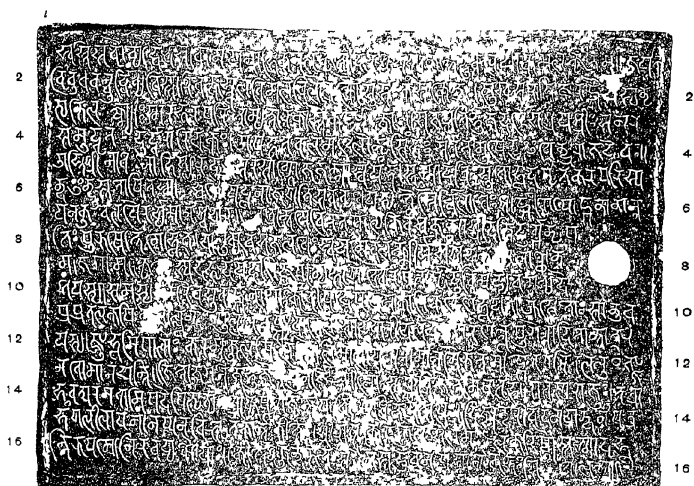
<sup>10</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>11</sup> Metre Śārdūlavikrīṭita.

<sup>12</sup> Read 'विष्'.

<sup>13</sup> Read 'स्वामी'.

<sup>14</sup> Read 'दहदेषि'.



34

36

38

40

42

44

46

48

34

36

38

40

42

44

46

48

223

50

52

54

56

58

60

62

64

50

52

54

56

58

60

62

64

- 22 तोस्तस्मादक्षयचरितोजनि क्षणराजः । पीतापि कर्णपुटकैर[स]क्लन्ने[न]  
कीर्त्तिः परिभ-  
23 मति यस्य शशाङ्कान्तिः ॥ [१४\*] 'उद्यद्दोधितिरत्नजालजटिलं व्याकृष्टमी-  
दृग्धनुः (i) क्रुद्धेनोप-  
24 रि वैरिवीरशिरसामेवं विमुक्ताः शराः । धारासारिणि से[न्द्र]चायवलये यस्ये-  
25 ल्य[म]न्दागमे<sup>१</sup> ग[र्ज]द्गुर्ज[र]सङ्करव्यतिकरं जीरणीं जनः श[न्स]ति<sup>२</sup> ॥ [१५\*]  
अजनि<sup>३</sup> जनि-  
26 तभङ्गो वैरिद्व[न्द]स्य तस्मादधरितमदनश्रीः श्रीजगत्सुग[दि]वः । ध्व[ज]सरसि-  
27 जशंस्रमोक्षसच्चक्रपाणिर्विभवविजितविष्णुर्वृक्षभो वीर[ल]क्ष्म्याः ॥ [१६\*] 'आ-  
सीत्कोप्य-  
28 य हैहयान्वयभवो भू[प]ः 'स[ह]स्रार्जुनो गर्जद्गु[र्ज]यरावणोर्जितलसद्दोर्हण्ड-  
कण्डू-  
29 हरः । विश्रान्तैः श्ववणेषु नाकसदसां यत्कीर्त्तिनामाक्षरैः सिद्धैः सान्द्रसुधा-  
रसेन लि-  
30 खितैर्व्याप्ताः ककुब्भित्तयः<sup>४</sup> ॥ [१७\*] वंशे तस्य सपन्नवंशपरशोः कोक्कलभूपा-  
त्मजो<sup>५</sup> राजा श्रीर-  
31 ण्विप्रह्वः समभवच्छेदीश्वरः कीर्त्तिमान् । यस्यारातिपुरं भ्रिमण्डनसुपः सर्वोपि  
पृथ्वीप-  
32 तिः सूर्यस्येन्दुरिव प्रयाति विकलः पक्षक्षये मण्डलम् ॥ [१८\*] 'सकलगुण-  
गणाञ्चेर्विष्णुरक्षा-<sup>६</sup>  
33 मधान्नः कलितकमलपाणिस्तस्य लक्ष्मीः सुताभूत् । यदुक्कलकुसुदेन्दुः  
सुन्दरीचित्तहारी  
*Second Plate, Second Side.*  
34 हरिरिव परिणिन्ये तां जगत्सुगदेवः ॥ [१९\*] चतुर्दधितटा[न्त]ख्यातश्रीर्यथै  
ताभ्यामभवदरि-  
35 घरदो रट्कन्दर्पादेवः । मनसि कृतनिवासः कान्तसीमन्तिनीनां सकल-  
जनशरण्यः पु-  
36 ष्यलावण्यराशिः ॥ [२०\*] <sup>११</sup>मदनममृतविन्दुस्यन्दमिन्दोश्च विव्वं<sup>१२</sup> नवनलिनमृणालं  
चन्दनं चन्द्रिकां

<sup>१</sup> Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>२</sup> Read मंसति.<sup>३</sup> Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita, and of the next verse.<sup>४</sup> The first *sa* is not well-formed and looks almost like *ta*.<sup>५</sup> The letter *ma* is not well-formed.<sup>६</sup> Read 'गणाञ्चेर्विष्णुरक्षा'.<sup>७</sup> Read 'सन्दागमे<sup>८</sup> Metre: Mālinī.<sup>९</sup> Read ककुब्भित्तयः.<sup>१०</sup> Metre: Mālinī; and of the next two verses.<sup>११</sup> Read 'विन्दु'.<sup>१२</sup> Read विव्वं.



- 37 च । अपरमपि यदीयैर्लक्ष्मिर्नर्मणैश्चैरणुभिरिव चकार स्पष्ट[म]ानन्दे वेधाः  
॥ [२१\*] देवो<sup>1</sup>
- 38 <sup>2</sup>यश्चतुरसुराशिरशनारोचिष्णुविश्वम्भरामाक्रामन्नजिविक्रमेण सम्भूत<sup>3</sup> श्रीकीर्ति-  
नारा-
- 39 यणः [१\*] श्रुत्वा जन्म यदीयमाकुलधियां जग्मुः स[मं] विधिषां दैन्यं  
वक्त्ररुचौ मनांसि च भ-
- 40 यं सेवांजलिं मौल्यः ॥ [२२\*] <sup>4</sup>कृतगोवर्द्धनोद्धारं [६]लोभ्यूलितमेवणा ।  
उपेन्द्र-
- 41 मिन्द्रराजेन जित्वा येन न विस्मितम् ॥ [२३\*] <sup>5</sup>सकलजननमस्यः सोय  
क[त्वा] नमस्या-
- 42 श्रुवनपतिरनेकान्देवभोगायहारान् । उपरि पर[श]रामस्त्वैकुग्रामदान-
- 43 स्फुरितगुणगरम्भस्त्रागकीर्त्या वभूव<sup>6</sup> ॥ [२४\*] स च परमभट्टारकमहाराजा-  
धिराजपरमेश्वर-
- 44 रश्मिदकालवर्षदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-
- 45 श्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीवल्लभश्रीमन्त्रित्यवर्षनरेन्द्रदेवः कुशली सर्वानेव यथासंवध्य<sup>7</sup>
- 46 <sup>8</sup>मानाद्राष्ट्रपतिविषयपतिग्रामकूटयुक्तकानियुक्तकाधिकारिकमहत्तरादी-
- 47 श्ममादिशत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा श्रीमान्यखेटराजधानीनिवेशिना श्रीप-
- 48 द्दवन्धाय<sup>9</sup> कुरुन्दकमागतेन मया मातापितृरालनश्चैष्टिकामुष्मिकपुख-

*Third Plate.*

- 49 यशोभिहृदये (i) लक्ष्मणगोत्राय वाजिमाध्यन्दिनसन्नप्राचारिणे<sup>10</sup> राणपभट्टसुताय
- 50 प्रभाकरभट्टाय लाटदेशान्तर्गतकम्पणिल्लसमीपे उस्वरानामग्रामः यस्य पृ-
- 51 व्यंतः तोलेजकं दक्षिणतो भोगलिका पश्चिमतः संकीग्राम उत्तर[ती]  
जवलकूपकमे-
- 52 वमाघाटचतुष्टयोपलक्षितः सीद्वंगः सपरिकरः सदण्डदशा[प]राधः सोत्पद्यमान-
- 53 षिष्टिकः<sup>11</sup> सधान्यहिरण्यादेयोभ्यन्तरसि[द्धा] पूर्वदेवव्रजदायरहितः<sup>12</sup> शकनृप-  
काला-
- 54 तीत[सं]वत्सरशतेव्वष्टासु<sup>13</sup> षट्चिंशदुत्तरेषु [यु]वसंवत्सरफाल्गुनशुद्धसप्तम्यां संपन्ने

<sup>1</sup> Metre Śārdūlavikrīṭita

<sup>2</sup> Read °रन्नु°

<sup>3</sup> Read सम्भूती°

<sup>4</sup> Metre Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh)

<sup>5</sup> Metre Māhni

<sup>6</sup> Read वभूव.

<sup>7</sup> Read °संवध्य°

<sup>8</sup> This end appears to have been first inadvertently omitted and then engraved quite close to the rim

<sup>9</sup> Read °वन्धाय

<sup>10</sup> Read °सन्नप्रा°

<sup>11</sup> Read °षिष्टिकः.

<sup>12</sup> Read °व्रज°.

<sup>13</sup> The inner stroke of ८५ in ८५८ is wanting

- 55 श्रीपट्टवन्धोत्पदे<sup>1</sup> तुष्ठापुरुषमास्त्र तस्मादनुत्तरता च कुसुन्दकादीन्यामान्  
 56 अन्यान्यपि<sup>2</sup> पूर्व्वष्ट्वीपालवि[लु]प्तानि चत्वारि ग्रामशतानि विंशतिद्रुम-  
 लक्षैस्सा-  
 57 ह्यैः सह विप्रेभ्यो विसृज्य<sup>3</sup> वल्लिचरुवैधदेवाग्निहोत्रातिथि[सं]तर्पणार्थम(र)-  
 58 द्योदकातिसर्गेण दत्तोऽस्योचितया<sup>4</sup> ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या भुंजतो [भो]जयतः कृषतः  
 59 कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वान्यस्मै न केनचिदस्यापि परिपथना कार्या [।\*] तथा-  
 गामिभिरस्म-  
 60 ह्यंशैरन्यैर्वा सामान्यं भूमिदानफलमवेत्य स्वदायनिर्व्विशेषोयमस्मद्ब्रह्मदायो-  
 नुमन्त-<sup>5</sup>  
 61 व्यः [।\*] यथाज्ञानाज्ञोपयति स पंचभिर्माहापातकैः संयुक्तः स्यादुक्तं च  
 भगवता व्यासेन ॥ ष-  
 62 टि<sup>7</sup> वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च  
 तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ [२५\*] सा-  
 63 मान्योय<sup>8</sup> धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्वानेतान्मा-  
 विनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्  
 64 भूयो भूयो [य]ाचते रामभद्रः ॥ [२६\*] श्रीचिविक्रमभट्टेन नेमादित्यस्य  
 स्रुतना कृता प्रशस्तोय श्री [॥\*]

## TEXT OF No. II.

## First Plate.

- 1 श्री स्वस्ति । स वीर्याहेधसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं । हरश्च यस्य  
 [का]न्तेन्दुकलया कम-  
 2 लकृतम् ॥ [१\*] जयति<sup>10</sup> विबुधवन्धुर्व्विन्ध्यविस्तारिवचस्थलविमलविलोलक्ली-  
 स्तुभः कंस-  
 3 तुः<sup>11</sup> । सुखसरसिजरङ्गे यस्य नृत्यंति लक्ष्म्याः स्म[र]भरपरिताम्यत्तारकास्ते  
 कटा-  
 4 स्ताः ॥ [२\*] स जयति भुजदण्डसंश्रयथीः समरसमुद्भुत[दु]र्हरारिचक्रः ।  
 अपहृतवल्लिम-<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read °बन्धोत्पदे<sup>4</sup> Read ब्रह्म°<sup>6</sup> Read °आदब्रह्म°<sup>7</sup> Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh); this verse was left incomplete for want of space<sup>10</sup> Read विबुधवन्धु°<sup>2</sup> Read °मानन्यान्यपि<sup>6</sup> Corrected by the engraver from °होयै°.<sup>7</sup> Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh)<sup>11</sup> Read कसकेतु<sup>3</sup> Read बलि°<sup>8</sup> Metre. Śālini.<sup>12</sup> Read °बलि°.

- 5 ण्डलो नृसिंहः सततमुपेन्द्र इवेन्द्रराजदेवः ॥ [३\*] अस्ति श्रीनाथनाभि-  
स्फुरदुत्तरसर्माजीज(१)-
- 6 जन्मा [ख]यभूस्तस्मादभिः सुतोभूदमृतकरपरिस्पन्द<sup>१</sup> इन्दुस्ततोपि । त[स्मा]-  
हंशो यदूनां
- 7 जगति स वदधे यत्र तैस्तैर्विलासैः शार्ङ्गी गोपाङ्ग[नानां] नयनकु-  
वलयै-
- 8 रर्चमानश्चचार ॥ [४\*] तत्रान्वये विततसात्यकिवंशजन्मा श्रीदन्तिदुर्ग-  
नृपतिः
- 9 पुरुषोत्तमीभूत् । चालुक्यवंशजलधेः स्वयमेव लक्ष्मीयं शं[ख]चक्रकरलाङ्क-
- 10 न[म]जगाम ॥ [५\*] कल्पास्पदं हृदयहारिजवन्द्यदेशे स्वरं पुनर्हृदु विमर्द्य  
च मध्यदेश ।
- 11 यस्यासम[स्य] समरे वसुधाङ्गनायाः <sup>२</sup>काचचीपदे पदमकारि करिण भूयः  
॥ [६\*] आ सेतोः सा-
- 12 <sup>३</sup>नुवप्रप्रवलकपिकु[लो]लूनफुल्लवङ्गादा <sup>४</sup>कैलासाङ्ग[वा]नीचलचरणरणपुरी-
- 13 द्वादिदान्तात् । यस्यान्नां भूमिष्वाज्ञाः करसुकुलमिलसौ[लि]मालायमा-  
नामानमैव-
- 14 त्माङ्गैरवनितलसुठज्जानवी मानयन्ति ॥ [७\*] जिला जगन्निजभुजेन पुनर्जि-  
गीषोः स्वर्ग
- 15 विजितुमिव तस्य गतस्य राज्ञः । (१) तत्राभवत्परमधात्रि पदे पितृव्यः  
श्रीकृष्णराजनृप-
- 16 तिः प्रथितप्रतापः ॥ [८\*] दिक्सुन्दरोवदनचान्दनपत्रभंगलीलायमानवनविस्तृत-  
[का]न्तकी-

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 17 तैः [१\*] श्रीराष्ट्रकूटकुलशैलमलंकरिणोस्तस्मादभून्निरूपसो विहवयशैर्यः  
॥ [२\*] कीर्तैः कु-
- 18 न्दरुचः समस्तभुवनप्रस्थानकुम्भः सितो लक्ष्म्याः पाणितले विनासकमलं पूर्ण-
- 19 न्दुविस्वद्युति<sup>१</sup> । एकं कपितकोसलीचरकरादाच्छिन्नमन्यत्पु[न]र्जिगीदीधनरा-  
धिपाय-
- 20 य इव ज्ञेतातपचं रणे ॥ [१०\*] तस्मात्तेभ्यो जगत्सुज्ञो जन्म सप्तानि-  
तद्विजः । सोपि श्रीवत्स-

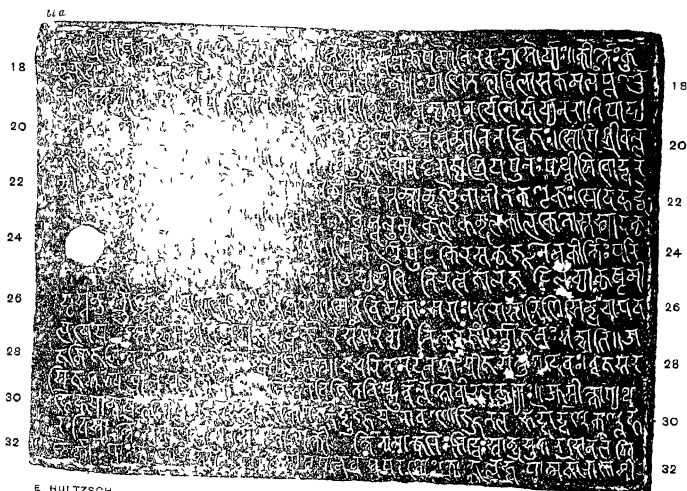
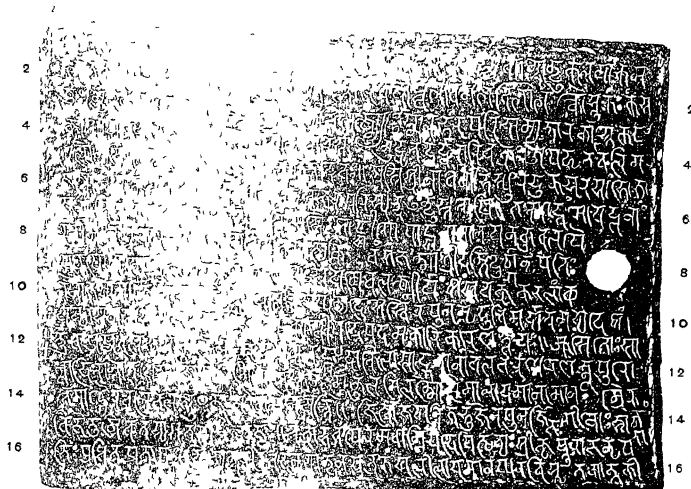
<sup>१</sup> Read 'परिस्पन्द'.

<sup>२</sup> Read 'हवाणी'.

<sup>३</sup> Read 'काची'.

<sup>४</sup> Read 'विन्द'.

<sup>५</sup> Read 'प्रवत्'.



- 36 हरिरिव परिणिन्धे तां जगत्सुदेवः ॥ [१८\*] चतुर्दधितटान्तव्यातश्रौर्था<sup>३</sup>  
ताभ्याम[भ]व-
- 37 दरिघरट्टो रट्टकन्दर्पदेवः । मनसि कृतनिवासः कान्तसीमन्तिनीनां 'सवाल-  
जनशरणः पु-
- 38 खलावखराभिः ॥ [२०\*] देवो 'यश्चतुरसुराशिरशनारोचिष्णुविश्वभरामाक्रा-  
मन्निजविक्रमेण स-
- 39 मभूत् श्रीकीर्तिनारायणः । श्रुत्वा जन्म यदीयमाकुलधियां जग्मुः समं  
विहिषां
- 40 दैन्यं वक्ररुचो मनांसि च भयं सेवांजलिं मौल्यः ॥ [२१\*] कृतगो-  
वर्षनीहारं हेलो-
- 41 न्यूलितमेरुणा [\*] उपेन्द्रमिन्द्रराजेन जित्वा येन न विस्मितम् ॥ [२२\*]  
सकलजनममस्यः<sup>४</sup>
- 42 सोय कृत्वा नमस्यान्भुवनपतिरनेकान्देवभोगाद्यहाराना<sup>५</sup> उपरि परशुरामसैक-
- 43 कुग्रामदानस्फुरितगुणगरिभ्यस्त्वागकीर्त्या बभूव<sup>६</sup> ॥ [२३\*] स च परमभट्टारक-  
महाराजाधिराज-
- 44 परमेश्वरश्रीमदकालवर्षदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-
- 45 श्रीमन्नित्यवर्षनरेन्द्रदेवः कुशलो सर्वांनिव 'यथासवध्यमानकादाद्रपतिविषयपति-  
ग्राम-
- 46 कूटयुक्तकनियुक्तकाधिकारिकमहत्तरादीन्समादिशत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा  
श्रीमान्य-
- 47 खेटराजधानीनिवेशिना श्रीपट्टवन्धोत्सवाय<sup>७</sup> कुरुन्दकमागतेन मया माता-  
पित्रोरात्म-
- 48 नयैहिकास्तुभिरपुण्ययथोभिवृद्धये (i) लक्ष्मणसगोत्राय वाजिमाध्यन्दिनसन्नप्राचा<sup>८</sup>

Thrd Plate.

- 49 रिणे पाटलिपुत्रविनिर्गत[श्रीवेङ्क]पभट्टसुताय सिद्धपभट्टाय लाटदेशान्तर्गत-  
कमण्डिका-
- 50 समीपे तेजनामग्रामः [\*] यस्य पूर्वतो वारडपञ्जिका [\*] दक्षिणतो  
नाभोतटकं [\*] पश्चिमतो वली-

<sup>१</sup> Read सकल

<sup>४</sup> Read 'जननमस्य'.

<sup>५</sup> Read 'संनध्य'.

<sup>३</sup> Read 'रसु'.

<sup>६</sup> Read 'हरान्'.

<sup>७</sup> Read 'वन्धो'.

<sup>८</sup> Read समस्तश्री.

<sup>९</sup> Read वभूव

<sup>१०</sup> Read 'सन्नप्रा'.

- 51 शा [1\*] उत्तरतो वव्वियणग्रामः [1\*] एवमा[घा]टचतुष्टयोपलचितसोद्वंगः  
सपरिकर[ः] सदण्ड-
- 52 दशापराधः सोत्यद्यमानविष्टिकः सधान्यहि[र]ख्या[हे\*]योभ्यन्तरसिद्धा शकनृप-  
कालातीतसंवत्सर-
- 53 शतेवष्टासु षट्त्रिंशदुत्तरिषु युवसंवत्सरफाल्गुनशुद्धसप्तम्यां संपन्ने औपष्टवन्धोत्स-<sup>1</sup>
- 54 वे तुलापुरुषमारुह्य तस्मादनुत्तरता च कुरुन्दकादीन् ग्रामानन्यान्यपि पूर्व-  
दृष्टोपासवि-
- 55 लुप्तानि चत्वारि ग्रामशतानि विंशतिद्रुमलक्षैस्सार्धैः सह विमुच्य 'वलि-  
चरुवैश्वदेवाग्नि-
- 56 होत्रातिथिसंतर्पणार्थम(१)द्योदकातिसर्गेण दत्तोस्योचितया 'ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या
- 57 भुञ्जतो भोजयतः कृषतः कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वान्यस्मै न केनचिदल्पापि  
परि-
- 58 पय्यना कार्या [1\*] तथागामिभिर्भद्रनृपतिभिरस्मदंशैरन्यैर्व्या सामान्यं  
भूमिदानफल-
- 59 मवेत्य स्वदायनिर्विशेषीयम[स्म]द्वद्भ्रदायोनुमन्तव्यः<sup>4</sup> [1\*] यश्चाज्ञानाज्ञोपयति  
स पंचभिर्मेघा-
- 60 पातकैः संयुक्तः स्यादु[क्तं] च भगवता व्यासेन । षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे  
तिष्ठति भूमिदः [1\*] आ[च्छे]-
- 61 त्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरकौ वसेत् ॥ [२४\*] अ[ग्ने]रपत्यं पथम<sup>5</sup>  
सुवर्णं भूर्व्वेणवी सूर्यसुताश्च [गा]-
- 62 वः [1\*] लोकत्रयं तेन भवेद्भि दत्तं यः कांचनं गां च महीं च दद्यात् ॥  
[२५\*] सामान्यो[यं] धर्मसेतुर्दृष्टपाणां
- 63 कालि कालि पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्वानिताम्नाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो  
याचते रामभद्रः ॥ [२६\*]
- 64 औचितिविक्रमभटेन [त्रि]मादित्यस्य सनुना । कृता शस्ता प्रशस्तियमिन्द्रराजां-  
त्रिसेविना ॥ [२७\*] औः [1\*]

## TRANSLATION OF No. II.

Om. Hail!

(Verse 1) May he (Vishnu), the water-lily (*springing from*) whose navel was made (*his*)  
abode by Vêdhas (Brahman), protect you, and Hara (Śiva) whose head is adorned by the beauti-  
ful crescent of the moon<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read 'वन्धो'.<sup>4</sup> Read 'अरुन्नर'.<sup>2</sup> Read वलि°.<sup>5</sup> Read प्रथम°.<sup>3</sup> Read ब्रह्म°

(V 2) Victorious is (Krishna) (*who is*) the comet (*of destruction*) to Kamsa (*and is*) the friend of the gods, on whose chest, extensive as the Vindhya (*mountain*), dangles the pure Kaustubha, (*and*) on the stigma of whose lotus like face dance the side-glances of Lakshmi, with the pupils (*of her eyes*) languid through excess of love<sup>1</sup>

(V 3) E 1 victorious is the king Indraraja (III), whose long arms (*were made her*) refuge by the goddess of Wealth, who has rooted out in battles the circle of (*his*) enemies difficult to withstand, who has seized the territories of the mighty, (*and who is*) the lion (*i.e.* the best) among men, just as Upendha (Vishnu) is ever victorious, whose long arms (*were made her*) support by (*the goddess*) Lakshmi, who held up in battles (*his*) discus bearing spokes and difficult to resist, who carried off Bah and (*his*) legions (*to Padula*), (*and who was*) a man-lion (*in his fourth incarnation*)

(V 4) The self-existent (Brahman) was born of the wide and blooming water-lily springing from the navel of (Vishnu) the lord of SRI, of him was born (*his*) son Atin, (*and*) of him again (*i.e.* of Atin) the Moon that overflows with rays of nectar. From him there grew on earth the lineage of the Yadus, amongst whom (*at one time*) flourished (Vishnu) the wielder of the Śaraṇa (*bow*) (*in his eighth incarnation as Krishna*), who was worshipped by the lotus-eyes of cowherdresses with every kind of flattery.

(V 5) In that family there arose the illustrious king Dantidurga, born in the great Satyaki branch the best of men, whose hand (*born*) the (*auspicious*) marks of the conch and discus (*and*) to whom of herself came the goddess of wealth of the Chālukya family, just as (*in that family*) there was Prushōtama (Krishna), who prolonged the line of Sātyaki,<sup>1</sup> who held the conch and discus in (*his*) hands as (*his peculiar*) characteristics, (*and*) to whom of herself came (*the goddess*) Lakshmi from the ocean

(V 6) The hand (*i.e.* the prowess) of this (*prince*), matchless in battle, having (*first*) established itself on the beautiful lowermost region of the earth, and having again overcome in a gentle manner at its own will the central region (*Madhyaśaṣa*), again established itself in the province of Kañchi, just as the hand (*of a lotus*), after (*first*) establishing itself on the hips of a woman attractive to the hunt, and pressing again gently at its will (*her*) waist, again establishes itself on the region (*below the waist*) where the girdle (*is worn*)

(V 7) His orders, forming a wreath on (*their*) crests with which came in contact (*their*) hands (*joined*) like buds (*all*) kings respect with (*their*) heads slightly bent (*and*) with (*their*) knees rolling about on the surface of the earth, from Sēta (Rāmsvāyam), where the blossoming *larinya* (trees) are destroyed on the declivities of mountain-tops by hosts of powerful monkeys, as far as the Kailāsa (*mountain*), the outskirts of which resound with the jingling anklets on the moving feet of Bhairavi

(V 8) When that king, after conquering the world by his own arm, had gone to heaven as if to conquer (*it*), being desirous of a fresh victory,—(*his*) paternal uncle, the illustrious king Krishnarāja (I), of well-known prowess, occupied his position of supreme majesty

(V 9) Nirupama, of spotless valour, sprang from that (*king*), whose fame, solid, extensive and bright, diverted itself in the form of the lines of sandal-painting on the faces of the beauties, (*was*) the quarters, (*and*) who adorned the mountain (*consisting of*) the family of the glorious Rāshtrakūtas.

(V 10) From the hand of the trembling lord of the Kōśalas was snatched away by him in battle one white (*regal*) parasol, which was the white (*auspicious*) water-pitcher for the setting out of (*his*) fame, bright as the kunda (flower), on a journey over the whole world, (*and*) which

<sup>1</sup> "Patr of Yuyudhāna (a warrior in the Pāṇḍu army who acted as the charioteer of Kṛṣṇa and belonged to the Vṛṣṇi family)." — Monier-Williams' Dictionary.

was the toy-lotus, resplendent as the disc of the full moon, on the palm of the hand of Lakshmi, another again (*was snatched away by him*) from the king of the northern (*country*) as if it were (*his*) glory

(V 11) From him obtained birth Jagattunga, who honoured the twice-born, he in his turn begat as son the king of kings Śrivalabha

(V 12) This (*prince*), possessed of fortitude, on raising again the glory of the Ratta kingdom, drowned in the ocean of the Chalukyas, became (*as* assumed the epithet of) Viranārāyaṇa, just as (Vishnu), again uplifting the earth, drowned in the ocean, became Viranārāyaṇa (*as* the heroic Nārāyaṇa)

(V 13) Having, by means of punishment, put down obnoxious persons, he destroyed the fiery Chalukyas, (*his*) enemies, who had completely devastated (*the city of*) Stamba,<sup>1</sup> just as (*a gardenener*), after removing the thorns by means of a stick, burns chick-peas, the stalks of which have been plucked out with the roots

(V 14) From him, who was the comet of destruction to the plantain tree, (*was*) the high family of the Chalukyas, was born Krishnarāja (II), of spotless life, whose fame, bright as the moon, wanders about, though constantly drunk by the people by means of the cavities of (*then*) ears

(V 15) On the advent of clouds, when there is a heavy downpour of rain (*and*) when the circular rainbow (*appears in the sky*), the old men thus describe the event of his fight with the roaring Gūṛjara —“Thus did (*he*) in anger draw (*his*) bow, studded with a series of gems darting forth rays, thus did (*he*) discharge arrows at the heads of the warriors of (*his*) enemy”

(V 16) From him was born the illustrious Jagattungadēva, who caused the destruction of the multitude of (*his*) enemies, who surpassed the beauty of Madana, who was the beloved of the goddess of Heroism, (*the palm of each of*) whose hands (*bore the auspicious sign of*) a discus shining by means of (*the marks of*) a banner, a lotus and a conch, (*and*) who (*thus*) by (*his*) greatness excelled Vishnu

(V 17) There was a king (*named*) Sahasrārjuna, sprung from the Haihaya lineage, who relieved the itching sensation<sup>2</sup> of the powerful and shining long arms of the roaring and invincible Ravana, (*and*) the letters (*setting forth*) whose fame and name, finding a resting-place in the ears of the gods, (*and*) written by the Siddhas with the dense fluid of nectar, covered the walls of the quarters

(V 18) In the dynasty of him who was an axe to the families of (*his*) enemies, there arose the renowned illustrious king Ranavīgraha, the son of king Kokkalla (*and*) the lord of Chēdi, into whose circle (*of feudatory princes*), pilferer as he was of the ornaments of the wives of (*his*) enemies, entered every enfeebled lord of the earth on the destruction of (*his*) partisans, just as the moon, destitute of (*all*) the digits, enters the disc of the sun at the end of the (*dark*) fortnight

(V 19) From him who was the receptacle of a collection of all virtues (*and*) the abode of resplendent majesty, there was born a daughter (*named*) Lakshmi, possessed of lotus like hands, [just as from the ocean, which is the abode (*of the sun*) of intensely gleaming rays, there sprang Lakshmi, possessed of a lotus in (*her*) hand], Jagattungadēva, the moon to the night-lotus of the Yadu race (*and*) the ravisher of the hearts of beautiful women, married her (*was*) Lakshmi, the daughter of Ranavīgraha, just as Hari, the moon to the night-lotus of the Yadu race (*and*) the ravisher of the hearts of beautiful women, married her (*was*) the goddess Lakshmi

<sup>1</sup> The same as Tāmralipta, i.e. Tamrāk, see p 27 above.

<sup>2</sup> [Compare *Śiṣṇupāṇḍava*, I. 48.]



(V. 20) From these two sprang **Raṭṭa-Kandarpadēva**, whose bravery was known as far as the shores of the four oceans, who was a grinding-stone to (*his*) enemies, who dwelt in the hearts of beautiful women, who was a refuge to all men, (*and*) who was a store of merit and beauty, [just as from (Hari and Lakshmi) sprang the god Kandaipa (*i.e.* Cupid), whose prowess is known as far as the shores of the four oceans, who is a grinding-stone to (*his*) enemies, who abides in the minds of beautiful women, who is a refuge to all persons, (*and*) who is a store of heavenly beauty]

(V. 21.) This king, overrunning, by means of his own valour, the earth shining with the girdle of the four oceans, became (*i.e.* was known as) **Śrī-Kīrti-Nārāyaṇa**, just as the god (Vishnu), covering, with his stride, the earth shining with the girdle of the four oceans, was known as **Śrī-Kīrti-Nārāyaṇa**, on hearing of whose birth, the lustre of the faces, the minds, and the heads of (*his*) enemies, whose understanding was bewildered, simultaneously experienced dejection, fear, and the cavity of the hands folded (*as a mark of*) servitude

(V. 22) This **Indrarāja (III)**, having uprooted **Mēru** (Mahōdaya?) with ease, was not puffed up with pride at (*his*) defeating (*king*) **Upēndra** who had saved **Gōvardhana**, just as the god Indra, who uprooted (*Mount*) **Mēru** with ease, was not puffed up with pride at (*his*) vanquishing (*the god*) **Upēndra** (Krishna) who had uplifted <sup>1</sup> the **Gōvardhana** (*mountain*)<sup>1</sup>

(V. 23) This lord of the earth, entitled to obeisance from all men, on founding many endowments to temples and *agrahāras* (to Brāhmanas), to be respected (*by all*), became, in point of fame for charity, superior to **Paraśurāma**, the greatness of whose merits shone by the gift of a single insignificant village.<sup>2</sup>

(Lil. 43-56) And he, the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārāḍādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the prosperous **Nityavarshaṇarēndradēva**, who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārāḍādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the prosperous **Akālavarshadēva**, being well, commands all the lords of provinces (*rāshṭra*), lords of districts (*viśaya*), chiefs of villages, leading persons, officials, employes, functionaries, *etc.*, according as they are concerned —

"Be it known to you that by Me, who resides at the capital of **Mānyakhēta** (*and*) who has come to **Kurundaka** for the glorious festival of the binding of the fillet,—for the enhancement of the religious merit and fame, in this world and the next, of (*My*) parents and Myself—with heartfelt devotion—eight centuries of years increased by thirty-six having elapsed since the time of the **Saka** king, on the seventh (*tithi*) of the bright (fortnight) of **Phālguna** in the **Yuva-samvatsara**—having, on the completion of the glorious festival of the binding of the fillet, ascended the **Tulāpurusha**,<sup>3</sup> and having, without coming down from the pan, given away, together with twenty lakhs and a half of *drammas*, **Kurundaka** and other villages, and four hundred villages besides, that had been confiscated by previous kings,—was bestowed to-day, by pouring water from the hand, for the sake of the *Bali*, *Charu*, *Vasavadēva*, *Agnihōtra* and *Atthasantarpana*,—upon **Siddhapabbatta**, of the **Lakshmana gōtra**, a student of the **Vāy-Mādhyaṇḍina** (*sākhā*), (*and*) the son of **Śrī-Vennapabbatta** who had come from **Pāṭaliputra**,—the village of the name of **Tenna** in the vicinity of **Kammanujja** situated in the country of **Lāṭa**, defined by the four boundaries, *viz* to the east **Vāraḍapallikā**, to the south **Nāmbhittataka**, to the west **Valiśā**, (*and*) to the north the village of **Vavviyana**,<sup>4</sup> together with the royal share,

<sup>1</sup> There can hardly be a doubt that this verse is intended to yield two meanings, one mythological and the other historical. The first is clear, but the historical sense is by no means evident, see above, p. 27 f

<sup>2</sup> There is here a play on the word *ku*, which means both 'the earth' and 'insignificant'

<sup>3</sup> "Gift of gold, *etc.*, equal to a man's weight"—Monier-Williams' *Dictionary*

<sup>4</sup> According to No. I 1 49 ff.—"upon **Prabhākara**bhatta, of the **Lakshmana gōtra**, a student of the **Vāy-Mādhyaṇḍina** (*sākhā*), and the son of **Rānapabbatta**,—the village of the name of **Umarvā** in the vicinity of **Kammanujja** situated in the country of **Lāṭa**, defined by the four boundaries, *viz* to the east **Tolēyaka**, to the south **Mōgahikā**, to the west the village of **Samki**, (*and*) to the north **Javalakūpaka**"

with the appurtenances, with (*the proceeds of the punishments for*) faults and the ten offences, with (*the right to*) forced labour as it arises, with the assessment in grain and gold

(Ll 56-59) "No hindrance should in the slightest degree be caused by any one to him while enjoying (*this village*), allowing (*others*) to enjoy (*it*), cultivating (*it*), causing (*it*) to be cultivated, or assigning (*it*) to another, in accordance with the manner of a gift to a Brâhmana. Likewise, this My gift to a Brâhmana should be assented to, just as if it were then own gift, by the good kings of the future, whether My descendants or others, bearing in mind that the fruit of a gift of land is common (*both to the grantor and to the preserver*) "

[L 59 f and vv 24-26 contain the usual admonitions to future rulers.]

(V. 27.) This praiseworthy panegyric<sup>1</sup> was composed by the illustrious Trivikramabhatta, the son of Nêmaditya (and) serving the feet of Indrarâja

## NO. 5 — RAGHOLI PLATES OF JAYAVARDHANA II

By HIRA LAL, B A, M R A S, NAGPUR

These plates were kindly sent to me by Mr C E Low, I C S, Deputy Commissioner of the Bâlaghat district, Central Provinces. They were found in the village Ragholi belonging to the Sâletekri Zamindâri, now under the Court of Wards and included in the Baihar tahsil of that district, by a cultivator while ploughing the field. There are three copper-plates, of which the second and third bear writing on both sides, the third plate has only two lines on the reverse side. The plates are broader in the middle than at the top or at the bottom. At the broadest part they measure nearly  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches, and the average height is  $5\frac{1}{2}$ " They are held together by a circular ring,  $2\frac{1}{8}$ " in diameter, which is somewhat thicker and rugged at the place where the two ends are soldered together. A circular seal with tasselled borders is attached to the ring and was put on it before the ends of the ring were soldered together. The seal has in two lines the legend *Śrī-Jayavardhanaâdevasya*, which is enclosed by ornamental circles running round the bottom of the tassels. The ring was cut and resoldered by Rai Bahadur V Venkayya, who kindly took for me the impressions which are reproduced on the accompanying Plate. The copper-plates were found when Mr Low was writing the *Gazetteer of the Bâlaghat District*, in which an extract from my translation has already appeared.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, written in characters belonging to the northern class of alphabets. The average size of the letters is about  $\frac{1}{4}$ " They are badly formed and somewhat difficult to read. The first 20 lines of the inscription (excepting the opening words *Om svasti Śrīvardhanapurât*) and again lines 35 to 45 are in verse. The rest is Sanskrit prose. Final forms of *t* occur in lines 1 and 38, and one of *m* in line 45. The letter *b* is not distinguished from *v*. A notable orthographical peculiarity occurs in lines 32 f and 40 f, where we find *mv* written for *m* in *tâmva* and *kamva*. On the other hand *b* is omitted in *kufumina* (l 24) for *kufumbina*, but regularly expressed by *v* in *dalâmva* (l 41). The letters with a *rêpha* at the top sometimes assume a very peculiar shape such as in *sarva* (l 25) and *varsha* (l 37). At other places they have the usual form, as in *sarva* (l 29). There is also a tendency to change the final forms of nasals into *anusvâra* in contravention of the accepted grammatical rules, as in *pramukhâm* (l 24) and *purushâm* (l 25). The *ka* of *kamva* in line 40 f has a peculiar form and differs from other *kas* occurring in the inscription.

<sup>1</sup> The word *prastâvâ* is here evidently used in the same sense as *prastâvâ*.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village Khaddikā in the Katēraka district (l. 23) to a temple of the Sun god at Chattuliha (l. 29 f) by king Jayavardhana II. It was issued from Śrīvardhanapura (l. 1) and is dated in the 3rd year of his reign on the 30th day of the month Kārttika (ll. 46 and 31). Judging from the writing it may be assigned to the eighth century A.D., the characters very much resemble those of the Pathan plates of Govinda III dated in the year 794 A.D.<sup>1</sup> Jayavardhana II is described in lines 20-22 as a devotee of Mahēśvara, the lord of the whole Vindhya, and *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*. He belonged to the Śailavamśa (verse 1). His grandfather, who bore the same name as himself, killed the former king of the Vindhya and made the Vindhya his residence (v. 3). The son of Jayavardhana I and father of the donor was Śrīvardhana II., who styled himself Vindhyaśvara (v. 4), and who may have founded Śīvardhanapura from which the present charter was issued. Five more ancestors of this line are mentioned, the first of whom was Śrīvardhana I. His son was Prithuvardhana, who is stated to have attacked Gujārāt (v. 1). In his family was born Sauvardhana (v. 2), one of whose three sons killed the king of Paundra<sup>2</sup> (Bengal and Bihar), while another conquered the king of Kāśī (Benares). Of this latter, whose name is not mentioned, Jayavardhana I. was the son (v. 3).

The first verse of this charter opens with an obscure epithet to Śrīvardhana I who is called *Kailāś-āchala-tunga-śringa-vipula-drōṇīya-vamśa-prabhuh*, which apparently means 'the lord of the family of her who was born in the great valley of the lofty peaks of the Kailāsa mountain'. It is very difficult to hit at the true import of this expression, and the only conjecture I can hazard is that it may mean the *Gāṅgavamśa*, of which the Śailavamśa was probably a branch or a more well known name at that time. Otherwise it is difficult to see why in the same verse the same person should be called the lord or ornament of two families. If my conjecture is correct, the force of *prakhyātō bhūvi* (famous or known on the earth) preceding *Śailavamśa-tilakah* would be apparent. The Śailavamśa is very probably identical with the Śailōdbhavas or Śīlōdbhavas of Orissa, to which Prof. Hultzsch has kindly drawn my attention. In the plates of the time of Śaśāṅkarāja,<sup>3</sup> a feudatory chief Mādhavarāja II, who issued the charter, is spoken of as belonging to the Śīlōdbhava family, which is identical with the Śailōdbhava of the Buguda plates of Mādhavarman<sup>4</sup> as pointed out there. The former is dated in the year 619-20 A.D. and is the older of the two. Both were found in the Ganjam district, and both the charters were issued from Kōṅgēda or Kaṅgōda, which is identified by Prof. Kielhorn with the Kong-u-t'ō<sup>5</sup> of the Chinese traveller Hsien Tsiang, who visited the place in the year 639 A.D.<sup>6</sup> This principality was included in the Kalinga country or, roughly speaking, Orissa. In fact the village granted by Mādhavarāja II was situated in the district of Krishnagiri, a synonym of Nilagiri which is a name of Jagannātha (Puri) in Orissa.<sup>7</sup> And it is well known that Orissa is the country where the *Gāṅgavamśa* originated. King Indravarman of Kalinganagara is spoken of as the 'establisher of the spotless family of the Gāṅgas,'<sup>8</sup> an epithet which does not occur in other grants of the Gāṅgas of Kalinga. So he was a perpetuator of a dynasty with a new name, which probably he introduced in preference to an old one which was not very complimentary. The new name is a metronymic, so we may suppose that the one suppressed was a patronymic. The Buguda inscription tells us how one Pulindasēna worshipped Brahmā in order to create a fit ruler for the land, and how the god granted his wish by creating out of a rock the lord Śailōdbhava, who became the founder of the family of that name. However complimentary the story may have been in the beginning, it could not have failed later on to appear somewhat analogous to the alleged origin of low

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. III p. 108 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. VI p. 144.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. VI p. 188.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. VI p. 144.

<sup>5</sup> Wilson's *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, Vol. II p. 170, note 5.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. III p. 42.

<sup>7</sup> Cunningham's *Ancient Geography*, p. 515.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. III p. 127.

castes, which trace their origin to some such inanimate objects as scarecrows, dirt from Mahādēva's body, or the sweat of his brow. In fact the aboriginal Gonds aver that their leader Lingo liberated the first men of the tribe from a cave in the Iron valley in the Red hill by removing a stone 16 cubits high with which Mahādēva had closed the mouth of the cave, and out came 16 scores of Gonds at once.<sup>1</sup> The Śailōdbhava origin would thus appear something like an improvement on this story. Recognising the tendency, which has always existed and still exists, to adopt eponymous names under the influence of what Sir Alfred Lyall calls the gradual Brāhmanising of castes, it would not be surprising to find a family with a dubious patronymic insinuating a non-Brāhmanical origin, preferring a metronymic connected with so holy a deity as the Ganges, in spite of the Kshatriya mode of calling themselves after the male parent. It will then be asked why in the present grant the Śailavamśa was at all mentioned, to which an answer may be found in the fact that there are always three classes of people the conservatives or those who would stick to the old things only, the moderates who would tolerate both the new and the old, and the extremists who would wholly discard the old, and probably the donor of the present grant belonged to the second class. All this is, however, extremely hypothetical, and I only hazard it in the hope that a better explanation may be forthcoming. By the way I may mention that it was the Gāngavamśa kings of Orissa who revived Sun-worship and built many temples dedicated to that deity,<sup>2</sup> and again most of the officials, such as *samāhartre* and *samudhātṛi* (l 24), are those chiefly found in the grants of Orissa kings. These are other items in support of the donor's family connection with Orissa.

With regard to the places mentioned in the grant, I identify Khaddikā with Khadi, a village three miles north-east of Ragholi where the plates were found. It is only a Sanskritised name like Laṇṇikā<sup>3</sup> for Lanj, which is also not very far away from this place. Kateraka is probably the present Katera near Katangi, 60 miles west of Ragholi. I cannot identify Chatpuliha, unless it is a mistake for Raghuliha or Ragholi, where the plates have been found. With the elision of a little stroke in the first letter, and giving a slightly slanting position to the second, the word would read as Raghuliha. This may find support from the fact that the engraving of the grant is very defective, and that several other mistakes have been committed in lines 33, 40, 44, etc. I cannot find in the Central Provinces a place answering to Śrīvardhanapura. It could not be Śrīvardhana in the Bombay Presidency, the famous seaport referred to by European travellers as Zuffardan and celebrated as the birth-place of the first Peshwa.<sup>4</sup> From what has been stated above, the family would seem to have come from a seaport in the east rather than from the west. But the place must be searched for nearer home, and it may be that it is now non-existent. The probability is that it was situated somewhere near Rāmtēk in the Nāgpur district. Five miles from this place there is a village called Nagardhan which was known as Nandivardhana<sup>5</sup> in olden times, and local traditions assert that the surrounding country was ruled from that place by Kshatriya Rājas.<sup>6</sup> The village contains ancient remains and is mentioned as the name of a district together with Nāgpur in the Dēoli plates of the Rāshtrakūta king Krishna III. dated in the year 940 A.D.<sup>7</sup> It is plain therefore that

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham's *Reports*, Vol IX p 158

<sup>2</sup> See Hunter's *Orissa*, Vol I p. 279 f. Dr Hunter says — "At a remote period, Sun-worship, driven out of Vedic India by materialising superstitions, found shelter on the secluded Eastern coast. Its existence in Orissa in ancient times is proved not only by the fact of a specific division of the country being devoted to it, but also by the rock writings . . . The most exquisite memorial of Sun-worship in India, or I believe in any country, is the temple of Konarak upon the Orissa shore."

<sup>3</sup> In the Batanpur inscription of Jājalladēva, *Ep Ind* Vol I p 33

<sup>4</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XI, p 467

<sup>5</sup> Mr Craddock's *Settlement Report*, 1895, p 15

<sup>6</sup> It may be borne in mind that this part of the country was for a long time under Gonds and afterwards the Marāṭhas, and as a rule the memory of these only survives.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. V. p. 196 f.

Nandivardhana must have been a place of great importance before it gave its name to the district. I hold that this was founded by a successor of Jayavardhana II. who removed the capital from Śīvārdhanapura, also named after a king of the same line, to the place to which he gave his own name.<sup>1</sup> The Rāshtrakūtas rose in power on this side in the eighth century, and it is probably they who displaced the Śailavamśa dynasty of the Vindhya mountains. Nandivardhana or Nagardhana is about 100 miles from Ragholi, and both were included in the same district about a century ago. It may also be stated that, so far as I have been able to find, there are no other villages ending in *ardhana* in Bālāghāt or any of the surrounding districts, and the name is so peculiarly different from those of other villages in the locality that it may almost be called unique, for these reasons the location of Śīvārdhanapura round about Nandivardhana or Rāmtek carries at least a certain probability with it.

TEXT<sup>2</sup>

Seal

- 1 श्रीजयव-
- 2 र्दनेवस्व [॥\*]

First Plate

- 1 श्री स्वस्ति श्रीवर्द्धनपुरात् [॥\*] <sup>3</sup>कैलासाचलतुङ्गशृङ्ग-
- 2 विपुलद्रोणोजयेशप्रभुः<sup>4</sup> प्रस्थातो भुवि शैलवं-
- 3 शतिलकः श्री — —<sup>5</sup> वर्द्धनो यो नृपः । तत्पुत्रः पृथ्व-
- 4 र्द्धनो निजभुजव्याकुलखड्गः[.] सुर्या<sup>6</sup> देशं गौर्ज्जरमास-
- 5 साद सद्दसा विक्रान्तिभिर्यस्ततः ॥ [१\*] तदंशप्रभवो
- 6 व्यजीजनदलं सौवर्द्धनो भूपतिर्भूचक्रक्र-
- 7 मलवविक्रमयशः<sup>7</sup> पुत्रत्रयं त्वीरसं । ते-
- 8 षासुर्जितवैरिदारणपटु पौण्ड्राधिपं क्षाप-
- 9 ति हर्षको विषय तमेव सकलं जग्राह श्री-
- 10 र्यान्वितः ॥ [२\*] ताभ्यामन्यतमो विह्वल सद्दसा द-
- 11 पीडितं दारुणं काशि काशिनराधिपं सित-

Second Plate, First Side

- 12 गुणो जग्राह जेता द्विषां । तत्पुत्रो जयवर्द्धने-
- 13 ति वचसा ख्यातो वरो भूभृतां विन्ध्ये विन्ध्यनरेशमेव

<sup>1</sup> It is noticeable that all names of this line end in *ardhana*

<sup>2</sup> From the original plates I am indebted to Pr. & Hultzsch for a few corrections in my readings

<sup>3</sup> Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita, also of the two next verses

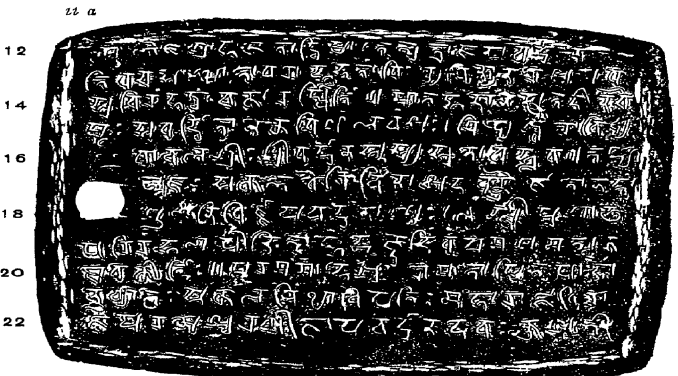
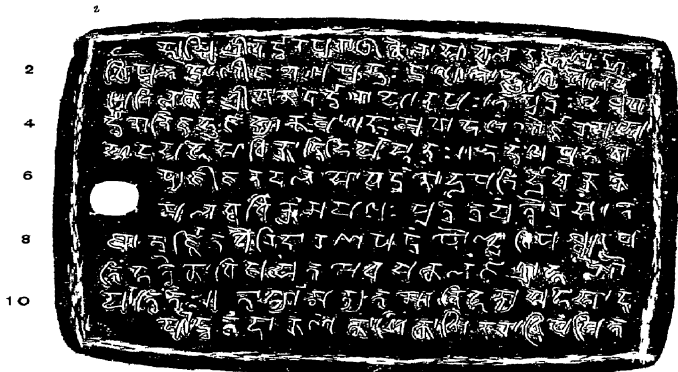
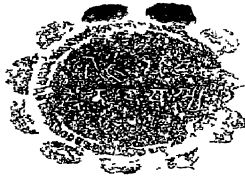
<sup>4</sup> Read °जवश°

<sup>5</sup> There are two letters here which appear to have been struck off by the engraver. The metre also shows that they were redundant

<sup>6</sup> Read पुरा-

<sup>7</sup> Read °लव°

<sup>8</sup> Read °सुजित°



22 b

24

26

28

30

32



222 a

34

36

38

40

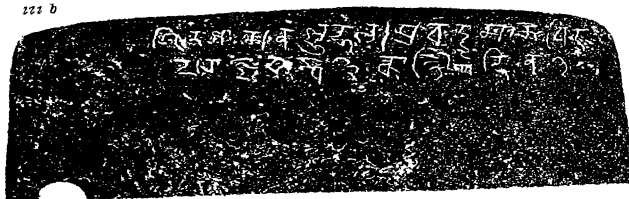
42

44



222 b

46



- 14 सुचिरं हृत्वा चकार स्थितिं ॥ [३\*] <sup>१</sup>मातङ्गदानचतदीनचे-  
 15 ष्टः <sup>२</sup>सवर्हितानेकविशालवशः । विम्येश्वरो विम्य  
 16 इवाचलयीः श्रीवर्द्धनस्तस्य सुतो वभूव<sup>३</sup> ॥ [४\*] <sup>४</sup>तस्या-  
 17 ळजः सकलवैरिविनाशदक्षो जातो महा-  
 18 गुणनिधिर्जयवर्द्धनाख्यः । लक्ष्मीप्रगाढ-  
 19 परिरभणपोडिताङ्गं दृष्ट्वा दिवं यमगमत्यरु-  
 20 षेव कीर्त्तिः ॥ [५\*] परममाहेश्वरो मातापितृपादा-  
 21 नुध्यातः सकलविध्याधिपतिः महाराजाधिरा-  
 22 जपरमेश्वरश्रीजयवर्द्धनदेवः कुशलो

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 23 कटेरकविषयीयखट्वाकायां ब्राह्मणा[न्\*]<sup>५</sup> सपूज्य प्रति-  
 24 वासिनोन्यांश्च कुटुम्बिन<sup>६</sup> (i) समाहर्तुसन्निधात्प्रसुखा<sup>७</sup>  
 25 यथाकालाध्यासिनः सर्वराजपुरुषां<sup>८</sup> विषयपतीं-  
 26 च समान्नापयति [॥\*] विदितमस्तु भवता<sup>९</sup> यथास्माभिर-  
 27 यं ग्रामः सनिधिः सोपनिधिः सर्वकारदान-  
 28 समेतः प्रतिषिद्धचाटभटप्रवेशः सदशा-  
 29 पराधः सर्वपीडाविवर्जितः चटुस्त्रिप्रतिष्ठि-  
 30 तश्रीमदादित्यभट्टारकाय अधिष्ठानविज्ञप्तिकया  
 31 <sup>१०</sup>कात्तिकवासुदकपूर्वमाचन्द्रार्कग्रहसमकालोप-  
 32 भोगार्थं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिष्टव्ये ता-  
 33 <sup>११</sup>भ्रश्रासनेन प्रतिपादित इत्यवगत<sup>१२</sup> समुचितभो-

*Third Plate, First Side*

- 34 गभागादिक भक्ता<sup>१३</sup> सुख वस्तव्यं ॥ तथा चीतं धर्म-  
 35 शास्त्रे ॥ <sup>१४</sup>वहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादि-  
 36 मिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ [६\*]  
 37 षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः । आ-

<sup>१</sup> Metre Indravajra

<sup>२</sup> Read सवर्हिता<sup>०</sup>

<sup>३</sup> Read वभूव

<sup>४</sup> Metre Vasantatilaka The simile here is विरजसविकारिका, compare श्रीनिधोगादित्युमिव गतेत्यम्बुधि यस्य कीर्ति in the *Śāhityapradīpa*, 7th *ulāsa*, *śloka* 241 For this parallel quotation I am indebted to Pandit Hiraṇanda Sastri, M A

<sup>५</sup> Read ब्राह्मणान्

<sup>६</sup> Read कुटुम्बिन.

<sup>७</sup> Read प्रसुखान्

<sup>८</sup> Read पुरुषान्

<sup>९</sup> Read भवता

<sup>१०</sup> Read कारिका

<sup>११</sup> Read ताव

<sup>१२</sup> Read इत्यवगत,

<sup>१३</sup> Read सुजा.

<sup>१४</sup> Read बहु<sup>०</sup>.



- 38 ष्छेत्ता चातुतन्ता<sup>1</sup> च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ [७\*] खद-  
 39 तां परदता<sup>2</sup> वा यो हरत वसुधरां । स विष्ठा-  
 40 यां कर्मिभूता<sup>3</sup> पितृभिः सह पच्यते ॥ [८\*] इति क-  
 41 'खलदतावुविन्दुल्लोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्य-  
 42 जीवितं च र.कलमिदमुदाहृतं च बुध्वा<sup>4</sup> न हि पुर-  
 43 वैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः ॥ [९\*] श्रीश्रीवर्धनदेव-  
 44 स्य पाद[पद्मोप]जीविना<sup>5</sup> । श्रीमहाचच्छपालेन लि-

*Third Plate ; Second Side*

- 45 खितं शासनं शमम् । [१०\*] प्रवर्धमानविज-  
 46 यराज्ये सर्व<sup>6</sup> ३ कार्त्तिके<sup>7</sup> दिन ३० [११\*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) *Om* Hail! From Śrīvardhanapura.

(Verse 1) (*There was*) king Śrīvardhana (I.), the lord of the family of her<sup>8</sup> who was born in the great valley of the lofty peaks of the Kailāsa mountain, (and) famous on (the) earth (as) the ornament of the Śailavahśa His son Prithuvardhana, formerly having drawn the sword with his own arm, at once overcame the Gaurjara country by (his various) attacks.

(V. 2.) King Sauvardhana, who was born in his family, begat three sons of his own, who in due course acquired the glory of heroism on the circle of the earth. One of them, possessing valour, having killed the Pauṇdra king who was skilled in rending up (his) powerful enemies, took the whole of that country.

(V. 3.) The third of them,<sup>10</sup> of white (i.e. pure) character, the vanquisher of foes, having forcibly killed the self-conceited (and) cruel king of the Kāśī, took Kāśī (from him). His son, known by the name of Jayavardhana (I.), the best of kings, having killed the lord of the Vindhya, took up his residence in the Vindhya for a long time

(V. 4) His son was Śrīvardhana (II.), the lord of the Vindhya, who possessed immovable (permanent) wealth like the immovable Vindhya mountain itself, who banished poverty by gifts of elephants, (and) who augmented the prosperity of various (other) big families.

(V. 5) His son, skilled in destroying all (his) enemies (and) a treasury of great virtues, was called Jayavardhana (II.). The goddess of Wealth so closely embraced him that the goddess of Fame, as if (jealous of her cousin), out of anger ascended to the heavens<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read चातुतन्ता.

<sup>2</sup> Read परदता

<sup>3</sup> Read कर्मिभूता.

<sup>4</sup> Read वसुधरावुविन्दु.

<sup>5</sup> Read 'सुदाहृतं

<sup>6</sup> Read बुध्वा.

<sup>7</sup> The words in brackets are very common in inscriptions, see e.g. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 210, note 8

<sup>8</sup> Read सवत्

<sup>9</sup> I take *dr̥ghya-var̥sha* to stand for *dr̥ghya-var̥sha* in accordance with Pāṇi VI. 3. 63, and to mean the *saṁgā-var̥sha*

<sup>10</sup> Literally, 'another than the two'

<sup>11</sup> The idea is that he was very wealthy, and that his fame reached up to the heavens.

(L. 20.) The devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), who meditated on the feet of his parents, the lord of the whole Vindhya, the *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the illustrious Jayavardhanadēva, being in good health, having worshipped the Brāhmanas in *(the village)* Khaddikā in the district (*vishaya*) of Katēraka, issues a command to the inhabitants and other householders (*as well as*) revenue collectors, receivers of public property and so forth, as they are appointed from time to time, (*and*) to all state officers and provincial governors

(L. 26) "Let it be known to you that this village is given by Us, with hidden treasures (*and*) deposits, together with *(the right of)* taking all the dues, with the prohibition for the regular or irregular forces to enter *(the village)*, with *(the fines levable on)* the ten offences,<sup>1</sup> free from all troubles, to *(the temple of)* the holy Āditya-bhattāraka (*i.e.* the Sun-god) set up at Chattuliha, at the request of the residence (*viz.* Śrīvaiddhanapura, l. 1), on the Kārttiki (*tiṭha*), with libations of water, to be enjoyed as long as the moon, the sun and the planets endure, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (*Our*) parents and of Ourselves, by *(this)* copper-plate charter. Knowing this, let (*all*) live happily, enjoying *(their)* due portion of rights, *etc.* And it is thus enjoined in the *Dharmasūtra* "—

[Here follow four of the customary imprecatory verses]

(V. 10) (*This*) auspicious charter was written by the illustrious Mahāchandapāla, who subsisted on the lotus-feet of the illustrious Śrīvardhanadēva.

(L. 45) The year 3 of the augmenting and victorious reign, the 30th day of Kārttika.

## NO 6—MALIYAPUNDI GRANT OF AMMARAJA II

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D., HALLE (SAALE)

This interesting record of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty was first published in 1905 by Messrs A. Butterworth and V. Venugopal Chetti in their *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p. 164 ff., with seven photographic Plates. The original copper-plates had been "discovered by Mr. Venugopal Chetti in the Rāmalingēśvarasvāmī temple at Madanūr, a village about 10 miles from Ongole, Nellore district." I re-edit the inscription from ink-impressions supplied by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, to whom the original plates were kindly forwarded at my request by Mr. Butterworth, and who contributes the following remarks on them:—

"These are five copper-plates, measuring  $9\frac{1}{2}$ " by about  $4\frac{1}{4}$ ". The first and last plates bear writing only on their inner side and have raised rims about  $\frac{3}{16}$ " high only on their engraved side. The three remaining plates, which bear writing on both sides, have rims of the same height projecting on both sides.<sup>2</sup> Through holes ( $\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter), bored on the left margin of each plate, is passed a circular ring, which appears to have been cut and re-soldered before the plates came into my hands. The ring measures  $5\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter and is a little more than  $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick. Its ends, which are slightly thinner, are secured in the upper part of an expanded lotus flower of eight petals. To the lower part of the same lotus, which is fashioned into a rim-like projection, is soldered a circular seal, which measures  $2\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter and is nearly  $\frac{3}{8}$ " thick. It bears, in relief on a countersunk surface, the legend *Śrī-Tribhuvanāśku[śa]* in the centre, in characters similar to those of the inscription. Below

<sup>1</sup> These were probably killing (murder), theft, wrong action (adultery), slander, harsh language, untruthfulness, incoherent conversation, uncivility, atheism and perverse behaviour, enumerated as *dātādhā pāpākarma* in the *Sūkranti, adhgyāya 3, śloka 6*.

<sup>2</sup> The high rims are responsible for the fact that some symbols at the beginning and the end of lines have not come out well in the ink impressions.

the legend is an expanded lotus flower, and above it a running (?) boar facing the pro, left. In front of the boar is an elephant goad, and behind its tail a crescent."

The alphabet is of the same Telugu type as in other grants of the same dynasty and period. No distinction is made between secondary *ś* and *au*, and secondary *ī* and *ū* is often written as *ī* and *u*. Final *k* occurs in line 32, *t* in ll 8, 30 and 51, *n* in ll 10, 18, 24, 37, 39, 5' and *m* in ll 5, 7, 9, 11, 12, 51, 54, 55 and 60. The *j*-*h*-*m* triliteral is used in ll 42, 51, and the *upadhānīya* in ll 10, 41, 43, 46 and 51.

The following orthographical irregularities deserve to be noted. Against one of Pāṇini's rules (VIII 4, 49) the *śh* of *varsha* is doubled in ll 8 and 11, but not in ll 13, 15, 25 and 40. Some spellings are due to the Telugu pronunciation. Thus we find *yśād* (l 57, for *śād*), *yutīara* (ll 54 f and 57, but not in l 59) for *uttara*, *raṣṣanayaywa* (l 47 f) for *raṣṣanāy-aṣwa*, *aruha* (l 50) for *arha*, *krishfa* (l 39) for *krishna*. Dental *n* is employed instead of lingual *n* in *Kiranapuram* and *krishna* (l 43), *punya* (ll 49, 50), *dihharana* (ll 49, 53), *ganśha* (l 50), *yutārāyama* (l 54 f). The vowel *ri* is replaced by *ni* in *krishna* (l 43) *sadrśō* (l 52) and *krtvō* (l 56). The palatal sibilant is improperly used in *śamha* (l 50) for *saṃgha* and *śadrśō* (l 52) for *sadrśō*.

The language is Sanskrit prose, interspersed with 20 Sanskrit verses. In ll 56-60 some names of villages, tanks and fields appear in their Telugu forms. At the end of the record the usual imprecatory verses and the names of the *Āṇapti*, composer and writer are missing.

As the inscription records a grant to a Jaina temple, it opens with an invocation of the Jaina religion (v 1). Ll 3-41 contain the genealogy of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty down to *Samastabhuvanāśraya Vijayāditya* (VI) or *Ammarāja* (II), the date of whose coronation is given in the same two verses (l 8 f) as in his Padāṅkalūra grant<sup>1</sup>. The genealogical portion contains two passages of historical importance, the first (ll 13-16) describing the reign of Vijayāditya III, and the second (ll 22-32) the accession of Chālukya-Bhūma II.

The Pithāpuram inscription of Mallapādēva reports that Vijayāditya III. slew Mangirāja, burnt Chakrakūta, terrified Sankila, residing in Kiranapura and joined by Krishna, restored his dignity to Vallabhendra, and received elephants as tribute from the king of Kalinga.<sup>2</sup> The slaying of Mangirāja is referred to also in three other inscriptions.<sup>3</sup> The second of them adds the burning of Kiranapura, and the third states that the king, having terrified Krishna and Sankila, completely burnt their city. Hitherto we did not know who Mangirāja and Sankila were. Verse 3 of the Mahāyāpūṇḍī grant calls the former 'the king of the great Nodamba-rāśṭra' and the second 'the lord of the excellent Dāṇḍi'. Thus Mangirāja seems to have been one of the Pallavas of Nolambavādi<sup>4</sup> and Sankila an early chief of Dahala (or Chēḍi). While two of the above-mentioned inscriptions couple the name of Sankila with that of Krishna, the Mahāyāpūṇḍī grant (v 3) states that Sankila was 'joined by the fierce Vallabha'. The *Nellore District Inscriptions* (p. 169, note 5) correctly conclude from this that Sankila's ally Krishna was a Vallabha, i.e. a Rāstrakūta. Hence my former identification of this Krishna with the Paramhara king Krishnarāja<sup>5</sup> must be wrong, and he may be identified, as was done by Dr Fleet,<sup>6</sup> with the Rāstrakūta king Krishna II. The latter is known to have been connected with the Chēḍi family, being the son-in-law of Kokkalla (I) and the brother-in-law of Śankuka.<sup>7</sup> I feel no hesitation in identifying Sankila of Dahala with Śankuka (or Śankaragana) of Chēḍi, the son of Kokkalla I, but am unable to identify Kiranapura, where Sankila resided according to the

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII, p. 16. Ll 23-34 of this grant are identical with ll 32-41 of the Mahāyāpūṇḍī grant.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. IV, p. 239 f.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. V, p. 126, verse 5; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII, p. 213, text line 16 f., *South Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I, p. 42, verse 10 (compare above, Vol. IV, p. 226 and notes 7 and 8).

<sup>4</sup> *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 332 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX, p. 102.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. IV, p. 227.

<sup>7</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII, p. 263.

Pithāpuram inscription and Krishnarāja according to the Mahiyapūṇḍi grant (v 15) In two grants the burning of this Kiranapura,<sup>1</sup> the residence of Krishna and Sankila,<sup>2</sup> is attributed to Vijayāditya III himself Verse 15 of the Mahiyapūṇḍi grant informs us that this feat was in reality performed by a military officer named Pāṇḍaranga It is perhaps worth noting that another Rāshtrakūṭa prince named Krishnarāja is mentioned in a grant of A.D 888.<sup>3</sup> Between the slaying of Maṅgi and the victory over Sankila the Mahiyapūṇḍi grant mentions that Vijayāditya III 'defeated the Gangas who took refuge on the peak of Gangakūṭa' As suggested in the *Nellore District Inscriptions* (p 169, note 3), this statement may or may not be a mere variant of one in the Pithāpuram inscription, according to which the king burnt Chakrakūṭa.<sup>4</sup> He is elsewhere said to have 'defeated the unequalled Gangas'.<sup>5</sup> Finally the new grant reports that Vijayāditya III bore the surname Parachakrarāma (l 14)

The Mahiyapūṇḍi grant gives a vivid description of the struggles that took place after the death of Vikramāditya II Five years passed in continual wars between the rival claimants, among whom Yuddhamalla, Rājāmārtanda and Kanthikā-Vijayāditya are mentioned by name Then Rājabhīma (or Chālukya-Bhīma II) succeeded in restoring order by slaying Rājāmārtanda, defeating and banishing Kanthikā-Vijayāditya and Yuddhamalla, and killing many other rebels Yuddhamalla (II) is the son of Tāla, to whom one grant of Chālukya-Bhīma II attributes a reign of seven years,<sup>6</sup> while two other grants,<sup>7</sup> like the Mahiyapūṇḍi grant, take no official notice of his reign Rājāmārtanda is perhaps the same as Rājamayya in the Kaluchumburra grant,<sup>8</sup> and he is mentioned also in the Kolavennu plates.<sup>9</sup> In editing these plates I committed a mistake, which has been endorsed by Dr Fleet<sup>10</sup> and Prof. Kielhorn,<sup>11</sup> in taking Rājāmārtanda as a surname of Chālukya-Bhīma II As stated in the *Nellore District Inscriptions* (p 170, note 4), the Mahiyapūṇḍi grant now shows that Rājāmārtanda was a distinct person Dr Fleet has already noticed that ll 17-19 of the Kolavennu plates contain a verse,<sup>12</sup> the first half of which I would now, with the help of his remarks, correct as follows —

यस्ताविकवनाख्यं धलुदिं मुनिष्ठिवराजमार्तण्डो [\*]

Thus the verse mentions four enemies of Chālukya-Bhīma II — Tātābikyana, Dhajadi (or Dhajaga), Munmiva and Rājāmārtanda Kanthikā-Vijayāditya, whom the king banished along with Yuddhamalla II, is undoubtedly the same as Kanthikā-Bēta or Vijayāditya V, the son of Amma I and the ancestor of the Eastern Chālukyas of Pithāpuram<sup>13</sup>

The subjoined grant was made at a winter solstice (*uttarāyana*, l 54 f) The donee was a temple of Jina (*Jinālaya*) in the south of Dharmapuri (v 17), which was in charge of a priest of the Yāpaniya-saṃgha<sup>14</sup> (v 18) It had been founded by the *Kaṭakarāja* (l 54) Durgarāja (v 16) and was named Kaṭakābharana-Jinālaya (v 17 and l 53), evidently after a surname of the founder At his request (l 54) the grant was made, and the grant portion opens with a pedigree of his family His ancestor Pāṇḍaranga is stated to have burnt Kiranapura, the residence of Krishnarāja (v 15), and accordingly must have been a military officer of Vijayāditya III.<sup>15</sup> His son Niravadyadhavala was appointed *Kaṭakarāja* (l 44 f) His son was the *Kaṭakādhipati* Vijayāditya (l 45 f), and his son was Durgarāja (v 16).

<sup>1</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XIII. p 213, text line 17

<sup>2</sup> *South Ind Inscr* Vol I. p 42, verse 10 (compare above, Vol IV p 226 and note 7)

<sup>3</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XIII p 66

<sup>4</sup> Compare above, Vol IV p 227

<sup>5</sup> *South-Ind Inscr* Vol I p 42, verse 10

<sup>6</sup> *Ind. Ant* Vol XIII. p 214, text line 31

<sup>7</sup> *South-Ind Inscr* Vol I p 44, above, Vol V p 188, note 3

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. VII p 181

<sup>9</sup> *South-Ind Inscr* Vol. I p 46 and note 1

<sup>10</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XX p 269, and above, Vol. VII p 182

<sup>11</sup> *Lists of Southern Inscriptions* No. 562

<sup>12</sup> Above, Vol. VII. p 181 f.

<sup>13</sup> Above, Vol IV p 227

<sup>14</sup> Compare *ibid* p 383 \*

<sup>15</sup> See notes 1 and 2 above

Pāṇḍarāṅga (the Pāṇḍaranga of v 15) is mentioned as *Ājñapti* in a grant of Vijayāditya III<sup>1</sup>. The title *Kaṭakarāja* or *Kaṭakādhīpati*, i.e. 'superintendent of the royal camp,' which was borne by his three lineal descendants, seems to be peculiar to the court of the Eastern Chālukya kings. Dr. Fleet remarked that the grants of Amma I and Amma II mention *Kaṭakarāja*, *Katakēsa* and *Kaṭakādhīsa* as *Ājñapti*, and came to the conclusion that these two words were not proper names, but mere titles<sup>2</sup>. The Mahiyapūṇḍi grant now shows that in each case they refer to one of the three direct descendants of Pāṇḍaranga, who bore that title, viz. Nuvadyadhavala, Vijayāditya and Durgarāja. It seems preferable to take also *Kaṭeyarāja* in the grant of Chālukya-Bhīma I<sup>3</sup> as a vulgar form of *Kaṭakarāja*, the title of Vijayāditya, and not as a proper name.

The object of the grant was the small village (*grāmaṭikā*) of Mahiyapūṇḍi (l 55) in the district (*viśaya*) of Kamma-nāṇḍu (l 42). Its boundaries are given in l 56 f. The northern boundary, Dharmavuramu, is the Telugu form of Dharmapurī, to the south of which the *Juṇḍālaya* was situated (v 17). According to the *Nellore District Inscriptions* (p 174, note) both Dharmapuram and the western boundary, Kalvakuru, are now in the Addanki division of the Ongole tāluka. Of two inscriptions at Dharmavaram (p 966 ff. of the same work) the first mentions Guṇakenalla (Vijayāditya III.), Pāṇḍaranga, the burning of Kiranapura, and Dharmavuram. An inscription at Addanki (p 896 f. of the same work) also refers to Pāṇḍaranga and Dharmavuram. Mahiyapūṇḍi itself, the village granted, does not exist any more at present (*ibid.* p 167), but its former position is fixed by the identification of two of its boundaries. The district of Kamma-nāṇḍu, to which it belonged, is identical with the Kamma-rāśhtra or Kammāka-rāśhtra of other inscriptions. To my former remarks on this geographical name<sup>4</sup> may be added that it occurs as *Kammāka-raṣṭra* in the Jaggaṃyapēṭa inscriptions of Purisadatta<sup>5</sup>. This Prākṛit form renders my suggestion that *Kammāka* may be meant for *Kammānka*<sup>6</sup> untenable, for the latter would have become in Prākṛit *Kammanka*, and not *Kammāka*.

#### TEXT.<sup>7</sup>

##### First Plate

- 1 ॐ भद्रं स्याच्चित्रगुप्तताय सततं श्रीमज्जिनेन्द्रप्रभोदहाभाततशासन[१]-
- 2 य विलसद्दर्मावलबाय च । सामर्थ्यात्खलु यस्य दुष्कलिकता दोषाश्च  
मिथ्याद्वय[१]<sup>8</sup> (i) दु-
- 3 र्वृत्तानि च भूतलै न वितता शान्तिश्च नित्यं चित्ते[\*] ॥ [१\*] ॐ स्वस्ति  
श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसं-<sup>9</sup>
- 4 स्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां हारितपुत्राणां कौशिकिवरप्रसादस्त्वय्यरा-
- 5 ज्ञानास्मात्तु[१\*]परिपालितानां स्वामिमहासेनपादानुध्यायिनाम् भगव-
- 6 आरायणप्रसादसमासादितवरवराहलाञ्छनेक्षणक्षणवशिक्रतारातिमण्ड[ला]-<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. V p 125, verse 3

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. VII p 184 f.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. V p 130

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. VIII p 238

<sup>5</sup> See Bhagwanlal Indrap's transcript in *Notes on the Amaravati Stupa*, p 66, and Bühler's transcripts in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI p 253 f. and in *Amaravati and Jaggaṃyapēṭa*, p 110 (compare Plate [XII] f.)

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. VIII p 234

<sup>7</sup> From two sets of ink-impressions

<sup>8</sup> Read मिथ्योद्वय

<sup>9</sup> The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line

<sup>10</sup> Read 'वज्रोक्ता'.

- 7 नामन्वमेधावस्यस्नानपवित्रीकृतवपुषाम्<sup>1</sup> चालुक्यानां कुलमलंकरिण्योस्तथा[अ]-  
8 यवज्ञमेन्द्रस्य भ्राता कुञ्जविष्णुवर्धनोष्ट[१\*]दश वर्षाणि<sup>2</sup> वेगिमण्डलमपालयत् ।  
तदात्म-

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 9 जो <sup>3</sup>जयसिंहस्त्रयस्त्रिंशत्तम् । तदनुजेन्द्रराजनन्दनो विष्णुवर्धनो नव । तत्सू-  
नुर्भागियुवराज-  
10 >पंचविंशतित्युत्रो जयसिंहस्त्रयोदश । तदवरज[:\*] कोकिलिष्यमासान् ।  
तस्य ज्येष्ठो भ्राता  
11 विष्णुवर्धन[स्त्र]मुञ्चाव्य [स]प्तविंशतम्<sup>4</sup> (॥ २\*) तत्पुत्रो विजया-  
दित्यभट्ट[१\*]रकोष्टादश । तत्सुतो  
12 विष्णुवर्धनषट्त्रिंशत्तम् । नरेन्द्रमृगराजाख्यो मृगराजपराक्रमः [१\*] विजयादित्य-  
13 भूपालः<sup>5</sup> चत्वारिंशत्समाष्टभिः [॥ २\*] तत्पुत्रः कलिविष्णुवर्धनोध्यर्धवर्ष । त-  
14 त्युत्रः परचक्रामापरनामधेयः [१\*] हत्वा <sup>6</sup>भूरिनोदंबराष्ट्रनृपतिं मगिमहा-  
संग-  
15 २<sup>7</sup> गंगानाथीवगंगकुटशिखराभिर्जित्य <sup>8</sup>सङ्ग[१]लाधीशं संकिलमुग्रवक्त्रभयुत  
यो भ[१]-  
16 ययित्वा चतुश्चत्वारिंशतमब्दकांश्च विजयादित्यो ररञ्च क्षितिं । [३\*]  
तदनुजस्य लब्ध-

*Second Plate, Second Side.*

- 17 यौवराज्यस्य विक्रमादित्यस्य सुतश्चालुक्यभिर्मस्त्रिंशत्<sup>9</sup> [१\*] तस्याग्रजो  
विजयादित्यः  
18 षण्मासान् [१\*] तदग्रसूनुर्मरामराजस्त्रय वर्षाणि । तत्सूनुमाक्रम्य बाल  
चालुक्यभिर्मपि-<sup>9</sup>  
19 तुव्ययुद्धमस्त्रय नन्दनस्तालनृपो मासमेकं । नानासामन्तवर्गैरधिकबल-  
युतैश्च<sup>10</sup>  
20 तत्तमातंगसेनो<sup>11</sup> हत्वा तं तालराजं विषमरणमुखे सार्धमत्युग्रते-  
21 जाः [१\*] एकाब्दं सम्यगंभोनिधिवलयहृतामन्वरक्षद्वरिचि<sup>12</sup> श्रीमाञ्चालुक्य-

<sup>1</sup> Read 'वपुषां'

<sup>2</sup> Read 'वर्षाणि.'

<sup>3</sup> Read 'जयसिंह'

<sup>4</sup> Read 'विंशत वर्षाणि'

<sup>5</sup> Read 'पालयत्'

<sup>6</sup> Read 'नोदम्'

<sup>7</sup> Read 'संनरे गंगानाथितगङ्गकूट'

<sup>8</sup> Read 'सङ्गृह्णा', in contravention of the rules, the first half of the verse ends in the middle of a compound word

<sup>9</sup> Read 'भीम'

<sup>10</sup> Read 'वर्गै' and 'युतैश्च'

<sup>11</sup> Read 'सेनेहत्वा,'

<sup>12</sup> Read 'द्वरिचि' श्रीमाञ्चालुक्यभीम'.

- 22 भिमक्षितिपतितनयो विक्रमादित्यभूपः । [४\*] पञ्चादहमहमिकया विक्र-  
मादित्यास्त-  
23 म[य\*]नि राक्षसा इव प्रजावाधनपरा दायदराजपुत्रा राज्याभिलाषिणी  
युवमञ्जरा-  
24 'जमात्सङ्खलकण्ठिकाविजयादित्यप्रभृतयो विग्रहिभूता<sup>2</sup> आसन् [1\*] विग्र-

*Third Plate, First Side*

- 25 हेरैव पंच वर्षाणि गतानि [1\*] ततः [1\*] <sup>3</sup>योवधिद्र[1]जमात्सङ्खल्लेख[1]  
येन रणे कृतौ [1\*] क-  
26 ण्ठिकाविजयादित्ययुद्धमल्लो<sup>4</sup> विदेशगौ । [५\*] अन्ये मान्यमहिभृतोपि<sup>5</sup>  
बहवो<sup>6</sup> दु-  
27 एप्रवृत्ताज्ञताः<sup>7</sup> देशोपद्रवकारिणः प्रकटिताः कालालय<sup>8</sup> प्रापिताः [1\*]  
<sup>9</sup>दोह्ण्डेरि-  
28 तमण्डलाग्रलतया यस्योग्रसंग्रामकावाज्ञा<sup>10</sup> तत्परभृन्पैश्व<sup>11</sup>  
29 शिरसो मालिव सन्धार्यते । [६\*] नादग्वा<sup>12</sup> विनिवर्त्तते रिपुकुलं कोपाम्बिरा  
मूल-  
30 तः शुभं य[स्य] यशो न लोकमखिलं सन्तिष्ठते न भ्रमत् [1\*] द्रव्यां-  
भोधरराशिरप्यनुदिनं<sup>13</sup>  
31 सन्तप्यमाने भृशं दारिद्र्योग्रतरातपेन जनसंसर्ग<sup>14</sup> न नो वर्षति । [७\*] स  
चालुक्क्यभिमनसा<sup>15</sup> वि-  
32 जयादित्यनन्दनः [1\*] द्वादशाव्यक्तमास्त्रम्यक्<sup>16</sup> राजभिर्मो धरातलं । [८\*]  
तस्य महेश्वरम्-

*Third Plate, Second Side.*

- 35 <sup>17</sup>तेरुमासमानाकृतेः कुमारामः [1\*] लोकमाहादेव्याः<sup>18</sup> खलु यस्मभभवदद्या[रा]-  
36 जाख्यः ॥ [९\*] जलजातपत्रचामरकलशकुशलक्षणा[क\*]करचरणतलः [1\*]  
लसदाजा-

<sup>1</sup> As remarked in the *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p 178, note 1, the ख after मात्सङ्ख is superfluous, it was perhaps engraved because the writer had in his mind the frequent word मण्डल

<sup>2</sup> Read विग्रहीभूता

<sup>3</sup> Read योवधीद्रा

<sup>4</sup> Read 'महो

<sup>5</sup> Read 'महीध'.

<sup>6</sup> The aksharas ली and दु are engraved on an erasure.

<sup>7</sup> Read 'हरीज्ञता

<sup>8</sup> Read 'लय

<sup>9</sup> Read 'दोह्ण्डेरि'.

<sup>10</sup> Read perhaps 'संग्रामिकसाश

<sup>11</sup> Read 'भूपेय' as proposed in the *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p 178, note 6, य is engraved on an erasure

<sup>12</sup> Read नादग्वा

<sup>13</sup> The anusvotra stands at the beginning of the next line

<sup>14</sup> Read जनसंसर्ग

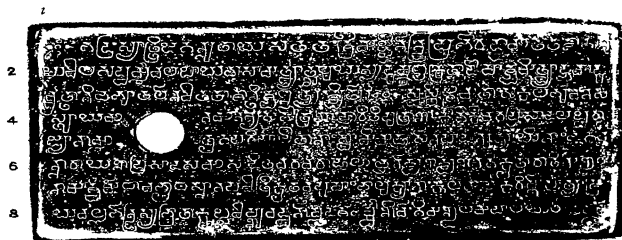
<sup>15</sup> Read 'भीम

<sup>16</sup> Read द्वादशाव्यक्तमास्त्रम्यक्

<sup>17</sup> Read 'मूर्ते'.

<sup>18</sup> Read 'नक्ष'

# Mahiyapundi grant of Ammaraja II

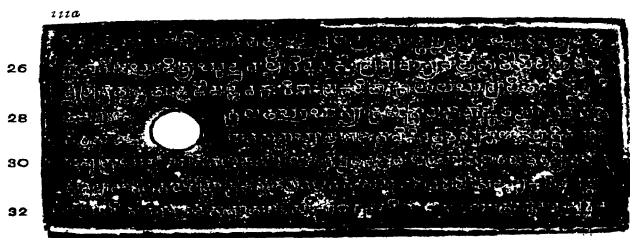
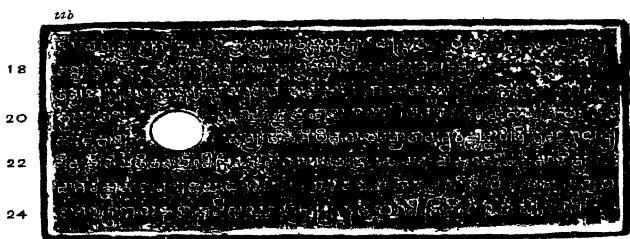


W GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH



SCALE 45

FROM INK IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY RAI BAHADUR V VENKATYA



E HULTZSCH



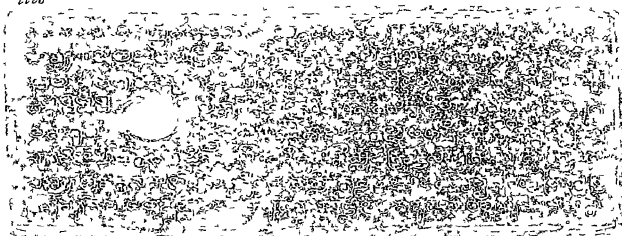
222b

34

36

38

40



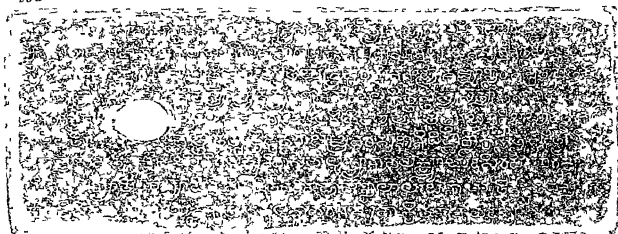
226a

42

44

46

48



226b

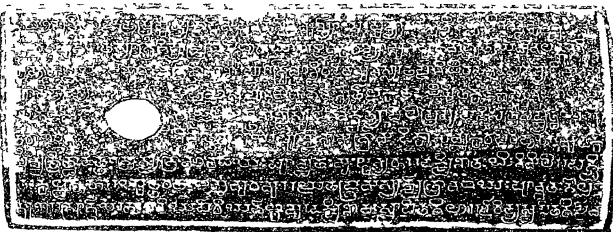
50

52

54

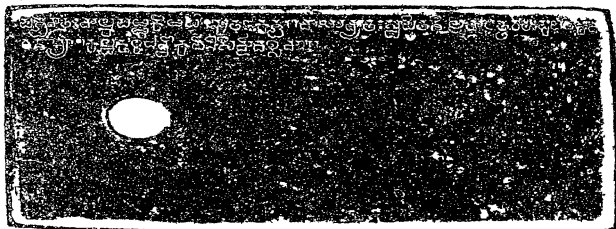
56

58



22

60



- 35 न्वलंबितभुजयुगपरिधौ गिरिन्द्रसानुरस्कः<sup>1</sup> ॥ [१०\*] विदितधराधिपविद्यो  
विधिधायु-
- 36 धकोविदो विलिनारिकुलः [1\*] करितुरगागमकुशलो ह्ररचरणभोजयुग-
- 37 लमधुपश्रीमान् ॥ [११\*] कविगायककल्पतरुर्द्धिजमुनिदिनाम्बवन्धुजनः<sup>3</sup>
- 38 सुरभिः [1\*] याचकगणचिन्तामणिरवनीशमणिर्महोद्यमहसा द्युमणिः ॥  
[१२\*] गिरिरसवसु-
- 39 संख्यान्दे शकसमये मार्गशीर्षमासेस्मिन् [1\*] कृष्टत्रयोदशदिने भृगुवारे  
मैत्रनक्षत्रे ॥ १३\*]
- 40 धनुषि रवौ घटलक्षणे द्वादशवर्षे तु जन्मनः पटं [1\*] योधादुदयगिरीन्द्रो  
रविमिव लोका-

## Fourth Plate, First Side

- 41 नुरागाय ॥ [१४\*] स समस्तभुवनाय्यश्रीविजायदित्यमहाराजाधिराजपरमै-  
श्वर्यपरम[धा]-
- 42 म्मिकोन्नराजकमनाण्डुविषयनिवासिनो राश्रकुटप्रसुखान्कुटुबिनस्सर्व[1\*]नित्यमाज्ञा-  
पयति [1\*]
- 43 आर्या[1\*] । किरनपुरमधाक्षोत्तिकपूराजस्थितं<sup>9</sup> यस्त्रिपुरमिव<sup>10</sup> महेश्वरपाण्डु-  
रगः[1\*] प्रतापि<sup>11</sup> [1\*] तदिह [मु]-
- 44 स्वसहायोरन्वितस्याप्यशक्य<sup>12</sup> गणनममलकीतेस्तस्य<sup>13</sup> सत्वाहसानाम<sup>14</sup> ॥ [१५\*]  
तस्य[1\*]ल-
- 45 जो निरवद्यधवलः[1] कटकराजपट्टशोभितललाटः<sup>15</sup> [1\*] तत्तनयो विजया-  
दित्यकट-
- 46 काधिपतिः[1\*] । वृत्त<sup>17</sup> । तत्पुत्रो दुग्गराजप्रवरगुणनिधिर्धार्मिकस्व-  
ल्यवादि<sup>18</sup> त्यागि भो[गी]
- 47 महात्मा समतिषु विजयि<sup>20</sup> विरलक्ष्मिनिवासः<sup>21</sup> [1\*] चालुक्यानां च लक्ष्म्या  
यदसिरपि सदा रक्षणा[य]-<sup>22</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read गिरिन्द्रसानुरस्कः<sup>2</sup> Read विलीना<sup>3</sup> Read मुनिदीनाम्ब<sup>4</sup> Read कर्ण<sup>5</sup> Read विजयादित्य<sup>6</sup> Read धार्मिकी<sup>7</sup> Read कुट<sup>8</sup> Read किरण<sup>9</sup> Read धाक्षोत्तिकपूराजस्थितं, as suggested in the Nellore District Inscriptions, p 178, note 2.<sup>10</sup> Corrected from महाश्वर<sup>11</sup> Read प्रतापी<sup>12</sup> Read सहैर<sup>13</sup> Read शक्य<sup>14</sup> Read कीर्ति<sup>15</sup> Read सामान्य<sup>16</sup> The visarga was added subsequently<sup>17</sup> Read वादी त्यागी<sup>18</sup> Read वृत्त<sup>19</sup> Read दुग्ग<sup>20</sup> Read विजयौ वीरलक्ष्मी<sup>21</sup> The visarga was added subsequently<sup>22</sup> Read रक्षणायेव

- 48 विव वंश[ः\*] ख्यातो यस्यापि वेंगीगदितवरमहामण्डलालवनाय ।  
[१६\*] तेन कृतो धर्मपु[रीद]-  
49 क्षिणदिशि सज्जिनालयश्चाक्षरः [ः\*] कटकाभरनशुभांकितनाम<sup>1</sup> च पुन्यालयो  
वसति ॥ १७\*

## Fourth Plate ; Second Side

- 50 <sup>3</sup>[श्री]यापुनियशंहप्रपुज्यकोटिमडुवगनेशमुखो<sup>4</sup> यः [ः\*] पुन्यासहनन्दिगच्छो  
जिननन्दिमुनिश्चरो[श्च]<sup>5</sup> ग-  
51 [ण]धरसदृशः । [१८\*] तस्यायशश्चि<sup>6</sup>प्रथितो ध(र)रायाम्<sup>7</sup> (i) दिव[ः\*]-  
कर[ः\*]ख्यो सुनिपुंगवोभुत्<sup>8</sup> [ः\*] यक्षेवल्ल[ः\*]ननिधि-  
52 मीहात्मा स्वयं जिनानां शद्रिशी<sup>9</sup> गुणौघे ॥ [१९\*] श्रीमाश्रिदेवसुनिस्तु-  
तपोनिधिरभवदस्य शिष्य<sup>10</sup> धीम[ः\*]न [ः\*] य-  
53 आतिहार्यमहिमा<sup>11</sup> संपन्नमिवाभिमन्यते लोकः<sup>12</sup> ॥ २०\*<sup>13</sup> तदधिष्ठितकटक[ः\*]-  
भरनजिनालय[ः\*]<sup>14</sup>  
54 य कटकराजविज्ञतै<sup>15</sup> खण्डस्फुटनवक्त्रलोपिलिप्रपुजादिसचसिद्धार्थ्यम्<sup>16</sup> (i) यु-  
55 त्तरायननिमित्ते मलियपूण्डिनामग्रामटिका सर्वकरपरिहार(म्)सुदक-  
56 पुर्व<sup>17</sup> क्तिवा दत्ता । अस्य ग्राम[स्व\*]वधयः पूर्वतः मुंजुन्यब<sup>18</sup> ॥ दक्षिणतः  
यिनिमिलि ॥ पश्चि[म]-  
57 तः कल्लकुब ॥ युत्तरतः[ः]<sup>19</sup> धर्मवुरसु ॥ <sup>20</sup>वेतङ्गामस्य चेचावधयः पूर्वतः  
गोक्षनि-  
58 गुण्ड ॥ आग्नेयतः[ः] रावियपेरियचेळुवु । दक्षिणतः स्थापितशिला ॥  
नैरित्य<sup>21</sup> स्व[ः\*]पितशिलैव [ः\*]

## Fifth Plate

- 59 पश्चिमतः मरूप<sup>22</sup> कोळीयुतट[ः]कक्ष ॥ वायव्यतः स्थापितशिलैव ।  
उत्तरतः दुव[चि]ळुवु [ः\*]  
60 ईशान्याम्<sup>23</sup> (i) कल्लकुरि एव्योकचेनि सिमैव<sup>24</sup> सीमा ॥

<sup>1</sup> Read 'भरप'. The whole compound seems to be meant for कटकाभरपुन्यानामहिम, which would have offended against the metre

<sup>2</sup> Read पुण्या

<sup>3</sup> Read श्रीयापनीयसचप्रपुज्य

<sup>4</sup> Read 'गणे' or perhaps, for the sake of the metre, 'गणेश्वर'

<sup>5</sup> Read पुण्या<sup>6</sup> and compare below, p 56, note 2

<sup>7</sup> Read धराया

<sup>8</sup> Read 'भू'

<sup>9</sup> Read शिष्यी

<sup>10</sup> Read यश्चातिहार्यमहिमा

<sup>11</sup> Read 'पिहित'

<sup>12</sup> Read 'भरप'

<sup>13</sup> Read 'भवत्तयावलिप्रपुजादिसचसिद्धार्थ्यमुत्तरायण'

<sup>14</sup> Or possibly मुंजुन्य

<sup>15</sup> Read उत्तरतः

<sup>16</sup> Read नैर्वा

<sup>17</sup> Read ईशान्या

<sup>18</sup> Read 'मुनीव'

<sup>19</sup> Read 'सुवर्ण सुवर्ण'.

<sup>20</sup> Read 'क्षि'.

<sup>21</sup> Read 'विज्ञ'.

<sup>22</sup> Read 'युक्त' कला.

<sup>23</sup> Read 'यत'.

<sup>24</sup> Read 'क्षि'.

## ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Verse 1 invokes the religion (*śāsana*) of the lord Jinendra.

(Lane 7) **Kubja-Vishnuvardhana (I.)**, the brother of **Satyāśraya-Vallabhendra** who adorned the family of the **Chālukyas**, ruled the **Vēṅgi** country (*maṇḍala*) for eighteen years, his son **Jayasimha (I.)** for thirty-three; **Vishnuvardhana (II.)**, the son of his younger brother **Indrarāja**, for nine, his son **Mangī-yuvarāja** for twenty-five, his son **Jayasimha (II.)** for thirteen, his younger brother **Kokkilī** for six months, his eldest brother **Vishnuvardhana (III.)**, having expelled him, for thirty-seven years, his son **Vijayāditya (I.)-bhaṭṭāraka** for eighteen, his son **Vishnuvardhana (IV.)** for thirty-six

(V. 2) King **Vijayāditya (II.)**, surnamed **Narendramrigarāja**, who had the courage of a lion, for forty years with eight<sup>1</sup>

(L 13) His son **Kālī-Vishnuvardhana (V.)** for one year and a half His son, whose other name was **Parachakrarāma**,

(V 3) (*was*) **Vijayāditya (III.)**, who, having slain in a great battle **Mangī**, the king of the great **Nodamba-rāshtra**, having defeated the **Gangas** who took refuge on the peak of **Gangakūṭa**, and having terrified **Sankila**, the lord of the excellent **Dāṇḍa**, who was joined by the fierce **Vallabha**, ruled the earth for forty-four years

(L 16) **Chālukya-Bhima (I.)**, the son of his younger brother **Vikramāditya (I.)** who had received the dignity of **Yuvarāja**, for thirty His eldest son<sup>2</sup> **Vijayāditya (IV.)** for six months His eldest son **Ammarāja (I.)** for seven years Having overcome his infant son, **Tāla-nripa**, the son of **Yuddhamalla (I.)**, the paternal uncle of **Chālukya-Bhima (I.)**, for one month

(V 4) Having slain at the head of a rough battle this **Tāla-rāja** together with crowds of different vassals, who were joined by a superior army (*and*) had troops of furious elephants, the glorious king **Vikramāditya (II.)**, the son of king **Chālukya-Bhima (I.)**, of very fierce power, righteously ruled for one year the earth surrounded by the girdle of the oceans

(L 22) Afterwards at the setting (*i.e.* the death) of **Vikramāditya (II.)**, the kinsmen-princes who were desirous of the kingdom, (*viz*) **Yuddhamalla**, **Rājamārtanda**, **Kaṇṭhikā-Vijayāditya**, etc., were fighting for supremacy, oppressing the subjects like **Rākshasas** (*at the setting of the sun*) In mere war five years passed away Then (*succeeded*)—

(V. 5 f) The fierce warrior who slew among those **Rājamārtanda**; who in a battle made **Kaṇṭhikā-Vijayāditya** and **Yuddhamalla** go to a foreign country, the curved sword wielded by whose strong arm dispatched to the abode of Death many others who, though respectable kings, had shown themselves puffed up by evil conduct (*and*) causing distress to the country, (*and whose*) command is carried on the head like a garland by the eager kings of the earth.

(V 8) This **Rājabhima (II.)**, the son of **Vijayāditya (IV.)** (*and*) grandson of **Chālukya-Bhima (I.)**, righteously ruled the surface of the earth for twelve years.

(V 9) **Ammarāja (II.)**, who was born to him by **Lōkamahādēvi**, as **Kumāra** to **Mahāśvara** by **Umā**,

(V 13 f) Who—as the eastern lord of mountains, to redder the world, (*puts on himself*) the sun—put on, to please the world, the fillet in the twelfth year of (*his*) birth, in the year reckoned by the mountains (7), the flavours (6) and the **Vasus** (8)—(*i.e.* 887)—of the **Śaka** era,

<sup>1</sup> The reading of the text seems to be meant for **अष्टविंशतिमा अष्टभिः**, which would however be against the metre

<sup>2</sup> The other Eastern Chālukya inscriptions show that *agraja* has to be taken here to mean 'the first born son,' and not, as usually, 'the elder brother' A similar use of the word *agrajanman* is noted by Dr Fleet, above, Vol VII p 181

in this month of Mārgasīrsha, on the thirteenth day of the dark (*fortnight*), on Thursday, in the Matra (Anurādhā) *nakṣatra*, while the sun (*was*) in Dhanu, in the Ghata lagna,

(L 41) This *Samastabhuvanāśraya*, the glorious Vijayāditya (VI), the *Mahārājādhirāja Paramāśvara*, the very pious Ammarāja (II) thus commands all the ryots, headed by the *Rishtrahātas*, inhabiting the district (*vishaya*) of Kamma-nāndu — Lords!

(V 15) Even one possessed of thousands of mouths (*would be*) unable to count the great achievements of that valiant Pāndaranga, of spotless fame, who burnt Kiranapura, the residence of Krishnarāja, as Mahēsa (Śiva) (*burnt*) Tirupura

(L 44) His son (*was*) Niravadyadhavala, whose forehead was decorated with the fillet of Katakārāja His son (*was*) the Katakādhipati Vijayāditya

Veise (16) His son (*was*) Durgarāja, whose sword always (*served*) only for the protection of the fortune of the Chālukyas, and whose renowned family (*served*) for the support of the excellent great country (*mandala*) called Vēngi.

• (V 17) There is on the southern side of Dharmapuri a very charming excellent temple of Jina (*Jinālaya*) founded by him, an abode of merit, and marked with the auspicious name of Katakābharana.

(V 18) (*There was*) the lord of ascetics Jinanandin, who resembled the Ganadharas, belonged to the pure and worthy<sup>2</sup> Nandi-gachchha (*and*) was the chief lord of the Kotimaduva(P)-gana, which is to be worshipped (*as belonging to*) the holy Yāpaniya-saṃgha

(V 19) His first disciple was a chief of ascetics called Div[ā]kara, renowned on earth, a store of highest knowledge (*and*) high-souled, who resembled the Jinas themselves by great virtues

(V 20) His disciple was the wise ascetic Śrīmāndīradēva, a store of great austerities, whom people desire as if he were possessed of the power of *pratyākhyā*<sup>3</sup>

(L 53) To the Katakābharana-Jinālaya superintended by him there was given, at the request of the Katakārāja, for the cost of repairs of breaks and cracks, offerings, worship, *etc*, and of an alms-house (*sattra*), on the occasion of the winter solstice (*uttarāyana*), the small village named Mahyapūndi, with exemption from all taxes, with libations of water

(L 56) The boundaries of this village (*are*) in the east Muñjun[u]ru, in the south Yimulū, in the west Kalvakuru, in the north Dharmavuramu

(L 57) The boundaries of the fields of this village (*are*) in the east the Gollam-guntha (*pond*), in the south-east the Rāviya-periya-cheruvu (*tank*), in the south a demarcation stone, in the south-west also a demarcation stone, in the west Malkaparru and the Korabōyu-tatāka (*tank*), in the north-west also a demarcation stone, in the north the Duba cheruvu (*tank*), in the north-east the boundary (*is*) also the boundary of the Eyvōka-chēnu (*field*) in Kalvakuru.

## NO 7—PLATES OF VIJAYA-DEVAVARMAN

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH D., HALLE (SAALE)

Two sets of excellent ink-impressions of this grant were sent to me by Rai Bahadur V Venkayya, who had received the original plates from the Collector of the Kistna district

<sup>1</sup> The word *vamā* means also 'a cane,' see *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p. 173, note 5

<sup>2</sup> It is not quite impossible that *punydrūka* is a mistake for *Pundga*, compare the Punnāgavṛkṣamūlagana of the Nandisamgha, above, Vol IV p. 338

<sup>3</sup> According to Buddhist works, *pratyākhyā* or *pratyākhyā* means 'jugglery, working miracles,' see the *St. Petersburg Dictionary*.

"The plates belong to the Head Assistant Collector of Narsapur, in whose office they have been lying for a long time. The person from whom they were originally obtained is not known."

"The copper-plates are four in number. Their length is  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches, and their height  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches at the ends and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in the middle. Their margins are not raised into rims. The ring was cut by me (*viz* Mr Venkayya) for the first time. Its diameter is  $2\frac{3}{8}$  inches, and its thickness slightly over  $\frac{1}{8}$  inch. The ends of the ring are secured at the base of an oval seal, measuring  $2\frac{1}{2}$  by  $1\frac{3}{8}$  inches. The seal is all but obliterated, but a faint trace of some quadruped—perhaps a tiger—can be seen."

The inscription on the plates is carefully engraved and on the whole in a state of very good preservation. The alphabet resembles that of the three grants of Simhavarman<sup>1</sup> and of the plates of Vijaya-Nandivarman.<sup>2</sup> But neither *t* nor *n* have a loop at the left. As in the Hīrahadagall plates,<sup>3</sup> the former is distinguished by a slight curve at the right, compare *eg* the *ta* of *etassa* (l 8) with the *na* of *vayanena* (l 7). As first members of a consonant group both look the same, see the *tā* of *āchchittā* and the *nā* of *ch=ānūmantā* (l 17). Final forms of *t* and *m*, followed by a mark of punctuation which looks like a right angle, occur at the end of lines 17 and 19. The numerical symbol 20 occurs in line 11, the symbols 3 and 10 are used in the date (l 15), and the plates *u a, u b, u c, u d* and *iv* are numbered consecutively, like the pages of a modern book,<sup>4</sup> with the symbols 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 on the left margin, on the first plate the sacred syllable *ōm* occupies the place of the figure 1.

The language is Prākṛit prose, with the exception of the last plate which bears two of the customary Sanskrit verses. While in the cave inscriptions every double consonant is expressed by a single letter, the orthography of the prose part of the subjoined plates agrees in this respect with that of the literary Prākṛit and of the British Museum plates of Chārudēvi.<sup>5</sup> In *samvachchhara* (l 14) *v* is doubled after *anusvāra*. The language of the new plates is more archaic than that of the literary Prākṛit in one important point: single consonants between vowels generally remain unchanged.<sup>6</sup> Thus *k* is preserved in *bhaṭṭāra* (l 3), *kh* in *pamukha* (l 7), *g* in *bhagavato* (l 1), *j* in *vajya* (ll 1, 6, 14), *yājya* (l 5) and *mahārāja* (l 6), *t* in *bhagavato* (l 1), *anujjhāta* (l 2 f), *bhānitavva* and *eta* (l 8), *pariharitavva* (l 13 f), *th* in *raṭha* (l 2), *ḍ* in *pāḍa* (ll 2 and 3) and *padesa* (l 10), *dh* in *medha* (l 5). But elision and *ya-sints* have taken place in *ādihya* (l 11) for *ārdhika*, *nyattana* (l 10) for *nivartana*, *vayana* (l 7) for *vachana*, and at the beginning of the enclitic *cha* in *duvaggāna ya* (l 12) and *pariharitavva ya* (l 13 f).<sup>7</sup> The word *Pausha* (l 15) appears in its Sanskrit form.<sup>8</sup> Dental *n* occurs in *anujjhāta* (l 2 f), *Silānāyana* (l 4), *yājya* (l 5), *ghaṭṭhāna* (ll 11 and 12) = Sanskrit *grīhaṭhāna*, and lingual *n* in *bhānitavva* (l 8), *Ganasamma* (l 9), *duvaggāna* and *rakkhāna* (l 12), *samānatta* (l 13) = Sanskrit *samānāpta*,<sup>9</sup> and *samvachchharāna* (l 14). Both *n* and *n̄* appear in *vayanena* (l 7), *nyattanān*[*ā*] (l 10) and *manussānam* (l 11).<sup>10</sup> Among the remaining Prākṛit words may be noted the two numerals *terasa* (l 15) and *visam* (l 11),<sup>11</sup> and of other inflected words the ablative *Vengipurā* (l 1), the genitives *Devavammassa* (l 6) and *Ganasammassa* (l 9),<sup>12</sup> the two differently formed locatives *Elāre* (l 7) and *padesamhi* (l 10), and the instrumental *parihāreha* (l 13).

The inscription is dated on the tenth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Pausa in the thirteenth year (in words and figures, l 14 f) of the *Mahārāja Vijaya-Devavarman* (l 6), who issued

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol VIII p 160

<sup>2</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol V p 175 ff

<sup>3</sup> *Ep Ind* Vol I p 2 ff

<sup>4</sup> Another instance, in which the single pages of a grant are numbered, are the British Museum plates of Chārudēvi, see above, Vol VIII p 144

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol VIII p 144 and note 5

<sup>6</sup> Compare Prof Fischel's Prākṛit grammar, § 189

<sup>7</sup> Compare *ibid* § 184

<sup>8</sup> Compare *ibid* § 61a

<sup>9</sup> Compare *ibid* § 68

<sup>10</sup> Compare *ibid* § 224

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid* §§ 443 and 445

<sup>12</sup> Compare *ibid* § 402

this grant from Vēṅgipura (l 1) and addressed it to the villagers of Ēlūra (l 7) The donee was named Ganaśarman (l 9) and received twenty (in words and figures, l 11) *nvartanas* of land, evidently near Ēlūra, together with a site for his house and a site for the houses of his servants.

The king is described as 'the performer of horse-sacrifices, the Śāṅkākāyana, the fervent Māhāśvara, who is devoted to the feet of the lord (his) father, (and) who meditates at the feet of the holy Chitrarathasvāmin' Nearly the same epithets are applied in another set of plates to the *Mahārāja Vijaya-Nandivarman*,<sup>1</sup> who was the son of the *Mahārāja Chandavarman*, issued his grant likewise from Vēṅgipura, and addressed it to the inhabitants of a village in the district of Kudrābhāra.<sup>2</sup> This family may be designated the Śāṅkākāyana Mahārājas of Vēṅgipura As Dēvavarman's grant is in Prākṛit, he was presumably an ancestor of Chandavarman's son Nandivarman, whose grant is in Sanskrit

Vēṅgipura, the capital of the Śāṅkākāyanas, has been identified with Pedda-Vēṅgi, a village near Ellore in the Godavari district.<sup>3</sup> The correctness of this identification is confirmed by the existence of a small mound which, on a visit to Pedda-Vēṅgi in 1902, was shown to me by the villagers as the site of the ancient temple of Chitrarathasvāmin,<sup>4</sup> the family deity of the Śāṅkākāyana Mahārājas Other indications point to the same part of the country The plates of Vijaya-Nandivarman were found in the neighbouring Kolleru lake,<sup>5</sup> and Ēlūra, to whose inhabitants the subjoined edict was addressed, is no doubt the modern town of Ēlūru (Ellore), 7 miles from Pedda-Vēṅgi.

#### TEXT.<sup>6</sup>

##### *First Plate.*

Om<sup>7</sup> [!\*]

- 1 Śrī-vijaya-Vēṅgipurā [!\*] Bhagavato
- 2 Chitrarathasāmi-pādānu-
- 3 jhātassa bappabhāttāraka pādabhāttassa

##### *Second Plate, First Side*

- 4 paramamāhessarassa Śāṅkākāyanassa
- 5 assamedhayājino
- 6 mahārāja-srī-Vijaya-Devavammassa

##### *Second Plate, Second Side*

- 7 vayanena Ēlūre muluda-pamukho
- 8 gāmo bhānitavvo [!\*] Etassa
- 9 Ba[bhura]-sagottassa Ganassammassa

##### *Third Plate ; First Side.*

- 10 sundara-padesamhi bhūmi-miyattanān[!]
- 11 viśam 20 gharatthānam addhiya-manussānam
- 12 dvayaggāna ya gharatthānam parihāra-rakkhaṇam

<sup>1</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol V p 175 ff

<sup>2</sup> This is the actual reading of the plates, see above, Vol VI p 316 and note 4

<sup>3</sup> *South-Ind Pal* p 16, note 1, *Ind Ant* Vol XX p 93

<sup>4</sup> Compare the quotation from the *Madras Journal*, Vol XIX (which is at present inaccessible to me), above Vol IV p 143, note 7

<sup>5</sup> *South Ind Pal* p 135, note 1

<sup>6</sup> From two sets of ink impressions.

<sup>7</sup> Expressed by a symbol, which stands on the left margin of line 2.

2

ॐ श्री गणेशाय नमः  
 ॐ श्री गणेशाय नमः  
 ॐ श्री गणेशाय नमः

३१०

4

ॐ श्री गणेशाय नमः  
 ॐ श्री गणेशाय नमः  
 ॐ श्री गणेशाय नमः

6

३१६

8

ॐ श्री गणेशाय नमः  
 ॐ श्री गणेशाय नमः  
 ॐ श्री गणेशाय नमः



ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

## Third Plate, Second Side

- 13 samānatiam [1\*] Eyam savva-parihārehi parihari-  
 14 tavvo ya [1\*] Vijaya-samvṛachchharāni  
 15 terasa 10 3 Pausha-kālapakkha-dasamī [10P][1\*]

## Fourth Plate

- 16 Shashtam varsha-sahasrāni svarggē kridati bhūmi-dah [1\*]  
 17 āchchhētā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakā<sup>1</sup> vasēt ||  
 18 Bahubhir=vasudhā dattā bahubhis=ch=ānupālita [1\*]  
 19 yasya yasya yadā bhūmih<sup>2</sup> tasya tasya tadā phala[m] ||

## TRANSLATION

Om (Line 1) From the prosperous and victorious Vēngṭpura. The villagers<sup>3</sup> of Bēlūra, headed by the *Muluda*,<sup>4</sup> must be addressed (as follows) by the word of the glorious Mahārāja Vijaya-Dēvavarman, the performer of horse-sacrifices, the Śālankāyana, the fervent Māhēśvara, who is devoted to the feet of the lord (his) father, (and) who meditates at the feet of the holy<sup>5</sup> Chitrarathasvāmin —

(L 8) "It has been ordered that to this<sup>6</sup> Ganaśarman of the Ba[*bhura*]<sup>7</sup> gōtra (there have to be made over) twenty—20—*navartanas* of land in a handsome locality, a house-site (for himself, and) a house-site for the men who receive half the crop<sup>8</sup> and for (his) door-keepers,<sup>9</sup> (and) that the immunities (granted to him) have to be protected And thus he must be exempted with all immunities (In) the victorious year thirteen—13— (of the reign), (on) the tenth—[10]— *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Pausha "

[Ll 16-19 contain two of the usual verses.]

## No 8—BENARES INSCRIPTION OF PANTHA.

By P DATA RAM SAHNI

I edit this inscription from two rubbings kindly supplied to me, one by Dr J Ph Vogel, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Northern Circle, and the other by Mr G. D Ganguh, Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow. A transcript of it has been published before in 1886 by Prof Hultzsch in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. XL p 55

The slab on which the inscription is engraved is said to have been discovered in the vicinity of the modern city of Benares, and is one of the twenty-four objects which were presented at the instance of Mr J. H Marshall, to the Lucknow Museum by the Principal of Queen's

<sup>1</sup> This word looks almost like *narakā*

<sup>2</sup> Read *bhūmih*

<sup>3</sup> Literally, 'the village'

<sup>4</sup> This looks like a Dravidian word, which however cannot be traced in the dictionaries. The plates of Vijaya-Nandivarman (L 4) seem to read, instead of it, *Munuda*, but the apparent *nu* in the middle of this word may be in reality an obliterated *u*

<sup>5</sup> The genitive *bhagavato* refers to Chitrarathasvāmin, the first member of the following compound. This is of course a grammatical blunder of the officer who drafted the inscription

<sup>6</sup> The pronoun 'this' evidently had been uttered by the king in the presence of the donee, just as *eteśam* in the plates of Vijaya-Nandivarman, l 5

<sup>7</sup> Prof Kielhorn suggests to me that this doubtful word may be meant for *Bābhru*

<sup>8</sup> On *ardhika* or *aradhika* see the *Mitāksharā* on Yājñavalkya, I 166. The Prakrit form *addhika* occurs in *Ep Ind* Vol I p 6, text line 39

<sup>9</sup> The Sanskrit original of *duvagga* seems to be *dvārga*, which may be taken in the sense of *dwāreshika*

College, Benares, in December 1903<sup>1</sup> In discussing these sculptures, Dr. Vogel also noticed this stone, but failed to ascertain its precise find-spot<sup>2</sup>

Judging from the rubbings, the slab which bears the extant portion of the inscription measures 26" by 15" (66 cm by 38 cm) The stone-mason has done his work with great care and neatness, and the letters are deeply cut

The inscription consists of eight lines, but it is far from complete About one-fifth of the entire slab is broken away along the proper left edge, and consequently lines 1-7 have each lost a number of syllables, which varies from nine to fourteen The first three syllables of the first line and the first *akṣara* of the second line have also disappeared owing to a small piece of stone having chipped off from the upper right corner The record is further damaged by the surface having more or less peeled off in the marginal portions

The characters of the inscription very closely resemble those of an inscription from Jhālrāpātan<sup>3</sup> and are of the ornamental type current in Northern India about the beginning of the eighth century A.D. Attention must, however, be drawn to the letters *bh* and *y*<sup>4</sup> The former of these always, and the latter in several cases, exhibit forms which come very close to those of the Maukharī alphabet of the sixth century A.D. The language is correct Sanskrit and metrical throughout As regards orthography, there are three different points which deserve notice (1) the doubling of the letters *m*, *t*, *p* and *v* in conjunction with a preceding or following *r*, in -*maranayōr=mmōksha*, l 1, *yattira*, l 2, *attira* and -*mūrttiḥ*, l 4, *sarppat-sarppa*- and -*uchir=vuḍḍā*-, l 6, (2) the substitution of a single consonant for a double one in -*tatva*-, l 3, -*vrityā*, l 4, *uḃalan*, l 7, and (3) the use of *v* for *b* in *vrahmahā*, l 2, and *sandhuvandha*-, l 7

The inscription is not dated, and its object is to record the erection of a shrine of *Bhavanī* at Benares There are altogether five verses, the first three in the *Śaḍgḥara* and the last two in the *Sārdūlavahīdita* metre The first stanza is devoted to the praise of the city of *Vārānaśi* The purport of the second verse is not quite certain, it seems to speak of a particular quarter of the holy city, which was often visited even by the moon when practising her penance The third verse contains an eulogy of the builder of the shrine, named *Pantha*, and the last two speak of the consecration of the *Bhavanī* image (°) and the construction of the shrine, respectively

#### TEXT.

- 1 [Om svasti ||\*] [Khyā]tā Vārānaśi-yam tribhuvana-bhavan-ābhōga-cham=iti dūrāt=sevantē yām viraktā janana-maranayōr=mmōksha-sakti-aka-[chi]ttāḥ [I] sō —  
— — — — —
- 2 [ta] saganō yattira dēvō vimuktah yām drishtvā vra(bra)hmah=āpi chyuta-kalikalushō jāyatē śuddha-bhāvah || [1\*] Asyām=uttunga-śrīnga-sphuta-śa[śi]-kṛana-[svēta-bhāśā sanātham ramy-āyama\*]-
- 3 pratōli-vividha-japada-stri-vilās-abhūrāmam | vidyā-vēdārtha-tatva(ttva)-vrata-japanyama-vyagra-chandr-ābhijushtam śrīmat-sthānam [pri]thivyā — — — — — || [2\*]
- 4 Attr=ābhūt=Pantha-nāmā śīsur=api vinaya-vyāpatō bhadra-mūrttiḥ tyāgi dhīraḥ kṛtājñah parilaghu-vibhavō=py=ātma=vritya(tty)=ābhūta[ṣṭah]<sup>5</sup> | Gaṅgā-srōtaś=śuchi-śrī\*]-

<sup>1</sup> Annual Report of the Lucknow Provincial Museum for 1903-4, p. 2

<sup>2</sup> Archaeological Survey Report for 1903-4, p. 212.

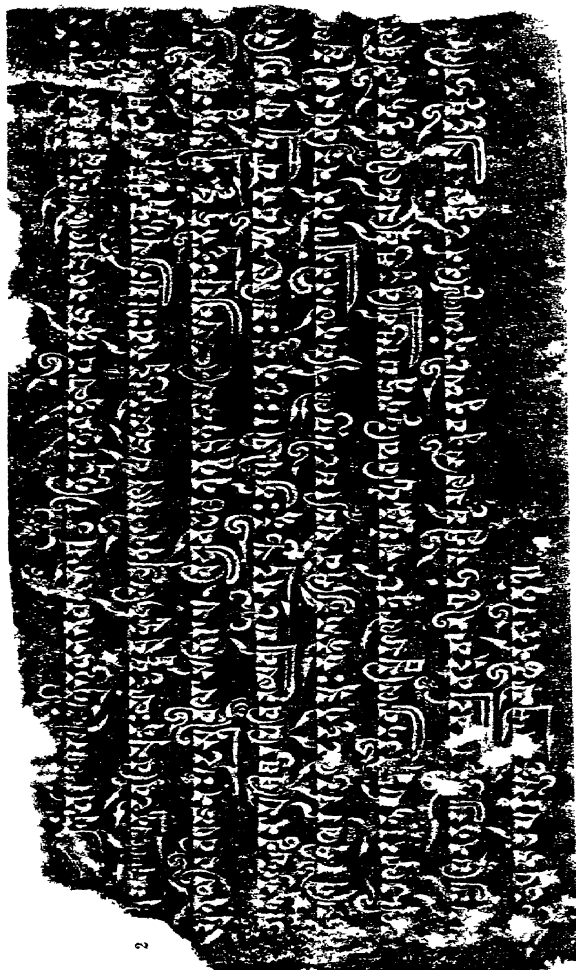
<sup>3</sup> Ind. Ant. Vol. V p. 180 and Plate.

<sup>4</sup> Eg. in *yattira*, *jāyatē*, l 2, *vinaya*, l 4, and *yāna*, l 5

<sup>5</sup> [In my own transcript this word was misread as =*ārya*—E. H.]

<sup>6</sup> This restoration is based on the preceding *ābhūta* and *dīma-vrityā*

Benares inscription of Pantha.



2

4

6

8

E Hultzsch

Scale one third

From a rubbing supplied by Dr J Ph. Vogel

Colotype by Gebr. Pietner, Halle



(V 5) Not satisfied with the erection (of *this image only*), the pious man, desirous of bliss, caused to be built a shrine of Bhavāni, which was joined with a very adhesive and bright cement, resplendent with the sound of bells, lovely, attractive, . . . (and decorated) with lofty flags and yak-tails.

## NO. 9 — THE CHAHAMANAS OF NADDULA.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E., GÖTTINGEN.

Of the Chāhamānas of Śākambhari we possess two long inscriptions. One of them is the Harsha inscription of Vīgraharāja, edited by me in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II p. 116 ff. It is dated in the [Vikrama] year 1030, corresponding to about A.D. 973, and gives the genealogy of the Chāhamānas from Gūrvaka I, 'who attained to pre-eminence as a hero in the assembly of the glorious Nāgavalōka,<sup>1</sup> the foremost of kings,' to Vīgraharāja. The other is the difficult Bijoli (Bijach, Bijolia, Bijhoh) rock inscription of the reign of Sōmēśvara, which has been uncritically edited in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LV Part I p. 40 ff. This inscription is dated in the Vikrama year 1226, corresponding to A.D. 1170, and gives a long genealogy, commencing with Sāmānta, the reputed founder of the family, and ending with Sōmēśvara.<sup>2</sup> Between these two longer records, and subsequently to the second, we have a few shorter inscriptions of the same family, notably the Delhi Śivalik pillar inscriptions of Viśaladēva-Vīgraharāja of A.D. 1164, and two short inscriptions on the defeat of the Chandēlla Paramardidēva by the Chāhamāna Prithvīrāja II, of the [Vikrama] year 1239=A.D. 1182. The latest available date for this family is the [Vikrama] year 1244=A.D. 1187.<sup>3</sup>

From this Śākambhari family there branched off, some time in the first half of the 10th century A.D., another line of Chāhamānas (or Chāhumānas), which was founded by the Śākambhari prince Lakshmana, and which for a long time had its seat of government at Naddūla,<sup>4</sup> the modern Nadol in the Jōdhpur State of Rājputāna.<sup>5</sup> To this branch of the family there is assigned in my *Northern Ind.* only a single inscription, No. 141, the Nadol copper-plate inscription of the Mahārāja Ālhanadēva of A.D. 1161. But there belong to it also other inscriptions of the *List*, inscriptions of chiefs whose connection with the family was not known

<sup>1</sup> I have already stated elsewhere that the true reading in verse 13 of the Harsha inscription is *śrīman Nāgavalōka pṛasāraṇya sabbā laṇḍha(bāha) vīraprasaṅghakā*. In my Synchronistic Table for Northern India I have suggested that Nāgavalōka may be identical with the Prabhāra Nāgabāha; but this appears to be a mistake. A definite date for a king Nāgavalōka—apparently the Vikrama year 813=A.D. 756—will, so far as I can see now, be furnished by a copper-plate inscription which has been quite recently discovered, and of which I have received a photograph from my friend Mr. Ozha.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol. VIII. Appendix I p. 18 f.

<sup>3</sup> See my *Northern Ind.*, Nos. 144, 175 and 188.

<sup>4</sup> So this name is spelt below, in the inscriptions A, B and C, and in the inscription of Lantipādēva, treated of under D. We find the name spelt in the same way (with *dd*) in verse 21 of the Bijoli rock inscription, which is quite wrongly given in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LV Part I. p. 42, the actual reading on the stone being: *Jatālipuram guldāpuram kṛtā Pallikāgī pallīva | naddala-iniyah rōhda=Naddālā gāva sam(ava) rāgā*. In the inscription at Vimala's temple on Mount Ābā, which will be mentioned below, p. 81, the name is *Naddāla*. In verse 48 of the Mount Ābā inscription of Samarambha (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI p. 249) it is either *Naddāla* or *Naddāla* (not *Naddāla*), and in Prof. Weber's Catalogue of the MSS. of the Berlin Library, Vol. II. pp. 1003 and 1004, we find *Naddāla*, *Naddalapurā* and *Naddālapura*. In Mr. Kitamatsu's edition of the *Kirikomwadō*, II 98, and, copied from it, in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 26, verse 14, we also have *Naddāla*, but this almost certainly is a mistake.

<sup>5</sup> Towards the end of the 12th century A.D. the seat of government was transferred to Jivālipura (Jālor); and at the commencement of the 14th century a branch of the family took Chandkrati with Mount Ābā from the Paramāra.

when I compiled the *List* My object in writing this paper is, to give the genealogy of these Chāhamānas of Naddūla, so far as the documents which lately have come to my knowledge enable me to do so For this purpose I shall give the texts of three inscriptions which the kindness of Dr Fleet and Mr Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha allows me to edit, and an account of the contents of some Mount Ābū inscriptions, based on excellent impressions for which we have to thank Mr Cousens

#### A.—NADOL PLATES OF ĀLHANADĒVA; [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1218

These plates were obtained by Colonel Tod,<sup>1</sup> in October 1819, at Nadol, a town in the Jōdhpur State of Rājputāna, and presented to the Royal Asiatic Society An account of their contents was given by him in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol I p 804, and the inscription which they contain was edited, in a rather slovenly manner, by Rao Bahadur H H. Dhruva, in *Journ. Bombay As Soc* Vol XIX p 26 ff I re-edit it from an excellent photolithograph,<sup>2</sup> prepared under the superintendence of, and kindly placed at my disposal by, Dr Fleet

These are two plates, each of which measures about 8½" broad by 6½" high The first plate is inscribed on one side only, and the second on both sides The edges of the inner sides of them are fashioned slightly thicker, so as to protect the writing, and the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation. Both plates contain a hole for a ring, but the ring and any seal that may have been attached to it have not been preserved The characters are Nāgarī The language is Sanskrit, and the greater part of the text is in verse In respect of orthography it will suffice to state that the letters *b* and *v* are both denoted by the sign for *v*, and that the dental sibilant is often used for the palatal The text contains a considerable number of clerical mistakes, most of which can be easily corrected Other mistakes are shown by the metre to be due to the author himself, who possessed no accurate knowledge of Sanskrit Of these I would point out here merely the wrong *samāha* in *sprihayana=amaratām*, (for *sprihayana=amaratām*) in line 17, the meaningless *-pragunibhūtāpasavyakahā pānīh* (for *-pragunibhūtāpasavyapānīh*) in line 21, and the omission of some word like *astīkam* before the words *vō=stu* in line 18. In lines 13, 14 and 16 the potential *syāt* is used for *asti* or *bhavati*<sup>3</sup>

The inscription records a donation by the Mahārāja Ālhanadēva of Naddūla<sup>4</sup> According to lines 18-23, this chief, on Sunday, the 14th *tithi* (described as *mahāchaturdaśī-parvan*<sup>5</sup>) of the bright half of Śrāvana in the year 1218, after worshipping the Sun and Īśāna (Śiva) and making gifts to Brāhmins and gurus, granted to (the Jama temple of) Mahāvīradēva in the Sandēraka *gachchha*,<sup>6</sup> at the holy place<sup>7</sup> (*mahāsthāna*) of Naddūla, a monthly sum of five *drammas*, (to be paid) from the custom-house (*śulka-mandapikā*<sup>8</sup>) in the grounds<sup>9</sup> of Naddūla.

<sup>1</sup> See his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol I p 698, my *Northern List*, No 141.

<sup>2</sup> *Indian Inscriptions*, No 10, not yet published

<sup>3</sup> For instances where the potential is used for the imperfect see e.g. *Ind Ant* Vol XVII p 185.

<sup>4</sup> So the name is spelt twice in line 22, and the same spelling is required by the metre in line 3 See above, p 62, note 4.

<sup>5</sup> For the similar use of *parvan* in other dates see *Ind Ant* Vol XX p 418, and Vol XXV p 289 f

<sup>6</sup> In Mount Ābū inscriptions this *gachchha* is also called *Sandara-gachchha* and *Shandēraka gachchha* The town of Sandara (the Sanderao of the map of the Rājputāna Agency) is mentioned below in C, line 16

<sup>7</sup> According to Colonel Tod Naddūla was one of the ancient seats of the Jains

<sup>8</sup> For passages in which the term *mandapikā* occurs, compare e.g. *Ep Ind* Vol I p 114, l 27, p 173, l 6 (*Śtyadān-satka-mandapikā*), p 175, l 19, p 177, l 29 and l 30, p 179, l 45, p 262, l 3 (*pattana-mandapikā*), *Ind Ant* Vol XIV p 10, col 2 (*Śrīpatā-satka-mandapikā*), *Journ As Soc Beng* Vol LV, Part I p 47, iv, and p 48, v, *Bhāvanagar Insor* p 205, l 7 *Śulka-mandapikā* occurs e.g. in *Bhāvanagar Insor* p 158 f, ll 10, 15 and 18.—The meaning of *mandapikā* is suggested by the Marāṭhī *māndar*, 'a custom-house'

<sup>9</sup> The word *talapada* (in *śrī Naddūla-talapada-śulka-mandapikādyām*) is not found in the dictionaries. I take it to be synonymous with, or similar in meaning to, *svatala*, which occurs in some of the Valabhi inscriptions, and for which see Dr Fleet's note above, Vol. VI. p 166 Compare also *Ind Ant*, Vol XI p 332, note 80

The inscription, after the words 'ôm, adoration to the Omniscient,' opens with a verse in which the holy Mahāvīradēva, 'the youngest of the Jinas,' is desired to bestow welfare. It then (in verses 2-7) gives the following genealogy of the grantor —

In the Chāhumāna race there was first at Naddūla the king Lakshmana. His son was Sôhiya, and his son Balirāja. After him came his paternal uncle Vīgrahapāla. His son was Mahēndra, his son Anahilla, and his son Bālaprasāda. His brother was Jēndrarāja, and his son Prithivipāla. His brother was Jōjalla, and his younger brother Āsārāja, whose son was Ālhanadēva. Nothing of historical importance is said about any of these chiefs.

According to lines 33-38, the *dātā* of this grant was the minister, appointed to the secretaryship (*śrīkarana*),<sup>1</sup> Lakshmidhara, the son of Dharaṇigga, of the Prāgvāta race, and the grant was composed and written by Śrīdhara, the son of Vāsala (Visala<sup>2</sup>), who was the son of Manōratha, of the family of the Naigamas. The inscription ends with the words 'this is the own hand (i.e. sign-manual) of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Ālhanadēva.'

Naddūla of course is the modern Nadol where the plates were obtained, and where the temple of Mahāvīra to which the grant was made apparently still exists.<sup>3</sup> The date of the grant, for the expired *Chastrādi* Vikrama year 1218, regularly corresponds to Sunday, the 6th August A.D. 1161, when the 14th *tithi* of the bright half of Śrāvana ended 15 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise.<sup>3</sup>

#### TEXT<sup>4</sup>

##### First Plate

- 1 Ôm<sup>5</sup> || Ôm namah Sarvvaññāyāḥ<sup>6</sup> | Dīsatu<sup>7</sup> Jina-kanshthah karmmavam(bam)dha-  
kshayissthah parihṛite-madamārakrôdha-
- 2 lōbhādīvarah | duritasikham-samvāḥ<sup>8</sup> svô(śvô)vasiyam cha sam vas=  
tribhuvanakṛita-sēvāh |<sup>9</sup> śrī-Mahāvī-
- 3 radevāh || [1\*] Aśi<sup>10</sup> parama ā-jalanidhi jagati-talô<sup>11</sup> Chāhumāna-vamśô hi |  
tav(tr)=āsm=Naḍû(ḍdû)lô bhūpāh
- 4 śrī-Lakshmana ādan<sup>12</sup> || [2\*] Tasmād=va(ba)bhūva putrô rājā śrī-  
Sôhiyas<sup>13</sup>=tad=ann sūnuh | śrī-Va(ba)lirājô râ-
- 5 jā Vīgrahapālô=nu cha pitṛivya(vyah) || [3\*] Tasy=āt=14tanûjô bhūpālāh |<sup>15</sup>  
śrī-Mahēndradēv-ākhyāh | taj-jah śrī-<sup>16</sup>
- 6 Anahilô(ḷlô)<sup>17</sup> nripati varô=bhāt=prithula-tējāh || [4\*] Tat-sūnuh śrī-  
Vā(bā)laprasāda ity=ajani pārhiva-
- 7 śrēshthah | tad-bhrāt=ābhû[t\*]=kshūtipāh subhatah śrī Jēndrarāj-ākhyāh || [5\*]  
Śrī-Prithivipālô=bhā[t\*]-tat-putrah sai-<sup>18</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Compare above, Vol. VIII p. 209, line 8 of the text. Above, Vol. III p. 317, l. 45, *śrīkarana* by itself is used to denote the official ('a secretary').

<sup>2</sup> See the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. X p. 142.

<sup>3</sup> Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX p. 30, No. 35.

<sup>4</sup> From a photo-lithograph prepared under the superintendence of, and supplied to me by, Dr. Fleet.

<sup>5</sup> Denoted by a symbol

<sup>6</sup> Metre Mālinī

<sup>7</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous

<sup>8</sup> For the sake of the metre for *jagati-talô*

<sup>9</sup> Mr. Dhruva's text has *Lôhiyas*, but *Sôhiyas* is quite clear in the original. The same name, *Sôhiya*, I find above, Vol. VIII p. 221, l. 19, and in another Mount Ābū inscription, No. 1699 of Mr. Cousens' List.

<sup>10</sup> Read =*dhavati*

<sup>11</sup> Here and elsewhere the *t* of *śrī* has purposely not been changed to *y* before a vowel; I compare below, lines 9 and 38, *śrī-Ālhanā*, and other passages in B and C and elsewhere.

<sup>12</sup> The name is written *Anahilla* in B, line 7, and C, line 11 and the same spelling is retained here in the metre.

<sup>13</sup> Read *sauryavṛttisôbh-dhīyāḥ*

<sup>6</sup> Read *ññāyāḥ*

<sup>8</sup> Read *-karmvāḥ*, 'a thunderbolt'

<sup>10</sup> Metre of verses 2-9 Āryā.

<sup>12</sup> Read *\*nas=ch=ddau*

<sup>13</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.



- 8 ryavrtisôbh-âdhyah | tasmâd=abhavad=bhrâtâ śīf-Jôjallô ranaias-âtîmâ || 6\*  
Tad-avarajô=bhûch=chhrîmâ-  
9 n-Âsâ(sâ)râjah pratâpavara-nlayah | tat-putrah kshônîpah śrî-Âlhanadêva-  
nâm=âbhût || 7\*  
10 Yasya pratâpa-psâ(?)lam<sup>1</sup> samkuladîkchakra-prithulavistâram | smchamti  
sva(sû)ditâhritagana-lalanâ  
11 nayanasali aughah || 8\* Sô=yam mahâ-kshîtîśah sâram=idam vu(bu)ddhîmân=  
achuntayata || 9\* iha sam-  
12 sâra<sup>2</sup> asâiam |<sup>3</sup> sarvnam janm-âdî jantûnâm || 10\* Yatah || 11\* Garbhah<sup>4</sup>  
strîkukshi-madhyê pala-rudhura-vasâ-  
13 mēdasâ va(ba)ddha-pumdô mâtuh prânâmtakârî<sup>5</sup> prasavana-samayê prânînam  
syân-nu janmâ<sup>5</sup> dharmm-â-  
14 dînam=avēttâ bhavati hi nyatam vâ(bâ)la-bhâvas=tatah svâ(syâ)t-târanyam  
svalpamâtram svajana-pari-  
15 bhavasthâ(?)natâ<sup>6</sup> vridhha-bhâvah || 10\* Khadyôtdyô(ddyô)ta-tulyâh || 7  
kshanam=iha sukhadâh sampa-

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 16 dô drishta-nashtâh prânitvam chamchalam syâd=dalam-upari yathâ tôya-  
vimdur=nnalinyâh | jûâtiv=avam<sup>8</sup> sva pi-  
17 trô sprihayan=<sup>9</sup>amaratâm ch-aihkâm<sup>10</sup> dharmma-kirtta dēsântô<sup>11</sup> râjaputrân<sup>12</sup>  
janapada-ganân vò(bô)dhayaty=êva  
18 vò=stu<sup>13</sup> || 11\* Sam 1218 varshê | Śrâvapa sudi 14 Ravau | asminn=êva  
mahâchaturdâsî-parvvanî || Snâtva<sup>14</sup> dhauta-  
19 patê nrvēsyâ(śya)<sup>15</sup> dahanê datv=âhutîn<sup>16</sup> punya(nya)krn=Mâmrtyadasya<sup>17</sup>  
tamahprapâtana-patôh sampûrya ch=âghamjil<sup>18</sup> || 12\*  
20 tralôka(kya)nya prabhum oharâchhara-gurum samsnappya pamoh-âmrntair=îśânâam  
kanak-âmma-vastra-dadanaih<sup>19</sup> sampûjya viprâ-  
21 n gurûn || 12\* Anu<sup>20</sup> tilakukshâtôdaka<sup>21</sup>pragunibhûtâpasavyakah<sup>22</sup> pânih || 11  
śâsanam=ânâam=<sup>23</sup>ayachohata yâ-

<sup>1</sup> Read *yâlam*

<sup>2</sup> Observe the wrong *samdhî* (for *samsârâ-sâram*)

<sup>3</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>4</sup> Metre of verses 10 and 11. Śragdharâ

<sup>5</sup> Read *âdri* and *janma* |

<sup>6</sup> The *th* of the *akshara sthâ* is not quite clear, but there seems to be no doubt that the above is the actual and intended reading. One would have expected *paribhāvasthānam*, but this would not have suited the metre.

<sup>7</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>8</sup> Here a syllable, perhaps *ev*, has been omitted.

<sup>9</sup> Here, again, observe the wrong *samdhî* for which the metre shows the author to be responsible; *sprihayann* would have offended against the metre.

<sup>10</sup> Read *aihkâm dharmma kirttum*, one misses a second *ch*.

<sup>11</sup> I can only suggest that *dēsântô* may stand for *dēsāntâ*, i.e. *dēsāntah*, 'in (this) country'.

<sup>12</sup> After this word a short syllable is missing; perhaps the reading should be *trân=va janapada-*.

<sup>13</sup> The words *vò=stu* cannot be construed with the preceding. The author had in his mind the phrase *viditam vò=stu*.

<sup>14</sup> Metre. Śārdhālavikridita.

<sup>15</sup> Mr. Dhruva read this *Maitapâtê nrvēsyâ*, which he translated by 'while encamped at Maitapâtê'. Compare *dhauta vâsât paridhāya* in line 19 of B, and, e.g., in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII p. 847, l. 7 of the text.

<sup>16</sup> Read *datv=âhutîh*.

<sup>17</sup> Read *Mārtimāsyā*.

<sup>18</sup> Read *âghāgham*.

<sup>19</sup> *Dadana* in the sense of *dāna*.

<sup>20</sup> Metre. Āryā.

<sup>21</sup> Read *tilakukshâtôdaka*. The *ka* of *ôdaka* is treated as a short syllable before *pr*, see *Ind. Studien*, Vol. VIII p. 224.

<sup>22</sup> The metre, in my opinion, shows that the author undoubtedly wrote this, what he intended was *pasavya pânih* (= *dakshina-pânih*).

<sup>23</sup> Wrong for *ânâd*, or, better, *stâd*.

- 22 vach-chamdrārkakapūpālam<sup>1</sup> |(l)| [13\*] Śrī Naddūla-mahāsthānē śrī-Sandēiaka-gachchhē śrī-Mahāvīradēvāya śrī-Naddūla-
- 23 talapada sulkamamāpikāyām māsānumāsam dhūpavēlartham<sup>2</sup> śāsanēna dra<sup>3</sup> 5 pamcha prādāt [\*] Asya
- 24 dēvarasyanam<sup>4</sup> bhūmjanasya asmadvamśējair=<sup>5</sup>bhāvi-bhōktribhūr=aparais=cha peripamthanā na kāryā | yatah [\*]
- 25 <sup>6</sup>Sāmānyō=yam dharma-sētūr=nrīpānām kālē kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhūh sarvān=ēvam bhāvinab pā-
- 26 rihivēndrān bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmachandrah || [14\*] Tasmāt | <sup>7</sup>Asmadanva[ya\*]jā bhūpā bhāvi-bhūpatayās=cha yē [\*]
- 27 tēshām-aham karē lagnah pālanīyam=idam sadā |(l)| [15\*] Asmad vamśē parikshinē yah kashim<sup>8</sup> nrīpatūr=bhavēt [\*]
- 28 tasy=āham karē lagnō=smī sā(śā)sanam nā(na) vyatikramēt |(l)| [16\*] Va(ba)hubhūr=vasudhā bhuktā rājanyah Sagar-ā-
- 29 dibhīh [\*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmī(mi)s=tasya tasya tadā phalam |(l)| 17\* Vvashtih=<sup>9</sup>varsha-sahasrām svarggē tishthat dāna-
- 30 dah [\*] āchchhātā(ttā) ch=ānumamā cha tāny=ēva natakam<sup>10</sup> vasē[t] |(l)| 18\* Sva-dattam para-dattam vā dēva-dāyam harētā yah [\*] sa
- 31 vishthāyām krumur=bhūtā putra(tri)bhīh saha majjati || [19\*] Sū(śū)ny-ātāvīvy(shv)=atōyāsu sushkakōtara vāsi-

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 32 nah | krishnāhayō=bhūjāyamtē dēva-dāyam harantī yē || [20\*] Mangalam mahā śrīh ||
- 33 <sup>11</sup>Piāgvāta-vamśē Dharamgga=<sup>12</sup>nāmnah sutō mahāmātya-varah su-karmmā | va(ba)bhūva dū-
- 34 tah prā(pra)tibhā-mvāsō Lakshmīdharah śrīkarand nīyōgi || [21\*] <sup>13</sup>Āsīt=sva-
- 35 chchha-malā(nā) Manōratha ita prāk<sup>14</sup> Naigamānām kulē sā(śā)atra jñānasudhārasa-
- 36 plavita=<sup>15</sup>dhīs=taj-jō=bhavat<sup>16</sup> Vāsalah | putras=tasya va(ba)bhūva lōka-vasanī(ti)h śrī-
- 37 Śrīdharah Śrīdharē sūpāstī rachayāmchakāra hīkhē ch=ēdam mahā-śā-
- 38 [sa]nam || [22\*] Sva-hastō=yam mahārāja-śrī-Ālhapadēvasya ||

**B — NADOL PLATES OF THE RĀJAPUTRA KĪRTIPĀLA;**

**[VIKRAMA-JSAMVAT 1218.**

Mr Gaurishankar Hirschand Ojha of Udaipur in Rājputāna has informed me that these plates also were obtained, in the course of last year, at Nadol. My account of them is mainly based on two good rubbings, kindly supplied to me by Mr Ojha

<sup>1</sup> Read *ōdhēkdām*, compare *ōkēhēkdām* in line 26 of B

<sup>2</sup> Read *dhūpa-tāl-dhīham*, without the sign of punctuation

<sup>3</sup> I.e. *drammām*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *ōgy=asmadachāyagayam*

<sup>5</sup> Metre of verses 15-20 Ślōka (Anushtubh)

<sup>6</sup> Read *shashtī-* or *shashtīm*

<sup>7</sup> The name *Dharamga* occurs above, Vol. VIII p. 220, line 8 of the text; here the letter *g* seems to have been doubled simply for the sake of the metre.

<sup>8</sup> Metre *Sārdūlavikrīṭa*

<sup>9</sup> *Plavita* wrong for *plavita*, which would not have suited the metre.

<sup>10</sup> Read *=bhavad=*, and, perhaps, *Vāsalaḥ*

<sup>4</sup> Read *dēvayagayam* (for *vasad=, =astad=*)

<sup>5</sup> Metre *Śālinī*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *kashim*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *naraktī*

<sup>8</sup> Metre *Upajāh*.

These also are two plates, each of which measures about  $9\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by  $6\frac{1}{2}$ " high. The first plate is inscribed on one side only, and the second on both sides<sup>1</sup>. The writing on them is in a state of perfect preservation. Each plate contains a hole for a ring, I do not know whether the ring and any seal that may have been attached to it have been preserved. The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. The text contains eight verses<sup>2</sup> of chiefly genealogical matter, three of the ordinary imprecatory verses, and one verse giving the writer's name, the rest is in prose, which in one or two places is grammatically incorrect. As regards orthography, the letter *v* is used for both *b* and *v*, except in *-labdhajanmā*, l 3, the dental sibilant is used for the palatal in *Mahēsvaram*, l 22, and the sign of *avagraha* is once employed, in *śhagajāh*, l 16. In line 29 the gerund *lagitvā* is used in the sense of 'commencing from, beginning with'.

The inscription records a grant by the *Rājaputra* (or king's son) *Kīrtipāla*, a son of *Ālhanadēva* of Naddūla. After the words *om svasti*, it invokes the blessing of the gods Brahman, Śrīdhara (Viṣṇu), and Śamkara (Śiva), 'who, always free from passion, are famous in the world as Jinās' (or Jaina Arhats). It then (in verses 2-8) gives the following genealogy —

In the town of Śākambharī there was formerly, in the Chāhamāna<sup>3</sup> lineage, the king Vākpatirāja. His son was Lakshmana, who was king at Naddūla, and his son was Sōbhita. From him sprang Balirāja, and after him there ruled his paternal uncle Vīgrahapāla. Vīgrahapāla's son was Mahēndra, his son Anahula, and his son Jēndrarāja, from whom sprang Āsarāja<sup>4</sup>. His son was Ālhana, the lord of Naddūla, who defeated the Saurāśtrīkas. This king married Annaladēvī,<sup>5</sup> a daughter of Anahula of the Rāshtraudra<sup>6</sup> race, who bore to him three sons — Kēlhana, Gajasimha, and Kīrtipāla. Of these, Kēlhana, the eldest son, was made *kumāra* (or heir-apparent) and given a share in the government.

According to l. 17 ff. the *Rājakula*<sup>7</sup> *Ālhanadēva* and the *Kumāra* Kēlhanadēva were pleased to give to the *Rājaputra* Kīrtipāla twelve villages appertaining to Naddūlāī. And then, on Monday, the 5th of the dark half of Śrāvana of the year 1218, the *Rājaputra* Kīrtipāla, after bathing etc at Naddūla and worshipping the Sun and Mahēsvara (Śiva), granted a yearly sum of two *dramma*s from each of the twelve villages of Naddūlāī to (the temple of) the Jina Mahāvīra at the village of Naddūlāī, and ordered this money to be paid in the month of Bhādrapada of every year, commencing with the year then current. The twelve villages to which this order referred were Naddūlāīgrāma, Sūjēra, Darījī, Kavilāda, Sōnāpam, Mōrakarā, Haravandam, Māḍāda, Kāpasuvam, Dēvasūri, Nāḍāda, and Mauvadi.

So far as I can judge, the village of Naddūlāī mentioned in the above is different from (the *mahāsthāna*) Naddūla, and the words *Naddūlāī-pratibaddha* in line 18 appear clearly to show that Naddūlāī not merely was the name of a village, but also denoted the district to which the twelve villages given to Kīrtipāla belonged — On the map of the Rājputāna Agency I find,

<sup>1</sup> The second side of the second plate contains three lines of writing. Of these no rubbing, but only Mr Ojha's transcript has been sent to me.

<sup>2</sup> The metre of verse 6 is a mixture of Upēndravajrā and Vasantatilakā.

<sup>3</sup> So the name is spelt here and below in C.

<sup>4</sup> In C the name is *Āsarāja*, while in A, the actual spelling is *Āsarāja*. Here we have *Āsarāja*, and in D the actual spelling is *Āsarāja*.

<sup>5</sup> The occurrence of this name here induces me to state that the name in the Delhi Siwālik pillar inscription of Visaladēva Vīgraharāja, A, line 2 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX p. 218) is *Annaladēva*, not *Acēlladēva*, and that therefore *Annaladēva* should be substituted for *Acēlladēva* also in my *Northern List*, No. 144, and above, Vol. VIII App. I p. 14, col. 1 (after Arpōrāja).

<sup>6</sup> For a Rāshtrōḍja *vaṃśa* see my *Northern List*, No. 278.

<sup>7</sup> On this and similar titles see my remarks above, Vol. IV. p. 312, note 7. *Mahārājakula* occurs below in D, and in other Mount Ābū inscriptions.

south-east of Nadol, Desuri, which most probably is the Dēvasūi of this inscription, of the other villages I can find no traces on the map

After the imprecatory verses the inscription (in lines 33 and 34) has the words 'this is the own hand (i.e. sign-manual) of the *Mahārājaputra* (or *Mahārāja's* son), the illustrious Kīrti-pāla,' and the statement that this grant was written by Śubhamkara, the son of Damōdara and grandson of the *Kāyastha* Sōdha of the Naigama lineage.

The possible equivalents of the date, for the *pūrnimānta* and *amānta* month Śrāvana, would be —

for the *Chastrādā* Vikrama year 1218 current Saturday, the 25th June A.D. 1160, and Monday, the 25th July A.D. 1160 (when the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 9 h 8 m after mean sunrise),

for the *Chastrādā* Vikrama year 1218 expired Friday, the 14th July A.D. 1161, and Sunday, the 13th August A.D. 1161 (when the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 8 h 16 m after mean sunrise),

for the *Kārttikādā* Vikrama year 1218 expired Tuesday, the 3rd July A.D. 1162 (when the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h 58 m after mean sunrise), and Thursday, the 2nd August A.D. 1162

From this it will be seen that the given date is correct only for the *amānta* month Śrāvana of the current *Chastrādā* Vikrama year 1218, and therefore apparently corresponds to Monday, the 25th July A.D. 1160. As current Vikrama years are quoted very rarely, this result is not perhaps quite free from suspicion, but I can see no valid reason to question the authenticity of the wording of the original date.<sup>1</sup>

## TEXT<sup>2</sup>

### First Plate

- 1 Om<sup>3</sup> || Svasti || Śrīyā<sup>4</sup> bhavantu vō dēvā<sup>5</sup> Vra(bra)hma-Śrīdhara-Śamkaśāh  
sadā virāgavam-
- 2 tō yā<sup>6</sup> Jinā jagatī viśrutāh || 1 Śākambhari-nāma purā pur-āśī<sup>7</sup> ch=chhi-  
Chāha-
- 3 mān-ānvaya-labdha-janmā | rājā mahārājanat-āmbhryugmah khyātō=vanau Vākpa-
- 4 tirāja-nāmā || 2 Naddūlē<sup>8</sup> samabhūt-tadīya-tanayah śrī-Lakshmanō bhūpatih=<sup>9</sup> ta-
- 5 smāt=sarvvagup-ānvitō nripa-varah śrī-Sōbhīt-ākhyah<sup>9</sup> sutah | tasmāch=chh[r\*]ji-  
Va(ba)hirāja-nā-
- 6 ma-nripatih paśchāt-tadīyō mahi-khyātō Vīgrahapāla ity=abhdhayā rājyē  
putrivyō=bhavat || 3
- 7 Tasmāt=tiyramahāpratāpa-tarapīh putrō Mahēndrō=bhavat=tajjāch=śrī-Anahilladēva-  
nripatēh śrī-Jēm-
- 8 drarājah sutah | tasmād=duṛddharavairukumjaravadha-prōttālasūh-ōpamah sat-  
kirtiyā dhaval[i]krut-ā-

<sup>1</sup> With reference to the above I may state that Mr. Ojha has sent me a rubbing of a grant (engraved on one side of one plate only) of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Kōlhanadēva, which is dated in line 1: *sarvāt 1238 varshē Jy[?]shtha vad: 12 Soma*. This date also works out satisfactorily only for the *amānta* Jyāishtha of the current *Chastrādā* Vikrama year 1238, for which it corresponds to Monday, the 7th June A.D. 1165.

<sup>2</sup> From two rubbings supplied to me by Mr. Gauruhankar Hiranand Ojha.

<sup>3</sup> Denoted by a symbol

<sup>4</sup> These signs of punctuation are superfluous

<sup>5</sup> Metre of verses 3-5 Sārdhāvīkrīdita

<sup>6</sup> The inscription C has *Sōbhita*, but as A has *Sōbhita*, I do not alter the *Sōbhita* of the present inscription to *Śōbhita*

<sup>7</sup> Metre Ślōka (Anuashubh)

<sup>8</sup> Metre Indravajrā.

<sup>9</sup> Read *bhāgavata*.

- 9 khleajagach=chri Ásarājō nripah || 4 Tat-putrō nijavikramārjitam-  
mahāiājyapratāpōdayō
- 10 yō jagrāha jaya-śriyam rana-bharē vyāpādyā Saurāshtrikān | śauchāchāra-  
vichāra-dāna-vasatur=Naddū-
- 11 la-nāthō mahān=samkhyōtpādita-vīravrittur=amalah śri-Ālhanā<sup>2</sup> bhūpatih || 5  
Anēna<sup>3</sup> rājñā jana-vīśrutē-
- 12 na |<sup>4</sup> Rāshtrauda-vamsaja var-Ānahulasya putri | Annalladēvir-iti śīla-vivēka-  
yuktā |<sup>4</sup> Rāmēna vai Janakaj=ēva vi-
- 13 vāhit=āsan || 6 Ābhyam<sup>5</sup> jātāh su-putrā jagati vata-dhuyō rūpa-saundarya-  
yuktāh |<sup>4</sup> śāstraih śāstraih praga-
- 14 lbhāh pravāsa-gunaganās=tyāgavantah su śilāh | jyēsthah śri-Kēlhan-ākhyas=tad-  
anu cha Gajasimhas=tathā Ki-
- 15 rttipālō |<sup>4</sup> yadvan=nētiāni Śambhōs=tripurushavad=ath=āmi janē vamdaniyāh |  
(||) 7 <sup>6</sup>Madhyād=amishām pari-

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 16 vāra-nāthō shthē(jyē)shthō smgajah kshōm-talē prasiddhah | kṛta[h\*] kumārō  
nyarājya-dhārī
- 17 śri-Kēlhanah[h\*] sarvva-gunair=upētah | (||) [8\*] Ābhyām rājakula-śi-  
Ālhanadēva- |<sup>7</sup> kumāra śri-Kēlha-
- 18 nadēvābhyaṁ rājaputra-śri-Kīrtipālasya piasādē datta-Naddūlāi-pratava(ba)ddha-  
dvādāsā-grāmān<sup>8</sup> ||
- 19 Tatō rājaputra-śi-Kīrtipālāh |<sup>9</sup> sam 1218 Śrāvana-vadī 5 Sōmē || ady=  
ē[h\*] śi-Naddūlē snātāv dhō(dhan)-
- 20 ta-vāsāsi paridhāya tlākshatakuśa-pranayinam dakṣhina-karam kritvā dēvān=  
ndakēna samtarpya | va(ba)-
- 21 halatamatmūnatapālāpātana-patītyasō nihśēshapātakapamka-prakṣhālanasya divākārasya
- 22 pūjām vidhāya | charāchāra gurun Mahēsva(śva)ram namaskṛitya | hutabhuja  
hōmadīavy-āhutiir=ddatvā<sup>10</sup> nahni-
- 23 dalagatajalalava-taralam jīvitavyam=ākalayya | aihikam pārachu(tri)kam tha(cha)  
phalam=amgikṛitya svapunya-
- 24 yasō-bhivnddihayē śāsanam prayachchhati yathā || Śri-Naddūlāigrāmē | śri-  
Mahāvira-jnāya Naddūlāi-<sup>11</sup>
- 25 dvādāsā-grāmēshu grāmam prati dra 2 dvau dramman snapana-vilēpana-dīpa-  
dhūp-ōpabhōgārtham | śāsanē
- 26 varsham prati Bhādrapada-māsē chamdrārkkakshiti-kāla[m] yavat pradatta<sup>12</sup> ||  
Naddūlāigrāma | Sūjēra | Darji [\*]
- 27 Kavilāda | Sōnānam | Mōrakarā | Haravamdam [\*] Mādāda | Kāpasuvam |  
Dēvasūri | Nādāda [\*] Mauvadi |
- 28 ēvam grā<sup>13</sup> 12 ētēshu dvādāsā grāmēshu sarvvad=āpi asmābhūh śāsanē dattau |  
ēbhur=grāmair=adhunā samvatṣa-

<sup>1</sup> Read *“mārgita-*

<sup>2</sup> Read *Ālhanā*

<sup>3</sup> Metre a mixture of Upēndravajrā and Vasantatilakā

<sup>4</sup> These signs of punctuation are superfluous

<sup>5</sup> Metre Śiagdhārā The last Pāda does not contain the proper cēsuras

<sup>6</sup> Metre Uṇṇāti

<sup>7</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous

<sup>8</sup> Wrong for *grāmāh* The whole sentence which ends here is ungrammatical

<sup>9</sup> All the signs of punctuation in lines 19-23 are superfluous In some places below the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.

Read *“ddattvā*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *“dāt*

<sup>13</sup> I e *grāmāh*

- 29 rālagitvā<sup>1</sup> sarvvaḍ-āpi vaisham piati Bhādrapadē dātavyau | atah ūrdh[v\*]am  
kēn-āpi paripamthanā na kartavyā |
- 30 <sup>2</sup>Āsmad-vameṣ vyatikrāntē yō-nyah kō-pi bhavishyati [i\*] tasy-āham karē  
laguṣ<sup>3</sup> na lōpya[m\*] mama śāsanam || [9\*] Shashthi[m]<sup>4</sup> va-
- 31 īsha-sahasī-āpi svarggē tishthati dāyakah | āchchhāttā<sup>5</sup> ch-ānuma[m]tā cha  
tāny-ēva narakam<sup>6</sup> vasēt || [10\*] Va(ba)hubhur-vasudhā

*Second Plate, Second Side*<sup>8</sup>

- 32 bhuktā rājabhīh Sagai-ādibhīh | yasya yasya yadā bhūms-tasya tasya tadā  
phalam || [11\*]
- 33 Sva-hastō=yam mahārājaputra-śrī-Kirtupālasya || Naigamānvaya-kāyastha-Sōdha-  
naptā Subhamkaiah |
- 34 Dāmōdara-sutō=lēkhi<sup>7</sup> śāsanam dharmma-śāsanam || [12\*] Mangalam mahā-  
śīh ||

**C.—SUNDHĀ HILL INSCRIPTION OF CHĀCHIGADĒVA ;**

[VIKRAMA-JSAMVAT 1319.]

This inscription is on two stones which were found on the **Sundhā Hill**, about 10 miles north of Jaswantapura in the Jaswantapura district of the Jōdhpur State of Rājputāna<sup>9</sup> I edit it from rubbings, kindly placed at my disposal by Mr Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha

The first stone contains 26 lines of writing which covers a space of 3' 3" broad by 1' 7½" high, the second 24 lines which cover a space of 2' 10" broad by 1' 5" high. The size of the letters is about ½" on the first stone, and between ⅔ and ⅞" on the second. The inscription was carefully written by Nāmvasimha, a son of the physician Vijayapāla, and well engraved by Jisaravi, a son of the *sātradhāra* Jisapāla, and is in a state of perfect preservation. The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. Excepting two prose passages at the bottom of either stone which record the names of the author, the writer and the engraver, the date *samvat* 1319 in line 45, and another prose passage, numbered as a verse, in lines 35 and 36, the text is in verse, the total number of verses (including the prose passage counted as a verse) being 59. As regards orthography, the sign for *v* denotes both *v* and *b*, the palatal sibilant is used for the dental in *śasya*, l 16, *śravanti*, l 19, *sahasrāmsu* (for *sahasrāmsu*), l 22, *śakla*, l 23, *śitah*, l 25, and *śitāmsu* (for *śitāmsu*), l 37, *kh* and *sh* are confounded in *mayūsha* (for *mayūsha*), l 10, and *piyūsha* (for *piyūsha*), l 41, the *i* of *śrī* is left unchanged before the initial vowel of a proper name in *śrī-Asārāja*, l 21, *śrī-Udayasimha*, l 35, and *śrī-Aparājitā*, l 43, *chchh* is written for *chh* in *chchhalēna*, l 7, and *chchhāyayā*, l 8, and the sign of *avagraha* is employed in *Samdérā śrka*, l 16, and in four other places. The language is generally correct and plain, but there are one or two passages about the exact meaning of which I am still doubtful. I especially do not understand verse 12, which seems to allude to some legend unknown to me, in which the creator weighs the sun and the moon, apparently using the Ganges as a balance. Moreover, I am not sure about the meanings of the word *śrīkari*, which occurs in verses 19 and 59, and *guppyadguru* in verses 15, 26, and 27. To judge from the context in verse 59 (*śrīkari-saptaka-vādi*), the former<sup>9</sup> may denote some kind of musical instrument, and as a *guppyadguru* must be

<sup>1</sup> Read *rālagitvā*, 'commencing from the current year'

<sup>2</sup> Metre of this verse and the rest. Ślōka (Anushtubh).

<sup>3</sup> Read *laguṣ-smi*

<sup>4</sup> Read *shashthi*

<sup>5</sup> Read *narakt*.

<sup>6</sup> Of the three lines on this side only a transcript has been sent to me by Mr Ojha.

<sup>7</sup> The passive Aorist is used wrongly here for the active *alēkhāt*.

<sup>8</sup> I owe this information to Mr Ojha

<sup>9</sup> From the St. Petersburg Dictionary I see that *śrīkari* occurs in the *Uttamacharitrakathānām*, l. 234 (*Sitzungsberichte der K. Preuss. Akademie*, 1884, Part I p. 282), where Prof. Weber has suggested for it the meaning 'a female nuger'

something on which a golden *kumbha* and a golden *kalāṣa* can be placed,<sup>1</sup> the word perhaps denotes a temple generally or a particular temple. Of rare words or words employed in an unusual way we may note *kēḷi*, 'the earth,' in verse 6, *bhūṣphōṭa*, 'a mushroom,' in verse 16, the feminine *yugali*, 'a pair,' in verse 18, and *tāmbūliya*, 'an areca-nut,' in verse 21, *bāndhu* and *bāndhava* denote 'a brother' in verses 24, 26, and 20, and a cousin is described as *pitruvyajatai bāndhava*, i.e. 'a brother in consequence of being born from a paternal uncle,' in verse 9.

The inscription in the prose passage at the bottom of the first stone and in verse 59 is styled a *prastāva*. It was composed by the (Jaina) *śātri* Jayamaṅgala (Jayamangalachārya), who belonged to the Brihad-gachchha and was a disciple of Rāmachandīa, himself a disciple of Dēvachārya.<sup>2</sup> And its primary object is to glorify the Chāhamāna chief Chāchigadēva, during whose reign it was composed, and for whom it furnishes a date<sup>3</sup> in the month of Vaiśākha of the [Vikrama] year 1319, falling in about A.D. 1262. Fortunately, the author has used the occasion to give a eulogistic account of the Chāhamānas of Naddūla generally, which is of considerable interest.

Verses 1-3 pray the moon on Śambhu's (i.e. Śiva's) forehead and (Śiva's consort) Pārvatī or Chandikā to grant continuous good fortune and happiness. Verse 4 then records that formerly there was the hero Chāhamāna, a source of joy to the great *Rāshī Vatsa*.<sup>4</sup> In his lineage there were —

- (1) The lord of Naddūla, king Lakshmaṇa, who was a Śākambhari prince<sup>5</sup> (vv. 5 and 6).
- (2) His son Sōbhuta (v. 7; the Sōhiya and Sōbhuta of A and B). He took away the glory of the lord (or lords) of the mountain Arbuda.<sup>6</sup>
- (3) His son Balirāja (vv. 7 and 8). He defeated an army of Muñjarāja, i.e. the Paramāra Vākpatriāja II. Amōghavarsha of Mālava, for whom we possess dates from A.D. 974 to 993.
- (4) His paternal uncle's son Mahindu (v. 9). — He is the Mahēndra of A and B, the son of Vighrahpāla whose name is here omitted. He most probably is identical with the Mahēndra or Mahindra (?) mentioned under No. 53 of my *Northern List* as a contemporary of the Rāshtrakūṭa Dhavala of Hastikūṭi, whose inscription is dated in A.D. 997.
- (5) His son Aśvapāla (vv. 10 and 11, omitted in A and B).
- (6) His son Ahila (vv. 12 and 13, likewise omitted in A and B). He defeated an army of the Gūrjara king Bhīma, i.e. the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva I of Anahilapāṭaka.
- (7) His paternal uncle Anahilla (vv. 14-17, in A and B described as the son of Mahēndra). He also defeated the king Bhīma (Bhīmadēva I), took Śākambhari, and slew

<sup>1</sup> See verses 26 and 27.

<sup>2</sup> He is described as *śrīkari-saptaka-vādin* which, as intimated above, appears to mean 'playing the seven *śrīkari*'.

<sup>3</sup> The exact date (in verse 57) is the *akṣaya tūthī* or third *tithī* of the bright half of the month Mādhava (Vaiśākha) of the [Vikrama] year 1319, given both in words and in figures. The date does not admit of verification; its possible equivalents would be the 4th April A.D. 1261, the 23rd April A.D. 1262, and the 12th April A.D. 1263.

<sup>4</sup> According to the inscription of Lantigadēva treated of under D the holy Vachchha (Vatsa) brought about the creation of the Chāhamāna family. And according to verse 12 of the Bijoli rock inscription of Sōmāvara (No. 154 of my *Northern List*) Sāmānta, the first Chāhamāna chief, was born in the Vatsa *gōṭra* at Ahlohhastrepura.

<sup>5</sup> The original has *Śākambhari-māndra*. It will be seen below under D that Lakshmaṇa most probably had the epithet *Śākambhari-mānīkya*, 'the jewel of Śākambhari.' Mr. Ojha tells me that a Chāhamāna even now will be addressed as *Sambharīrāja*, 'Śākambhari prince.'

<sup>6</sup> I.e. Mount Arbuda. With the expression *Himādri bhava* of the original as a name of the mountain Arbuda compare *Himavataśūkhā* in the unpublished Vasantgaṇi inscription of Vasmalāta, *Himavati tanayā* in *Ky Ind.* Vol. I. p. 234, v. 5; and *Gaurīvarasatara bhūdhara-sambhava* above, Vol. VIII p. 210, l. 17. The lord (or lords) of Arbuda spoken of above probably belonged to the Paramāra family treated of in the Vasantgaṇi inscription of Pūrpapāla, above, p. 10.

(on defeated) **Sādha**, a general of the **Mālava** king **Bhōja** (i.e. the **Paramāra Bhōjadēva**), and the **Turushka**

(8) His son **Bālaprasāda** (vv 18 and 19, omitted in B) He forced the king **Bhīma** (**Bhīmadēva I**) to release from prison a king named **Krishnadēva** — This **Krishnadēva** most probably is the **Paramāra Krishnarāja** (the son of **Dhandhuka**<sup>1</sup> and grandson of (?) **Dēvarāja**), of whom we have two inscriptions at **Bhumāl** (**Śrīmāla**), dated in A D 1060 and 1067 (Nos 689 and 690 of my *Northern List*)

(9) His brother **Jindurāja** (vv 20 and 21, the **Jēndrarāja** of A and B) He fought victoriously at **Sandēra** (the modern **Sanderao** in the **Jōdhpur** State, south-west of **Nadol**)

(10) His son **Prithvipāla** (vv 22 and 23, omitted in B) He defeated an army of the **Gūjara** king **Karna**, i.e. **Bhīmadēva's** son and successor **Karna Trailōkyamalla**

(11) His brother **Yōjaka** (vv 24 and 25, the **Jōjalla** of A, omitted in B) He by force occupied **Anahillapura** (**Anahilapātaka**)

(12) His brother **Āśārāja** (vv 26-30, in B described as the son of **Jēndrarāja**) He pleased **Siddhādharāja**, i.e. **Karna's** son and successor **Jayasimha Siddharāja**, by the assistance which he rendered to him in the country of **Mālava**, but afterwards apparently was on hostile terms with him

With the account of **Āśārāja** ends that part of the inscription which is on the first stone. The part on the second stone (after a symbol for *śm*) begins, as if it were an independent inscription, with a verse (v 31) praying for the blessing of **Śambhu** (**Śiva**), 'the crest of the **Sugandhādri**,'<sup>2</sup> i.e. the mountain **Sugandha**, which clearly is the **Sundhā Hill** where the inscription was found. The author then continues the genealogy by stating that **Āśārāja's** son was —

(13) **Āhlādana** (vv 32 and 33, the **Ālhanadēva** of A and B). His assistance was sought by the **Gūjara** king, and his army put down disturbances in the mountainous part of **Surāshtra** (*gorau Saurāshtrā*). He built a **Śiva** temple at **Naddūla** — We have seen above that the two inscriptions A and B, which are of this chief's reign, are dated in A D 1161 and 1160. Before that time, he is mentioned (together with his son **Kēlhana**), apparently as a feudatory of the **Chaulukya Kumārapāla**, in the **Kerādu** fragmentary inscription of **Kumārapāla's** reign which is dated in A D 1153 (No 183 of my *Northern List*)

(14) His son **Kēlhana** (v 34) He defeated the southern king **Bhūlma**, and after destroying the **Turushka** erected a golden *tōrana*, 'like a diadem for the abode of the holy **Somēśa**' — For the **Mahārājādīharāja Kēlhana** I have given above, p 68, note 1, a date in A D 1165. The southern king **Bhūlma**, whom he is said to have defeated, must have been the **Dēvagiri-Yādava Bhūlma**, whose **Gadag** inscription is dated in A D 1191 (No 334 of my *Southern List*)

(15) His brother **Kirtipāla** (vv 35 and 36) He defeated a **Kirātakūta** chief named **Āsala**, and at **Kāsahrada** routed an army of the **Turushka**. As ruler of the kingdom of **Naddūla** he took up his residence at **Jāvālpura** — Of the places here mentioned **Kirātakūta's** **Kerādu**, according to *Bhāvnagar Inscri* p 172,<sup>3</sup> 'a small village near **Hāthamo** under **Bādamera**' (**Bārmer**) in the **Jōdhpur** State. **Jāvālpura**, to which **Kirtipāla** transferred his residence, is the

<sup>1</sup> He apparently is the **Paramāra Dhandhu**, who according to an inscription at **Vimala's** temple on **Mount Ābō** which will be mentioned below, p. 81, transferred his allegiance from **Bhīmadēva I** to king **Bhōja**, the lord of **Dihāra** (i.e. **Bhōjadēva** of **Mālava**)

<sup>2</sup> I understand this epithet to mean that there was a temple of **Śiva** on the mountain **Sugandha**

<sup>3</sup> In line 5 of the inscription given there the name appears as *Kirātakūpa*. — According to the *Rajyāsāda Gazetteer*, Vol. II, p 285, 'Kherādu' is about 20 miles west of **Bārmer**



town of Jālor in the same State. A place named Kāsahrada has been identified by the late Prof Buhler<sup>1</sup> with Kāsandra or Kāsandhra, a village with about 400 inhabitants on the road from Dholkā to Paltānā, in Long 72° 11', Lat 22° 19', but the Kāsahrada of this inscription may be a different place nearer Nadol—According to verse 41 Kirtipāla's daughter Rūḍaladēvi built two temples of Śiva at Jāvālpura.

(16) His son Samarasimha (vv 37-40). He built extensive ramparts on the Kanakāchala (or 'gold hill') and founded the town of Samarpura—This town I am unable to identify. Kanakāchala according to Mr Ojha is the name of the fort<sup>2</sup> of Jālor which, he informs me, is locally known as 'Sonaigai,' and the *Sauvarna-giri* of Jāvālpura I find actually mentioned in an inscription on Mount Ābū<sup>3</sup>. In an inscription of the [Vikrama] year 1221, from which Mr Ojha has sent me a quotation, it is called *Kāñchana-gadha*—Samarasimha clearly is the Chāhu[māna\*]-rāna[ha\*]-Samarasimha, whose daughter Līlādēvi was the (or a) queen of the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva II<sup>4</sup>.

(17) His son Udayasimha (vv 42-46). According to the prose passage in lines 35 and 36 he ruled 'the glorious Naddūla, the glorious Jāvālpura, Māndavyapura, Vāgbhatamēru, Sūrāchanda, Rātāhṛada, Khēda, Rāmasanya, Srimāla, Ratnapura, Satyapura, and other places'—With the exception of Māndavyapura and Rātāhṛada the places here enumerated are easily found on the map of the Rājputāna Agency (in Marwar) under the names Nādol, Jālor, Barmer, Surāchand, Kher (between Tilwāra and Balotra), Rāmsen, Bhīmāl, Ratanpura and Sānchor. Māndavyapura is Mandor, according to the *Rājputāna Gazetteer* three miles from Jōdhpur, Rātāhṛada I cannot identify—Udayasimha's queen was Prahlādanadēvi, who bore to him two sons, Chāchigadēva and Chāmundaṛāja. Regarding his exploits, the inscription states in a general way that he curbed the pride of the Turushka, was not to be conquered by the Gūjrara kings, and put an end to the Sindhu king. He was a scholar conversant with the great works of Bhāṣa<sup>5</sup> and others, and built two Śiva temples at Jāvālpura—Udayasimha clearly is identical with the *Mahārājādhirāja* Udayasimhadēva of whose reign we have three inscriptions at Bhīmāl (Nos 697-699 of my *Northern List*) dated in the [Vikrama] years 1262, 1274 and 1305, corresponding to about A.D. 1205, A.D. 1218, and about A.D. 1248, and also with the *Mahārājakula* Udayasimhadēva, for whom I have given a date, falling in A.D. 1249, in *Ind Ant* Vol. XIX p. 175, No. 115. He was succeeded by—

(18) his son<sup>6</sup> Chāchigadēva (vv 47-57). He in verse 50 is described as 'destroying the roaring Gūjrara lord Virama, hating the enemy Śalya, taking exquisite delight in felling the shaking (or leaping) Pātuka, depriving of his colour Sanga, and a thunderbolt to the mountain—the furious Nahara.' As will be seen from this translation, the words *śalya*,<sup>7</sup> *pātuka* and *sanga* of the original must in my opinion, like *virama* and *nahara*, be taken as proper names, but of the five persons enumerated I can identify only the first. Being described as 'Gūjrara lord,' Virama appears clearly to be the Vāghēlā Viramadēva, the son of Viradhavala and elder brother of Viśaladēva, who is reported to have been the son-in-law of Udayasimha of Jāvālpura,<sup>8</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> See his paper on the *Sukritasamkṛtana* of Arisimha, p. 25. For another identification of Kāsahrada see above, Vol. VIII p. 206, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> For a description of this fort which is about 800 yards in length by 400 in width, and crowns a rocky hill of an altitude of 1,200 feet above the surrounding plain, see the *Rājputāna Gazetteer*, Vol. II p. 260.

<sup>3</sup> Line 38 of No. 1722 of Mr Cousens' List.

<sup>4</sup> See the plates of Bhīmadēva II (of A.D. 1206) in *Ind Ant* Vol. VI, p. 195, Plate u line 1.

<sup>5</sup> It is apparently the *Bhāratiya-nāṭyaśāstra*.

<sup>6</sup> Udayasimha's other son Chāmundaṛāja is not further mentioned in the inscription. He may be the Chāmundaṛāja whose name occurs under No. 703 of my *Northern List*.

<sup>7</sup> *Śalya* probably is a proper name, denoting an enemy of Lavaṇa-prasāda, also in *Ep Ind* Vol. I p. 27, verse 19.—In our inscription the name may be *Satruṣilya*, compare Prof Eggeling's *Catalogue*, p. 1610.

<sup>8</sup> See *Ind Ant* Vol. VI p. 190. Compare also the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Part I p. 208, where Jāvālpura has been taken to be Jabalpur.

would therefore have been the own brother-in-law of Châchugadêva — The following verses treat of the same chief's works of piety. At Śrīmālā he remitted certain taxes, and at Rāmasamya he granted funds for the worship of (the god) Vighrahāditya, and placed a golden cupola (*kumbha*) and a flag-staff (*dhvaja*) on the temple of (the god) Aparāntēsa to whom at the same time he gave a silver girdle (*mekhala*). For the same temple he provided a hall (*śalā*) with a car (*ratha*) richly decked with precious stones. Châchugadêva visited the Sugandhādri, worshipped there the goddess Chāmunda, known by the name Aghatēsvarī, and at her temple established a *maṇḍapa* which was consecrated by the Brāhmins on the *akṣaya-tṛtīyā* of the month Vaiśākha of the [Vikrama] year 1319.

I have already stated that the inscription thus for the reign of Châchugadêva yields a date in about A.D. 1262. Two other dates, of the [Vikrama] years 1333 and 1334, falling in about A.D. 1276 and 1277, are furnished for him by the two Bhūmāl inscriptions Nos. 702 and 703 of my *Northern List*, where he is described as the *Mahārājakula* Châchuga or Châchugadêva.

I may add that Châchugadêva is mentioned, under the name Châcha, in line 8 of the Jōdhpur inscription of Rūpādēvi, published by me above, Vol. IV. p. 312 ff. In my text of that inscription I have given the name as *Chāva*, and a renewed examination of the impressions enables me to affirm that either this is the actual reading, or that at any rate the name would be so read in the impressions by any one not acquainted with what we have learnt now from the Sundhā Hill inscription. Knowing what I do now, I have no doubt that the intended reading is *Châcha*. This *Châcha* is called a Châhūmāna in Rūpādēvi's inscription and described as the son of Udayasimha<sup>1</sup> and grandson of Samarasimha, which exactly fits our Châchugadêva. The inscription supplies the additional information that Châcha's wife was Lakshmidēvi, and that thus lady bore to him Rūpādēvi, who became the wife of a king Tējasimha (to whom she bore a son named Kshētrasimha) and founded a well or tank in A.D. 1284, in the reign of the *Mahārājakula* Sāmyantasimhadêva.<sup>2</sup>

#### TEXT<sup>3</sup>

##### First Stone

- 1 || Ōm<sup>4</sup> || <sup>5</sup>Svêtāmbhōj-ātapatram kum=ū Guri-duhitah Svastatnyā gavākshah kim  
vā saukhy-āsanam vā mahamamukhamahāsiddhidēvi-ganasya | trailōkyānamda-  
hētōh kum=uditam=anagham ślāghya-nakshatram=uchohaiḥ Sambhōr-bhālasthal-  
āmduh sukṛitakṛita-
- 2 nūtiḥ pātu vō rājya-lakshmim || 1 <sup>6</sup>śāsya=āmk-āvanur=anupamānamdesamdhā-mūlā  
chamchadvāsōmchaladalamayī bhūshana-praudhapushyā(śhpā) | sallāvanyōdaya-  
suphalinī Pārvvatīpṛema-vallī lakshmim pushnāt=anu-dnam=ativyakta-bhastyā  
natānām || 2 <sup>7</sup>Vikratamukuta-mādyattēja-
- 3 sâ ryōmni daityān=iva bhūvi mammayyā mekhalyāḥ kvanēna | ananurapita-  
lilāhamasakais-trāsayamti phanipatibhuvan-āmtas=Chandikā vah ānyē=stu || 3  
<sup>8</sup>Śrīmad-Vatsamaharshi-harshanayanōdbhūtāmva(bu)pūraprabha-pūrvvōrvvid h a r a -  
mauhmukhyaśikharālamkāra-tgmadyutiḥ | prithvim trātu-
- 4 m=apāsta-daityatmmraḥ śrī-Chāhamānah purā virah kehīrasamudrasōdara-  
yāsōrāśiprakāśō=bhavat || 4 <sup>10</sup>Ratu=āvalyām=iva nripa-tatan tat-kramē viśrutāyām

<sup>1</sup> The proper relation to Udayasimha of the Mānavasimha who is mentioned in my account of Rūpādēvi's inscription, above, Vol. IV. p. 318, will be given below, under D.

<sup>2</sup> So the name is spelt in the inscription. The published texts of the inscriptions Nos. 704, 706 and 707 (of A.D. 1282, 1286 and 1289) of my *Northern List* have *Sāmeatasimhadêva*.

<sup>3</sup> From a rubbing supplied to me by Mr. Gaurishankar Hiraehand Ojha.

<sup>4</sup> Denoted by a symbol.

<sup>5</sup> Metre Śragdharā.

<sup>6</sup> Metre Maṇḍākrāntā.

<sup>7</sup> Metre Mālinī.

<sup>8</sup> Metre Śārdūlavakṛīḍita.

<sup>9</sup> Originally *\*prabhā* was engraved, but the sign for *ā* has been struck out.

<sup>10</sup> Metre of verses 5 and 6: Maṇḍākrāntā.

- dharmaśāsthanaprakarakarana-prāptapunyōtsavāyām | śrī-Naddūl-ādhipatir=abhava=
- Lakshmanō nāma**
- 5 rājā Lakshmiṇīśādanasadrśakāra-Śākambhar-īmdrah || 5 Ā pātālāt=samara-jaladhīm Mamdarō yasya khadgō mushta-vyājād=bhujagapatinā śrīmkhalēn=āvava(ba)ddhah | nirmmathy=ōchchahāh sapadi Kamalām līlay=ōddhrittya(iya) matts=chakrē nṛitam ranita-katakah kēlikam-
- 6 pa-chchhalēna || 6 <sup>1</sup>Tasmad=Dhimādrībhavanātha-yaśōpahārī śrī-Śōbhito=jam nripō=sya tanūddhāvō=tha | gāmbhīryadhairyasadanam Va(ba)līrājādēvō yō Mumjarāj=va(ba)la-bhaṅgam=achikarat=tam || 7 <sup>2</sup>Sāmṛājy-āsākarēnum ripunripātīgaja-stōmam=ākramya jahre yat-khadgō gam-
- 7 dhahasti samararasa-bharē Vimdhyaśailāyamanō | muktāsuktīmdukām=ōjvalaruchishu lasatkirta-Révātātēshu praudhānamdōpachār-ōlvanapulakatātā pushkarānām chchhalēna<sup>3</sup> || 8 <sup>4</sup>Tatpitṛivyajatay=ātha vām(bām)dhavah śrī-Mahimdur=ajanshta bhūpatih | yat-kṛpāna-
- 8 latikas=upējushām chchhāyayā<sup>5</sup> virahitam mukham dvishām || 9 Jajū<sup>6</sup> kām̐tas=tad-anu cha bhuvas=tat-tanūjō=śvapālāh kālāh krūrē dvishu su-chartē pūrnachandrayāmānah | yah samlagnō na khalu tamasā n-aiva dōshākara-ātma tējō-muktah kvachid=api na yah kinccha mitr-ō-
- 9 dayēshu || 10 <sup>7</sup>Kēyōrāgramviśharatnamikara-prōdyatprabhādāmva(ba)ra-vyaktam samgarangma-mamdapatalē yam varī-lakshmih śritā | virēshu prasritēshu tēshu rajasā nītēshu durīlakshyatām lavdhō(bdhō)pāyava(ba)l=āpi nirmala-gunair=vaśyā prasasy-ākṛitah || 11 Pu-<sup>8</sup>
- 10 tras=tasy=Āhla ita nripas=tanmayūsha(kha)-chchhalēna srashtā yasya vyadhita yaśasām tējasām tōlanam nu | Gangātōlē śasī-tapanayōr=dambhataś=chāruchēlē madhyasthāyīdhruvamisha-lasatkamtakē kautukēna || 12 <sup>9</sup>Gūjarājādhipatī-Bhīma-bhūbhujah saṇya-pūram=a-
- 11 jayad=ranēshu yah [ \* ] Sambhuvat-Tripura-sambhavam va(ba)lam vādavō=naḥ iv=āmvu(bu)dhēr=jalām || 13 <sup>10</sup>Sanyākramt-ākhlavasumatimamdalas=tat-pitṛivyah śrīmān rāj=ābhavad=atha jī-ārātmallō=naḥillah | Bhīma-kshōnipatī-gajaghatā yēna bhagnā ran-ēgrē hṛdyārth-āmbhōm-
- 12 dhi-Raghu-kritē ch=ēha pamktih khalānām || 14 Ambhōjānī<sup>11</sup> mukhāny=ahō mrigadrśām chamdr-ōdayānām mudō Lakshmiṛ=yatra narōtāmānusaranavyāpāra-pāramgamā | yānāni prasabham sūbhāni śikhari-śrēn=īva gūpyadguru-stōmō<sup>12</sup> yasya narēśvarasaya tulanām sōn=ām-
- 13 vu(bu)rāsēr=dadhau || 15 Urvvirutī<sup>13</sup> vitapāvalāmva(ba)-sugrīhiharmyēshu datvā<sup>14</sup> drīśam dhyāt-ātyamtamanōharākṛitumjaprasādavātāyanah | bhāspōtām vanāmtarēshu vitatāny=ālōkya hāhētū-vāk sasmār=ātapavārānāni śatāśō yad-vairirājavrajā-
- 14 h || 16 Drishtah kair=na Chaturbhujah sa samarē Śākambharim yō va(ba)lāj=āgrāh=ānu jaghāna Mālava-patēr-Bhōjasya Sādha-hvayam | damd-ādhisam=apāra-saṇyavibhavam tīvram Turushkam cha yah sākshād=Vishnur=asā[dha]nīya-yaśasā śrīmgārītā yēna bhūn || 17 Jajū<sup>15</sup> bhūbhṛt=tad=a-

<sup>1</sup> Metre Vasantatilakā<sup>2</sup> Metre Sragdharā<sup>3</sup> Read *chhalēna*.<sup>4</sup> Metre Rathōddhatā<sup>5</sup> Read *chhāyayā*<sup>6</sup> Metre Mandākṛantā<sup>7</sup> Metre Sārdūlavikṛidita<sup>8</sup> Metre Mandākṛantā — I am unable to explain this verse See above, p 70<sup>9</sup> Metre Rathōddhatā<sup>10</sup> Metre Mandākṛantā<sup>11</sup> Metre of verses 15 17 Sārdūlavikṛidita<sup>12</sup> The exact meaning of the word *gūpyadguru* is unknown to me, it occurs again in verses 26 and 27 See above, p 71<sup>13</sup> Read *urvi-rūdvi*<sup>14</sup> Read *datvā*.<sup>15</sup> Metre Mandākṛantā

- 15 nu tanayas=tasya Vā(bā)laprasādō Bhima-kshmābhrich-charanayugalimardana  
vyājatō yah | kurvan pidām-ativa(ba)latayā mōchayamāsa kārāgarāi  
bhūmipatim=api tathā Krishnadēv-ābhūdhanam || 18 Śrīkaryo<sup>1</sup> jalada-bhraman-  
dadhur=ahō san̄yē=sya sē-
- 16 vārasāyātartu-pratimē samujvala-patā<sup>2</sup> vāsā marāla-śrīyam | kampam vāy-  
vāsēna kētu-nivalāhā śa(sa)sy-ānukāram cha tē<sup>3</sup> samgītāni cha kōklāra-  
tulām chittē tu tāpam dvishah || 19 'Śrīmāms=tasy-āyani narapat r-  
vām(bām)dhavō Jimdurājō yah Samdērē
- 17 śrka<sup>4</sup> iva timuram vaur-vrindam vi(bi)bhēda | yasya jyōtib-prakaram=abhit-  
vidvishah kausik-ābhā drashtum śaktā na hi guriguhā-madhyam=adhyāśrīta-  
tat || 20 Gachchhamtīnam rpu-mrigadrśām bhushanānam prapātē vāshp-  
śārair-ghanatati-tulām vi(bi)bhratīnām=aran̄yē | dūrvvā-
- 18 bhramtūm marakatamani-śrēṇayō yat-prayānē tāmrv(bā)liya-bhramam=iva churac-  
chakrīrē padmarāgāh || 21 Prithvim<sup>6</sup> pālayitūm pavitramatimēn ya-  
karshukānām<sup>7</sup> karam mamechan prāpa yasāmsi kumda-dhavalāny-ānamdahrīdy-  
ānanaḥ | Prithvipāla iti dhruvam kshiti-
- 19 patas=tasya=āngajam=ābhavat=pratyakshōrumdih<sup>8</sup> sa Gūrjara-patēh Karnnasya  
san̄y-āpahah || 22 Yat-senā kila kāmadhēnu-sadpśi kīrtim śra(sra)vanmī  
payah svachchhamdam sacharācharē=pi bhuvanē śātrūms-trinikurvati |  
dharmam vatsam=iva svakīyam=anagham vridhim nayamti
- 20 mudā kasy-ānamda-karī va(ba)bhūva na bhuvē=bhīsham samātanvati || 23 'Śrī-  
Yōjakō bhūpatir=asya vam(bam)dhur-vivēkasaudha prava(ba)lapratāpah | svēt-  
ātapatrēpa virāyamānah śakty-Ānahillākhyapurē=pi rēmē || 24 Tyaktvā<sup>9</sup>  
saudham=udāra-kēhvipinam krid-ā-
- 21 chalē dirghikām palyamā-śrāyanam karēnushu mudām sthānam samantād=api |  
yasy-ārikshutpālā-vā(bā)lalalanāh śailē vanē nirharē sthūlagrāva-śirasu samsmritum=  
aguh pūrvōpabhukta-śrīyam || 25 'Śrī-Āśārāja-nāmā samajani vasudhā-nāyakas=ta-
- 22 sya vam(bam)dhuh sākāyām Mālavānām bhuvī yadasi-kritam vikāhya  
Siddhādhirājah | tushtō dhattē sma kumbham kanakamayam=ahō yasya  
guppyadguru-stham tam hartum n=ava śaktah kalushita-hridayah śēshabhūpāla-  
vāgbhiḥ || 26 'Udayagirisirah-stham kim sahasrāmśu-vimvam<sup>13</sup>
- 23 vitata-visadākrītāt-mūrdhni kim nu pratāpah | upari subhagatāyā udgatā  
mamjari kim kanaka-kalāśa ābhād=yasya guppyadguru-sthah || 27 Kanakaruchi-  
śarīrah śailasār-ābhīrāmāḥ phanipati-mahānīyasy-āvatārah sa Vishnōḥ |  
śa(sa)hlamudhī-su-
- 24 tāyā mamdirē skandha-dēśē dadhad=avanum=udārām=agumāḥ punya-mūrtih || 25  
<sup>14</sup>Sattirāgāra-tadśga-kānana Haraprāsāda-vāpī-prapā-kūp-adim vimrmamē divijajan-  
ānamdī kshamā-mamdalē | dharmmasthāna-śātāni yah kila vu(bu)dha-śrēṇishu

<sup>1</sup> Metre Sārdūlavikrīḍita. — Originally *śrīkaryō* was engraved, but this has clearly been altered to *śrīkaryō*.  
The word occurs again in verse 59. See above, p. 70

<sup>2</sup> Read *samujvala*.

<sup>3</sup> Here a sign of punctuation was engraved, but has been struck out

<sup>4</sup> Metre of verses 20 and 21. *Mandākrāntā*

<sup>5</sup> The sign of *avagraha* is engraved at the end of the preceding line

<sup>6</sup> Metre of verses 22 and 23. *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *karshukānām* (for the ordinary *karshakānām*)

<sup>8</sup> This word is quite clear in the rubbing, but I am not sure that it is correct. Perhaps the intended reading  
may be *pratyakshō-mūrdhni*.

<sup>9</sup> Metre Upajāti

<sup>10</sup> Metre Sārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>11</sup> Metre Sragdhārā

<sup>12</sup> Metre of verses 27 and 28. *Māhī*

<sup>13</sup> Read *sahasrāmśu-bimśah*

<sup>14</sup> Metre of verses 29 and 30. *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

- 25 kalpadrumah kas=tasy=ēmdutushāraśaīla-dhavalam stōtum yaśah kōvīdaḥ || 29  
Svātāny=ēva yaśamsi tungaturaga-stōmaḥ śi(śi)taḥ subhruvām chamchanmaukika-  
bhāṣhanāni dhavalāny-uchchaḥ samagrāny=apī | prēmālāpa-bhavam smitam  
cha viśadam śubhā-  
26 ni vastraukaśam vṛmdān=īti nṛpasya yasya pritanā Kailāsa-lakṣmīm śrītā || 30  
Prasāstur=iyam Vi(bri)hadgachchhīya-śrī-Jayamamālāchārya-kṛtīḥ || Bhushag-  
Viṇyapāla-putra-Nāmvasimhēna likhītā | Sūtra-Jisapāla-putra-Jisaraṇinā<sup>3</sup> utkiṇṇā ||

## Second Stone

- 27 || Ōm<sup>5</sup> || 'Jatā-mūlē Gamgāprava(ba)lalaharipūrakuhana-samunmilachchhatraprakara<sup>5</sup>  
iva namīēshu nṛpatāni | pradātum śrī-Sāmbhūh sakalabhuvan-ādhiśvaratayā  
tayā vā dēyād=vah śubham=iha Sugamdhādri-muktaḥ || 31 'Āśārāja-kṣatipa-  
tanayah śrī-  
28 mad-Āhlādan-āhvō jayō bhūbhṛd=bhuvana viditāś=Chāhamānasya vamsē | śrī-  
Naddūlē Śivabhavana-kṛd=dharmmasarvasva-rētā yat-sāhāyām pratpadam=aśō  
Gūrjarēśas=chakāmkṣha || 32 'Chamchatkētachampaka-pravilasattālītamālguru-  
sphūryachchamda-  
29 nanālikērakadalīdrākṣhāmra kamrē girau | Saurāśtrē kutlōgrakamtakabhid-  
ātyuddāmakirttēs=tadā yasy=ābhūd=abhūmāna-bhāsuratayā sēnāchārānām ravah || 33  
'Śrīmāms=tasy=āmgaja iha nṛpāh Kēlhanō dakṣināśādhiś-ōdamchad-Bhūli-  
30 ma-nṛpatēr=mānuhnt=samyasmdhuh | nṛbhūdy=ōchchaḥ prava(ba)la-kalitām yas=  
Turushkam vyadhata śrīSōmēśāspadamukutavat=tōranam kāmchanasya || 34  
'Bhrāt=āśya prava(ba)lapratāpa-nīlayah śrī-Kirttpālō=bhavad=bhū-nāthaḥ  
pratapakshapārthuvachamūdāv-āmva(bu)vāh-ō-  
31 pamah | yat-khadgāmva(bu)mdhau hat-ānikarīnām kumbhasthālībhyah ksharan=  
muktānām nikarō marāla-lahitām dhattē sma dhār-āśrayah || 35 Yō  
durddānta-Kīrātākūta-nṛpatum bhūtvā śaraur=Āśalam tasmin=Kāśahrādē<sup>10</sup>  
Turushka-nikaram jtvā rana-prāmganē | śrī-Jāvālī-  
32 purē sthūtam vyarachayan=Naddūlarājy-ēśvaraś=chumtāratna-nibhaḥ samagra-  
vidushām mhsīmasamy-ādhipah || 36 'Śrī-Samarasimhadēvas=tat-tanayah  
kshōnumandal-ādhipatīḥ | Imdra iva viva(bu)dhahṛday-ānamdī purushōttamō  
Harvat || 37 Prākārah<sup>13</sup> Kanakā-  
33 chālē vīrachitō yēn=ēha puny-ātmanā nānyamtramajānā-kōśhta(shtha)katatr=  
vidyādharīśirshavān [! \*] kim Śēśah phanavṛmdamēdura-tanur=vakṣahsthalē  
vā bhuvō hārah kim bhramana-śramād=udu-gauah kim v-aisha bhējē  
sthūtam || 38 'Kamala-vanam=iv=ēdam vapraśirshālī-dam-  
34 bhān=nikhilavipuladēśāśrī-samākārshanāya | likhītasāśadāvimduśrēnīvan=mattavauri-  
kṣhatpativīphalājīstōma-samkhyāmmittam || 39 Tōlayāmāśa<sup>14</sup> yah avarnau=ātmanam  
sōma-parvati | ārama-ramyam Samarapuram yah kṛtāvān=atha || 40  
35 'Śrī-Kirttpālābhūpati-putrī Jāvālīpuravarē chakrē | śrī-Būdāladēvī Śivamamdura-  
yugalam pavitra-mataḥ || 41 Śrī-Samarasimhadēvasya namdanah prava(ba)-

<sup>1</sup> I.e. *sātradhāra*, compare the same abbreviation e.g. in *Ind Ant* Vol XI p 243, l 27, and above, Vol  
III p 304, l 5

<sup>2</sup> Read 'nōc'

<sup>3</sup> Read 'chchhatraprakara

<sup>4</sup> Metre Mandākṛantā

<sup>5</sup> Metre Mandākṛantā

<sup>6</sup> Denoted by a symbol

<sup>7</sup> Metre Sārdūlavikṛitā

<sup>8</sup> Metre of verses 35 and 36

<sup>9</sup> Sārdūlavikṛitā

<sup>10</sup> Here the *a* of the second syllable is (before *hr*) treated as a short vowel, see *Ind Studien*, Vol VIII

p 226

<sup>11</sup> Metre Āryā.

<sup>12</sup> Metre Mālīnī

<sup>13</sup> Metre of verses 41 and 42

<sup>14</sup> Āryā (*pathyā* and *dā-vipulā*)

<sup>15</sup> Metre Sārdūlavikṛitā.

<sup>16</sup> Metre Ślōka (Anuśtubh).

Then there came **Lakshmana**, who by his irresistible valour acquired part of the earth. In the mutilated verse 12, which together with verse 11 treats of this chief, the word *Naddūla* is distinctly legible, as well as *Śākambharī*, and it is certain that Lakshmana is described in the verse as king of Naddūla, and highly probable that he is spoken of as *Śākambharī-mānikya*, 'the jewel of Śākambharī'. After him, verse 13 mentions 'his son' *Balūrāja*,<sup>2</sup> and *Balūrāja's* 'son,' whose name I read as *Sōhi*,<sup>3</sup> regarding this to be another form of the name *Sōhiya* (*Sōbhita*, *Sōbhita*) of the preceding inscriptions. According to the latter, *Sōhiya* was Lakshmana's son, and his son again was *Balūrāja*, the author of the present inscription has erroneously transposed the two names. Verses 14-18 then enumerate *Mahindu*,<sup>4</sup> *Jindurāja*,<sup>5</sup> *Āsarāja*, *Āhana*, *Kīrtipāla* and *Samarasimba*. From what we know already from the other inscriptions, this is the line, from father to son, of the *Chāhamānas* of Naddūla from Mahindu to Samarasimba, except that, between Mahindu and Jindurāja, *Anahilla*, the son of the former and father of the latter, has been omitted — So far our inscription tells us nothing of importance that is new.

*Samarasimba*, according to verse 19, had two sons, of whom the one called *Udayasimba*, who also is already known to us from the inscription C, succeeded him in the government. *Udayasimba's* elder brother<sup>6</sup> was *Mānavasimba* (v 20), his son was *Pratāpa* (v 21), and his son *Vijaya*, also named *Daśasyandana*<sup>7</sup> (v 22). This chief married *Nāmalladēvi* (v 23), who bore to him four sons — *Lāvanyakarna*, *Lundha*,<sup>8</sup> *Lakshmana*, and *Lūnavarman* (v 24), of whom the eldest became the ruling chief. When *Lāvanyakarna* died, he was succeeded by the next brother, whose name in verse 26 is clearly *Luntigadēva*, in verse 28 *Luntiga*, in verse 30 *Lundhāgara*, and in the prose passage in line 29 *Lūntāgara*. *Luntiga* conquered and ruled 'all countries,' particularly *Chandrāvati* and the divine territory of *Arbuda* (*Arbuda-dvya-dāsam*, v 27). On the mountain *Arbuda* he set up images of himself and his queen, and carried out repairs at the temple of *Achalēvara*. As a grant to the temple, he moreover gave the village of *Hēthunji*<sup>9</sup> (v 33) for the perpetual worship of the god.

From the prose passage which follows, and which is more or less illegible, we learn that in the year 1377, on Monday, the 8th of the bright half of *Vaśākha*, in the *Kṣhaya-samvatsara*, *Luntiga*, described as the *Mahārājakula*, the glorious *Lūntāgara*, resided at [Vū?]hunda which belonged to *Chandrāvati*.<sup>10</sup> This date regularly corresponds, for the expuned *Kērttikāda*

<sup>1</sup> The Translation, after Lakshmana, mentions "the hero, named *Mānikya*, whose distinguished capital was *Śākambharī*," but this is erroneous.

<sup>2</sup> The Translation has *Adhūrāja* instead.

<sup>3</sup> The second half of the verse, part of which is very indistinct, in my opinion is *Sōhi samjña [s=ta] iṭṭha vamaṭ sōhi bhāma hī tat-suta [A]* — The name *Sōhi* occurs above, Vol VIII p 220, l 13.

<sup>4</sup> The original actually has *Mahindu*.

<sup>5</sup> The Translation has *Sindhurāja*, *Kulavarddhana*, *Prabhūrāja Rājā* (derived from the actual reading *prabhura-āsarāja*), *Dandana* (for *Āhana*), *Kīrtipāla* and *Samarasimba*.

<sup>6</sup> According to the Translation *Mānavasimba* was *Udayasimba's* son; but this is a mistake. The original text, after mentioning *Udayasimba*, clearly has *yō va parā dāna-guṇasv-garishthas-tasya dgrāyō Mānavasimbha-nāma*.

<sup>7</sup> I.e. *Daśaratha*. The original text of verse 22 is *Tasya-dīpāyō Spā[r]vagan dāhivāsa [d]iṭṭha dā-Daśasyam-dāna-nāma [āhā(āhē)] [yāh] [i] va (ba) sō (bha) ra vjān tu Vjādō yō (yā) shatvār rājyāya Harth prasaddā* (11) I shall show below that the chief here spoken of undoubtedly was named *Vjāda*. The name *Daśasyandana* (*Daśaratha*) may have been given to him because, like *Rāma's* father *Daśaratha*, he, according to the account here given, had four sons — Compare above, Vol VIII, p 216, v 18.

<sup>8</sup> The reading of the first syllable of this name is not absolutely certain here.

<sup>9</sup> Above, Vol VIII p 222, line 28, and in an unpublished Mount Abū inscription (No 1794 of Mr Consens).  
Lunt the name is spelt *Hēthunji*.

<sup>10</sup> The text has, *samvat 1377 vashak Vas[?]akha-sud: 8 Somē Kshaya-samvatsare Sdyakha Chamdravatt-pratice(ba)dha [Vū?]hunda-samēdēti mahārājakula ēti Lūmīgare Chamdravatt-prabhura-dāśasya-tatthā*.

Vikrama year 1377, to Monday, the 6th April A.D. 1321, when the 8th *tithi* of the bright half of Vaisākha ended 17 h 13 m after mean sunrise, the day did fall in the Jovian year Keshaya, which according to the northern mean-sign system lasted from the 30th May A.D. 1320 to the 26th May A.D. 1321

Of the localities mentioned, in addition to the well-known Arbuda or Mount Âbū, Chandrāvati according to the *Rājputāna Gazetteer*, Vol. III. p. 126, is a large place (now in ruins) on the Banās river near the south-east border of the Sirohi State. There can be no doubt that it was taken by Luntiga from the Paramāras<sup>1</sup> Hēthuhji is the small village of 'Hetamp' on Mount Âbū<sup>2</sup> Vūhuncha— if this is really the name— I am unable to identify

On Mount Âbū there are at least two other inscriptions,<sup>3</sup> of no great extent and partly illegible, of the reign of Luntigadēva, described as the *Mahārājakula*, the glorious Lūndhāka or Lūndha(?) One is dated on Wednesday, the 8th of the dark half of Chaitra in the [Vikrama] year 1372, corresponding, so far as I can see, to Wednesday, the 17th March A.D. 1316, the other on some specified day, which I cannot make out with certainty, in the [Vikrama] year 1373 And there is a third, partly effaced inscription,<sup>4</sup> which also mentions the *Mahārājakula*, the glorious Lūndhāka or Lūnhāka, and speaks of the glorious Nāmaladēvi, who clearly is the Nāmalladēvi of the present inscription, the mother of Luntigadēva. I am not at present prepared to give a fuller account of these three inscriptions.

But I may add here that another account of some of the later Chāhamānas is found in an inscription<sup>5</sup> which is on a stone at a temple—the *Vimala-vasahikā*, ordinarily but wrongly called Vimala Sāh's or Shāh's temple—which was founded on Mount Âbū, according to the inscription itself in the Vikrama year 1088,<sup>6</sup> by a certain Vimala, 'an ornament of the Prāg-vāta race,' after he had been appointed *dandapati* at Arbuda by the (Chaulukya) king Bhimadēva (I.). This inscription in lines 9-15 (verses 14-22) gives the following '*rājavalī*':—

There was a hero, Āsarāja<sup>7</sup> by name, a moon to the lotus-flower—the Chāhuvāma<sup>8</sup> family, who was king of the town of Nadūla<sup>10</sup> (v. 14). Then there came Samarasimha; and his son was Mahanasimhabhata (v. 15). Then came Pratāpamalla; and of him was born Vijāda, who ruled the Marusthali-mandala (v. 16) He had three sons, the first of whom was the king Lūniga (v. 17) After him the text mentions Lūndha (v. 18) and Lumbha (v. 19), without distinctly saying that they were his younger brothers It then records the conquest of Arbuda (v. 20), says further that Lūniga's son was Tējasimha (v. 21), and after him eulogizes Tihunāka, to whom it wishes long life (v. 22)

The mutilated verse 23 appears to say that the glorious Lumbhaka, 'together with' Tējasimha and Tihupa, in right manner carried on the government of the mountain Arbuda;

<sup>1</sup> See my *Northern List*, Nos 198, 209 and 210 (now above, Vol. VIII. p. 201).

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol. VIII. p. 207, and the *Rājputāna Gazetteer*, Vol. III. pp. 187 and 144.

<sup>3</sup> Nos 1907 and 1909 of Mr. Cousens' List.

<sup>4</sup> No 1908 of Mr. Cousens' List.

<sup>5</sup> No 1790 of Mr. Cousens' List I hope soon to give the text of this inscription, which is ready for publication

<sup>6</sup> *Vimala sūtra* seems to occur first in *As. Res.* Vol. XVI. p. 311, note. It owes its origin to a misunderstanding of the term *Vimala-vasahikā*, 'Vimala's temple,' which we find e.g. in line 8 of No 1774 of Mr. Cousens' List — I may add that in line 10 of the same inscription we have the similar term *Tējapāla-vasahikā*, 'Tējapāla's temple'

<sup>7</sup> The date is given in verse 11: Śrī-Vikramāditya-nripād-uyatitē Saktiditi-yatī taradān sahaire(śrē) | *Śrī Ādinātham tikharī-rudasya nreṣi(t)am śrī-Vimalāna vāhidē ||*

<sup>8</sup> I give all names here exactly as they are written in the original.

<sup>9</sup> This may be a mis-take for Chāhuvāna or Chāhuvāna.

<sup>10</sup> This is the actual spelling of the name, and is required by the metre. The same may be said of the name *Tējasimha*, which occurs below.

and the rest of the inscription treats of a private family, two members of which made repairs of the temple. The date given in verse 41 is Monday, the 9th of the dark half of Jyêshtha of the [Vikrama] year 1378. It corresponds to Monday, the 10th May A.D. 1322.

As regards the genealogy given in this inscription, it is curious, but of no historical importance, that it commences with Āsarāja<sup>1</sup> (Āsarāja, Āśārāja), who was neither the founder of the family nor the father of Samarasimha who is here mentioned immediately after him. Instead of the name Mānavasimha of Luntigadēva's inscription this account has Mahapasimha which must be regarded as another name of the same person, and while according to the former Vijāda had four sons, according to this genealogy he had only three—Lūṅga, Luṇḍha and Lumbha. Of these, Lūṅga undoubtedly is identical with the Lāvanyakarma of the other inscription,<sup>2</sup> and Luṇḍha with Luntaga (Lundha), while Lumbha (Lumbhaka) most probably is another name of Lūṇpavarmān. What is new to us and of some importance, is, that by the account here given Tējasimha, who is known to us from other inscriptions, was a son of Lūṅga. According to No. 261 of my *Northern List* Tējasimha<sup>3</sup> was ruling in the [Vikrama] year 1387, corresponding to A.D. 1331, and there is an unpublished Mount Abū inscription<sup>4</sup> of his of the [Vikrama] year 1393, corresponding to A.D. 1336. What was the exact relation of Tihunāka (Tihūṇa) to Tējasimha, does not appear from the Vimala temple inscription; but the matter very probably is cleared up by a statement in an inscription (No. 265 of my *Northern List*<sup>5</sup>) of Tējasimha's son Kāṇhadadēva, who was reigning at Chandrāvati in the Vikrama year 1394, corresponding to A.D. 1338. That inscription in lines 11-14 records four separate grants of villages by the *Chāhūmānājā* (')*īṣya-rāja-sri-Tējasimha*, the *dēvaḡā sri-Tihunāka*, the *rāja-sri-Kāṇhadadēva*, and the *Chāhūmānājā* (')*īṣya-rāja-sri-Sāmata-simha*. Here Tihunāka is placed between Tējasimha and his son Kāṇhadadēva, who both are distinguished from him by their title of *rājan*. Thus and the order in which Tihunāka is mentioned in the Vimala temple inscription render it probable that he was Tējasimha's younger brother. And this may possibly be the meaning of the word *dēvaḡā* prefixed to his name, a word which seems to be etymologically connected with the Sanskrit *dēvī*, *dēvara*, used in the specific sense of 'a husband's younger brother'.

In the Table on page 83 I have placed all the chiefs mentioned in the above in their genealogical order, and have given the dates known from inscriptions either for themselves or for the kings and chiefs with whom they are said to have come in contact. The Table will show that Lakshmana, the founder of the family, must be placed in about A.D. 925-950, and that therefore he very probably was a son of that Vakpataditya of Śākambhād, who was the grandfather of the Vighararāja of the Harsha inscription who lived in A.D. 973. My genealogical Table of the family is not quite complete. I do not know yet how to place exactly the *Mahārājakula Sāmvasat-simha* or *Sāmvasant-simha*, who is mentioned in Nos. 704-707 of my *Northern List* with dates from about A.D. 1282 to A.D. 1289, and— if this should be a different chief—the *Rājā Sāmvasat-simha*, mentioned in Kāṇhadadēva's inscription of A.D. 1338.

<sup>1</sup> If it were not for the other inscriptions, this name might of course be taken to stand for *Āśarāja*.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Lūṅgadēva for Lāvanyakarma in No. 246 of my *Northern List*.

<sup>3</sup> Is the original of No. 261 (No. 1349 of Mr. Cousens' List) the same as spells *Tējasimha*?

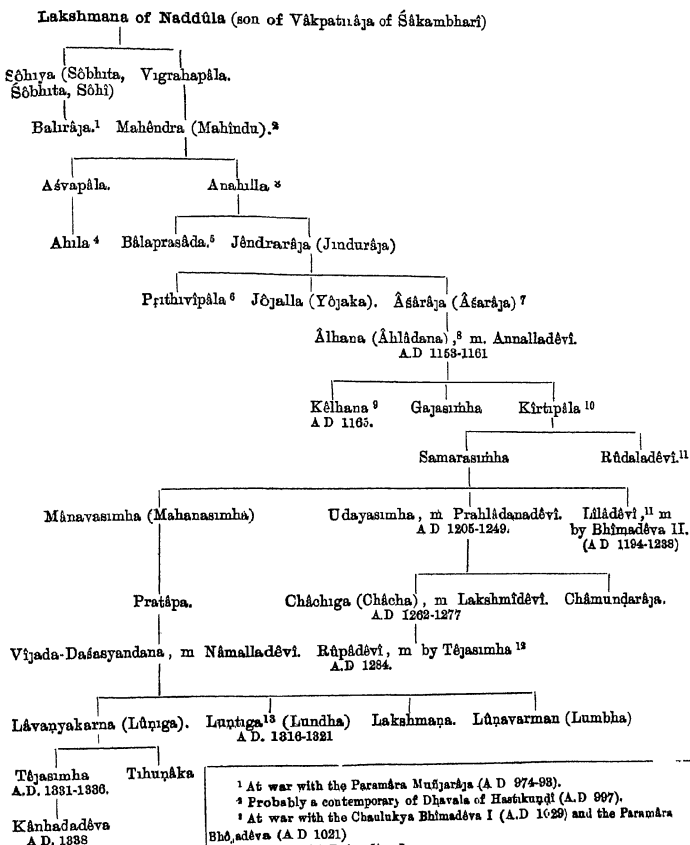
<sup>4</sup> No. 1047 of Mr. Cousens' List.

<sup>5</sup> No. 1919 of Mr. Cousens' List. The inscription has been roughly edited in *Ind. Ant. Vol. II*, p. 256.

<sup>6</sup> In No. 1958 of Mr. Cousens' List a *Dēvaḡā-simha* is mentioned. According to *Ind. Ant. Vol. IV*, p. 146, 'the Bhoirā chieftains, . . . though Chobhis, are universally known by the name of *Simha-simha*, the Dorrā'.

<sup>7</sup> The foundation of the separate kingdom of Naddīla was perhaps connected with the disturbances which preceded Vighararāja's reign.



<sup>1</sup> At war with the Paramāra Muñjarāja (A.D. 974-98).<sup>2</sup> Probably a contemporary of Dhavala of Hastikundī (A.D. 997).<sup>3</sup> At war with the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva I (A.D. 1029) and the Paramāra Bhōmadēva (A.D. 1021)<sup>4</sup> At war with Bhīmadēva I<sup>5</sup> Probably a contemporary of the Paramāra Kṛṣṇadēva (A.D. 1060-67)<sup>6</sup> At war with the Chaulukya Karna (A.D. 1091).<sup>7</sup> Contemporary of the Chaulukya Siddharāja (A.D. 1138, 1139)<sup>8</sup> Contemporary of the Chaulukya Kumārapāla (A.D. 1145-69).<sup>9</sup> At war with the Dévagiri-Yādava Bhīllama (A.D. 1191)<sup>10</sup> Transferred the seat of government to Jāvālipura<sup>11</sup> It is impossible to say whether these were younger daughters<sup>12</sup> This Tējasimha had a son named Kālīśtrasimha<sup>13</sup> Took Chandravatī with Mount Ābū from the Paramāras.

# No 10.—AMBASAMUDRAM INSCRIPTION OF VARAGUNA-PANDYA

By V VENKATYA, M A, RAI BAHADUR

Ambásamudram is situated on the northern bank of the Tāmraparni river and is the headquarters of the taluka of the same name in the Tinnevely district. The town has a long reputation for the manufacture of cloths largely in demand on the western coast. On the southern bank of the river is the big and flourishing village of Kallidaikkunchchi, which gives its name to the cloths manufactured at the sister town on the other bank, because the trade between them is carried on mostly by the Brāhmanas of the former place, who temporarily reside in Malabar and are frequently met with on the west coast.

The site of Ambásamudram seems to have been altered in comparatively recent times. A greater portion of the town is now situated at some distance from the river, while the more important temple, now called Erichcha-Udayār, is quite close to it, and is separated from the town by a pretty large extent of rice fields. The heavy floods in the Tāmraparni at certain seasons of the year might be one of the causes which led to the removal of the town to a more distant locality. Besides, in ancient times, Ambásamudram seems to have been a big place including some of the adjacent villages such as Tiruválisvaram<sup>1</sup> and Maṇṇārkōyil.<sup>2</sup> In an inscription of [Jatāvarman Sundara-]Chōla-Pāndya<sup>3</sup> the temple of Erichcha-Udayār is said to be situated in the southern hamlet of Rājārāja-chaturvēdamangalam. During the period of Pāndya supremacy the town was called Ilangōkkudi or Ilangōyikkudi,<sup>4</sup> which was altered into Rājārāja-chaturvēdamangalam after the Chōla conquest.<sup>5</sup> The latter name has probably to be traced to the Chōla king Rājārāja I., after whom the Pāndya country was itself called Rājārāja-maṇḍalam.<sup>6</sup>

During the field season of 1904-05 I copied eight inscriptions in the temple of Erichcha Udayār, of which two belong to the early Pāndyas,<sup>7</sup> two to the Chōlas,<sup>8</sup> one to the Chōla Pāndyas<sup>9</sup> and two to the later Pāndyas,<sup>10</sup> while the eighth does not mention any king.<sup>11</sup> One of the early Pāndya records<sup>12</sup> seems to belong to the reign of Vira-Pāndya, 'who took the head of the Chōla'. The Chōla king with whom he fought must be Āditya (II.) Karikāla,<sup>13</sup> who, according to the large Leiden plates, fought in his youth against Vira Pāndya.<sup>14</sup> The newly discovered Tiruvālaṅkāḍu plates of Rājendra-Chōla I. do not mention the name of the Pāndya king against whom Āditya II. fought, but report that the latter "killed the Pāndya king in battle and set up his lofty head as a pillar of victory in his city."<sup>15</sup> Accordingly, Vira-Pāndya reigned in the

<sup>1</sup> The temple at Tiruválisvaram is said to have been situated in Rājārāja chaturvēdamangalam, which was the name of Ambásamudram in Chōla times; *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1904-5, p. 43, Nos 115 and 119 of 1904.

<sup>2</sup> The Vishnu temple at this village, called Rājendra Chōla-vinnagar in ancient times, was also situated in Rājārāja-chaturvēdamangalam, No 112 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

<sup>3</sup> No. 102 of the same collection.

<sup>4</sup> No. 104 of the same, and lines 2, 6 f. and 10 f of the subjoined inscription.

<sup>5</sup> The name occurs already in an inscription of the 11th year of Rājārāja I., No 119 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

<sup>6</sup> *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II, p. 148.

<sup>7</sup> Nos. 101 and 105 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

<sup>8</sup> Nos. 98 and 99 of the same collection.

<sup>9</sup> No. 102 of the same.

<sup>10</sup> No. 104 of the same.

<sup>11</sup> Nos. 100 and 108 of the same.

<sup>12</sup> No. 101 of the same.

<sup>13</sup> He was the elder brother of Rājārāja I. (A D 985 to at least 1018).

<sup>14</sup> *South Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I, p. 112.

<sup>15</sup> *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905 6, Part I, paragraph 8.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* Part II, paragraph 16.

period prior to the conquest and occupation of the Pāṇḍya country by the Chōlas at the end of the 10th century A D

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a slab built into the floor of the first circuit in the Ernehcha-Udayār temple, which is comparatively dark. The record was found and copied with the help of a lamp. At my request the Collector of Tinnevely has removed the slab to the Government Central Museum at Madras. The plate issued with this paper is based on fresh impressions prepared by my Assistant Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, B.A., after the removal of the stone to Madras.<sup>1</sup>—The alphabet of the document is Vatteluttu and the language Tamil prose intermixed with a few Sanskrit words in the Grantha alphabet. The preservation is good, though a few syllables are mutilated at the end of lines 3 to 13 and 81. The slab was ruled before the writing, which is crowded into three sides of it, was engraved. The number of Sanskrit words written in Grantha is comparatively few, *viz* *svasti* (1 1), *śrī* (11 1 and 3), *amugraha* (1 1), *bhaṭāra* (11 1, 3 and 10), *maharaja* (1 5), *mahārāja* (11 12 and 81) and *ājyavasha* (1 12).

The following peculiarities of the alphabet deserve to be noted. The horizontal stroke of *ka* is very often small and indistinct. But the letter has not yet assumed the slanting form found in the Tirunelli<sup>2</sup> and Cochin plates<sup>3</sup> of Bhāskara-Ravivarman. The variant of the letter *ya* noticed by Prof. Hultzsch in the Kōttayam plates of Sthānu-Ravi and in certain Chōla inscriptions<sup>4</sup> does not occur here. Two slightly different forms of *i* are used, of which one (the first *i* of *śelututu* in 11 5 and 14) resembles, to a certain extent, the form in an ancient Vatteluttu record from Tirunāḍarkunru in the South Arcot district.<sup>5</sup> The vowel *ai* occurs thrice in the inscription (11 9, 22 and 75). As in other Tamil inscriptions, hardly any distinction is made between the short *i* and the long *ī* when they occur in combination with consonants. Double *kk* is occasionally written as a group, *e g* in *maharājarkku* and *nāyāvādukku* in line 12, *poḷudarkku* in line 15, *kummayāttukku* in line 16, *ḷakku* and *kharuvāḷar* in line 18. The *v*-symbol is added in some cases over the top of the consonant to which it belongs, instead of by the side as in later Vatteluttu epigraphs, see *e g* *vi* of *viruvirundu* (1 6), *ḷi* of *poḷi* (1 9), *ḷi* of *kuḷi* (1 11), *mi* of *vamidu* (1 14), and *ḷi* of *nā-pāḷi* (1 16). The syllable *pō* is written as in the Madras Museum plates of Jatilavarman<sup>6</sup> without the addition of the *ā*-symbol (on the right) found in the Chōla Vatteluttu inscriptions<sup>7</sup> published by Prof. Hultzsch. The Tirunelli plates<sup>8</sup> distinguish by a similar addition the long *pō* from the short *po*, and only a single instance of the former occurs in the Cochin Jews' grant.<sup>9</sup> Thus the distinction between *po* and *pō* appears to be a later innovation, and evidently belongs to a period subsequent to the Jatilavarman plates and to the subjoined inscription. If this conclusion be correct, the Cochin and the Tirunelli plates of Bhāskara-Ravivarman must be later than Varaguna-Pāṇḍya. And as Prof. Hultzsch has remarked that the alphabet employed in both of them agrees with that of the Chōla inscriptions from South Travancore published by him,<sup>10</sup> Bhāskara-Ravivarman may have to be assigned to the 10th or 11th century A D.

The language of the subjoined record calls for a few remarks. The vulgar form *mahārāja* occurs twice instead of the Sanskrit *mahārāja* (11 12 and 81), while *maharaja* in line 5 is

<sup>1</sup> The stone has evidently been slightly damaged in transit. Accordingly, portions of the last letters in 11 4 to 9, which are missing on the Plate, are found on my original impression prepared at Ambāsamudram in 1905 before the stone was removed to Madras.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. Plate facing p. 290.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. III. Plate facing p. 72.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. V. p. 42.

<sup>5</sup> No. 239 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904 and *Annual Report* for 1903-4, paragraph 30.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. Plates facing p. 70, 11 32 and 43.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. V. Plate facing p. 46, B, line 1; and H, 11 5, 8 and 9.

<sup>8</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. Plate facing p. 290, compare *poḷi* in 11 13, 19 and 34 with *pōm* in 1 21.

<sup>9</sup> Above, Vol. III. Plate facing p. 72, compare *pōḷar* in line 27 with *pōm* of the preceding note.

<sup>10</sup> Above, Vol. V. p. 42.

evidently a mistake *Amudu* (l. 14) and *amirdu*<sup>1</sup> (l. 19 f.), both of which correspond to the modern Tamil *amudu*, are *taḍbhava*s of the Sanskrit *amṛta*. The word *poli* (l. 9) is used both here and in the Trichinopoly cave inscription of Varaguṇa-Pāṇḍya<sup>2</sup> instead of the more common *polisai*, which occurs in the Tanjore inscriptions<sup>3</sup> and survives in the Malayālam *palisa*.<sup>4</sup> The word *nāru* (ll. 27 and 69) is still current in Malayālam, while its modern Tamil equivalent is *nīru*. The root from which they are both derived is *nāru*, which has acquired a figurative sense in Tamil,<sup>5</sup> while the original meaning seems to be preserved in Telugu.<sup>6</sup> The measure known as *seṇḍu* occurs four times in the form *seṇḍu* (ll. 25, 27, 54 and 70). The word *niyadu* is used in line 27 as well as in line 13 apparently in the same sense as *niṣadi*, of which *niyadi* (l. 77) is a variant. *Vēna* in line 75 is a vulgar form of the word *vēndiya*. The form *kuni*, which occurs twice (ll. 58 and 73), is perhaps a simple mistake for *kuruni*.

The subjoined inscription belongs to the time of Varaguṇa-Mahārāja, whose name occurs thrice (ll. 5, 11 f. and 81), and is dated in the 12th opposite to the fourth year of his reign. From his camp at Araṣṭir on the bank of the Pennai river in Tondai-nādu, the king granted 290 *kāṣu* to the temple of Tiruppōttudaiyār<sup>7</sup> (the ancient name of Erichoha-Udayār) at Ilaṅgōkkuṇi in Muḷli-nāḍu.<sup>8</sup> The assembly of the village received the money. The committee of the assembly<sup>9</sup> and the temple servants had jointly to provide for offerings to the god, according to a fixed scale, out of the interest from those 290 *kāṣu*.

The inscription of Varaguṇa-Pāṇḍya in the Upper Cave at Trichinopoly is dated on the 2501st day (and) in the 4th year or the 11th year of his reign.<sup>10</sup> No reasonable doubt can at present be entertained as regards the identity of this king with the donor of the subjoined record. On the occasion of making the former donation Varaguṇa was at Niyamam in the Tanjore district, after having destroyed the fortifications of a town named Vēmbi. At Rāmanāthapuram near Dindigul in the Madurai district is a Tamil inscription which refers to the expedition (*yāttirai*) of Māraṇḍaiyār against Idavai in the Chōḷa country.<sup>11</sup> The Trichinopoly epigraph implies that Māraṇḍaiyār<sup>12</sup> was a surname of Varaguṇa,<sup>13</sup> and this inference is borne out by a

<sup>1</sup> *Amirdu* occurs also in the Tanjore inscriptions; see e.g. *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II, p. 69, text line 3. *Amirdu* is another form of the same word; see above, Vol. VII, p. 184, text line 8.

<sup>2</sup> See the Director General's *Annual* for 1908-4, p. 276, text line 16.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II, p. 69, text line 8. The form *palisai* also occurs in epigraphical records, see *ibid.* p. 122, text line 27.

<sup>4</sup> According to Dr. Gundert *palisa* means 'interest on money'.

<sup>5</sup> According to Winslow *nāru* means 'to destroy, to kill'.

<sup>6</sup> According to Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*, *nāru* means 'to grind or sharpen' and 'to reduce to powder'.

<sup>7</sup> This name means 'the blessed lord of the bull,' i.e. Śiva.

<sup>8</sup> According to an inscription of the Chōḷa king Rājendra-Chōḷa I. (above, Vol. V, p. 47) Shērmādevi in the Tinnevely district was included in Muḷli-nāḍu. Muḷli-nāḍu belonged to the Tivēḍi-nijya, i.e. Travancore, in the 17th century A.D. (*ibid.* Vol. III, p. 240).

<sup>9</sup> The expression *sevai-vāryar* seems to imply that the system of village administration prevalent in the Chōḷa country in the 10th century A.D. was also in operation in the Pāṇḍya kingdom in the 9th century A.D.; see the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1898-99, paragraphs 58 to 78.

<sup>10</sup> See the Director General's *Annual* for 1908-4, p. 276.

<sup>11</sup> *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-6, Part II, paragraph 26. This is the inscription mentioned by Mr. Sewall (*List of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 289) as being engraved on the "Pāṇḍya Book" in very old Tamil characters.

<sup>12</sup> Māraṇḍaiyār seems to have been a formal name of Varaguṇa, just as Rājendravarmān and Parakéśari varma were of Chōḷa kings. Kōṇṇiramaikōṇḍāṇ was a similar name assumed originally by Chōḷa kings and subsequently by the Pāṇḍya too. Among the later Pāṇḍyas, Māravarmān and Jayavarman were similar formal names derived, evidently, from the Tamil words *Māra* and *Saṇḍaiyār*. The former denotes in Sāṇḍait 'Cupid,' but has been so often applied to the Pāṇḍya king that it has become one of the synonyms of the Pāṇḍya king.

<sup>13</sup> No. 277 of 1896 in the Travancore Museum belongs to the 27th year of Māraṇḍaiyār. It may be a record of Varaguṇa-Pāṇḍya, though this is not absolutely certain. It mentions a hero named Rānakirti, the army of the Chōḷa king, and Vijūḥam.

record at Tillasthānam in the Tanjore district, which is dated during the reign of Mārañjadayan and records a gift for the merit of Varaguna-Mahārāja.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, it may be concluded that Varaguna *alias* Mārañjadayan led the expedition against Idavai in the Chōla country. Idavai is evidently identical with the village of the same name<sup>2</sup> in Manpi-nādu, a subdivision of Rājendrasimha-valanādu situated on the northern bank of the river Kāvēri.<sup>3</sup> The village of Vēmbarrūr situated in the same subdivision<sup>4</sup> might be identical with Vēmbul, whose fortifications Varaguna destroyed. The destruction of Vēmbul probably followed soon after the expedition against Idavai. In the same locality is Tiruppirambiyam,<sup>5</sup> where a battle was fought between the Pāndya king Varaguna and the Western Ganga Prithivipati I.<sup>6</sup> The expedition against Idavai in the Chōla country and the attack of Vēmbul were apparently acts of aggression<sup>7</sup> on the part of the Pāndya king, which eventually led to the battle of Śrīpurambiya (in Tamil Tiruppirambiyam). The part which Prithivipati I played in this battle was hitherto inexplicable. In editing the Trichinopoly cave inscription of Varaguna-Pāndya, I remarked<sup>8</sup>—"How it was that the Gangas of Gangavādi in the Mysore State managed to get so far south as Kumbhakōnam in the Tanjore district, and why the Pāndya king Varaguna had to fight against them, are points on which no information is at present forthcoming." The verse in the Udayēnduram plates which describes the battle runs as follows, with Prof. Hultzsch's corrections<sup>9</sup>—

यः श्रीपु०००वियमहाह्वम्भि धीरः पाण्ड्येष्टरं वरगुणं सहसा विजित्य [I\*]  
 कृत्वाऽर्थयुक्तमपराजितशब्दमात्मप्राणव्ययेन सुहृदस्त्रिदिवस्त्रगाम [II\*]

With the approval of Prof. Hultzsch, whose translation of the verse is slightly different, I render it as follows—"Having defeated by force the Pāndya king Varaguna at the head of the great battle of Śrīpurambiya, and having made (his) friend's title Aparājita (i.e. the unconquered) significant, this hero entered heaven by sacrificing his own life." Thus we get a king whose name or surname was Aparājita, and who with his ally Prithivipati I fought against the Pāndya king Varaguna. The existence of a king named Aparājita might be concluded already from one of the Ukkal inscriptions, where the other name of that village is Aparājita-chaturvēdimangalam.<sup>10</sup> From the Āmbū inscriptions of the Ganga-Pallava king Nripatunga it may be supposed that Prithivipati I was his feudatory.<sup>11</sup> Accordingly, Aparājita, the friend of the latter, was probably also a Ganga-Pallava. Indisputable evidence of the existence of a Ganga-Pallava king of that name is furnished by an inscription of Vijaya-Aparājita-vikramavarman, discovered by my Assistant Mr K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar at Tiruttani in the North Arcot district.<sup>12</sup> Aparājita-vikramavarman was apparently the successor of Nripatunga, and we may at present suppose that during the reign of the latter (or after his

<sup>1</sup> No. 51 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895

<sup>2</sup> *South Ind Inscr* Vol II pp 325 and 336

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p 53

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, p 325, paragraph 88, and p 336, paragraph 77

<sup>5</sup> Tiruppirambiyam near Kumbhakōnam is the modern Tamil name of Śrīpurambiya mentioned in the Udayēnduram plates of Prithivipati II, see also the following note

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid* p. 337. Vaimbalgū, where another battle was fought by Prithivipati I according to the Udayēnduram plates, may have to be looked for in the same locality. It is not impossible that the place is identical with Vēmbul, whose fortifications Varaguna destroyed. But the name of Prithivipati's enemy in the battle of Vaimbalgū is not mentioned. Consequently this identification remains doubtful

<sup>7</sup> That the Pāndyas were strong and powerful about this time, is proved by their invasion of Ceylon recorded in Chapter I. of the Sinhalese Chronicle *Mahāvamsa*, see Mr L. C. Wijesinha's *Translation*. The invasion seems to have been unprovoked and falls into the period A.D. 846-866

<sup>8</sup> Director General's *Annual* for 1903-04, p 273

<sup>9</sup> *South-Ind Inscr* Vol II p 384, verse 18

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid* Vol III p 2

<sup>11</sup> Above, Vol IV p 182

<sup>12</sup> *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-06, Part II, paragraph 8

death) there was a Pāṇḍya invasion headed by Varaguna. The invader probably did not meet with any effective resistance at first, and therefore advanced as far north as Araṣūr on the Southern Pennar river, where he was encamped at the time of making the grant registered in the subjoined Ambāsamudram inscription. Subsequently, Aparājita, who was perhaps the heir-apparent at the time,<sup>1</sup> appears to have been sent with the Western Ganga Prithivipati I to repel the invasion. The decisive battle was fought at Śrīpurambiya, and the invader was driven back. But the Ganga king lost his life in it.<sup>2</sup>

The Tiruvālaṅkāṇ plates of the Chōla king Rājendra-Chōla I. help us to trace the fortunes of the Ganga-Pallavas to the very end. Verse 49 of the Sanskrit portion of this grant, which describes the achievements of the Chōla king Āditya I, runs as follows —

अपराजितमय्यसौ रणे जितवान् पञ्चवसुसत्त्वबलम् ।[\*]  
दयितामपि तस्य मेदिनीं स्वयमीकृत्य [त\*]यायभूत् क्षत्री ॥

"Having conquered in battle the Pallava who had brilliant troops, though (he was) Aparājita, (i.e. the unconquered), he (viz. the Chōla king Āditya) also took possession of his queen, (viz.) the earth, (and) thus accomplished his object."<sup>3</sup> In other words, the Chōla king Āditya I conquered the Pallava Aparājita<sup>4</sup> and annexed his dominions. The Pallava Aparājita<sup>5</sup> may now be identified with the Ganga-Pallava king Aparājavikramavarman of the Tiruttam inscription, and with that Aparājita who defeated Varaguna-Pāṇḍya. And, evidently, Ukkal in the North Arcot district was called Aparājita-chaturvēdimangalam after this Ganga-Pallava king. He was apparently the last member of his family. Though successful against the Pāṇḍyas, he could not offer any effective resistance to the rising Chōlas, who, under Āditya I., not only conquered him in battle, but also annexed his dominions.

In a Vattejuttu inscription at Aivarmalai in the Madura district,<sup>7</sup> copied during the last field season by my assistant Mr. G. Venkoba Rao, I found a Śaka date for Varaguna. His 8th year is coupled with Śaka-saivrat 792. Thus his accession took place in A.D. 862-63. If the facts and inferences set forth in the preceding paragraphs be confirmed by future researches, and if there was only one Pāṇḍya king named Varaguna, the invasion of Idavai in the Chōla country and the destruction of the fortifications of Vēmbil must have taken place in or before A.D. 872-73.<sup>8</sup> Varaguna was at Araṣūr on the southern Pennar in A.D. 877-8. The battle of Śrīpurambiya might have taken place towards the close of the same year or in the next year. If the surmise made by me, that Aparājita was probably heir-apparent when that battle took place, be true, his accession may be placed about A.D. 880. His defeat by the Chōla king Āditya evidently occurred after the Tiruttam inscription of the 18th year of his reign.

<sup>1</sup> Aparājita is called the friend (*suhrid*) of Prithivipati I, who was a Ganga-Pallava feudatory. If the former had been the reigning king, it is perhaps not likely that he would be referred to as the 'friend' of Prithivipati I.

<sup>2</sup> Soon after the conquest and occupation of the Pallava dominions by the Chōlas, the Gangas, who had been feudatories of the Ganga-Pallavas, seem to have acknowledged the Chōlas as their overlords. In an inscription of Rājāśeśarivarman which has to be attributed to Āditya I., Pindipati, son of Māraṇḍiyan (i.e. perhaps Prithivipati II, son of Māraṇḍin), is mentioned, apparently, as a Chōla feudatory; *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1896-97, paragraph 7.

<sup>3</sup> Read "सुखदयम्."

<sup>4</sup> *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-06, Part II paragraph 10.

<sup>5</sup> The place at which this battle was fought is not mentioned here. According to tradition the battle which crushed the Pallava power was fought near Sholinghur in the North Arcot district; see the *Manual of the North Arcot District*, Vol. I p. 89.

<sup>6</sup> That Aparājita is called a Pallava, is no bar to the proposed identification. In the *Śāhī* plates (above, Vol. IV p. 181), the Ganga-Pallava Nṛpatuṅga-vikramavarman and his ancestors are called Pallavas, and their legendary ancestors are the same as those of the Pallavas of Conjeeveram.

*Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-6, Part II paragraph 25.

<sup>7</sup> The latter event is mentioned in the Trinopolis inscription, dated in the 11th year of the king's reign.

Accordingly, the event may be supposed to have taken place at the end of the 9th century A D<sup>1</sup>

The great Śaiva saint Mānikkavāṣagar mentions the Pāndya king Varaguna twice<sup>2</sup> in his *Tṛuṣṭiṇṇambalakkōvayār*. The time of Sundaramūrti-Nāyanār, who probably flourished in the 8th century A D, is the upper limit of the date of Mānikkavāṣagar, who is conspicuous by his omission from the *Tṛuṣṭiṇṇattogai*, i.e. the list of Śaiva saints composed by the former. The lower limit may be taken as the reign of the Chōla king Parakēśarivarman Rājendradēva (A D 1052 to 1058),<sup>3</sup> because in an inscription of the 5th year of his reign (= A D 1056-57) reference is made to the poem [Tṛu]vembāvai composed by Mānikkavāṣagar<sup>4</sup>. It may, therefore, be concluded that this Śaiva saint was a contemporary of the Pāndya king Varaguna. And if there was only one king of that name, the Śaiva saint must have flourished in the second half of the 9th century A D.

It is worthy of note that the calculation of the annual requirements of the temple provided for in the subjoined inscription implies that the measure of paddy known as *kalam* consisted of 90 *nāli*, instead of 12 *kurumi* or 96 *nāli*, which we find, for instance, in the Tanjore inscriptions, and which is the prevailing equivalent in the Tamil country. A *kalam* was equal to 15 *kurumi*, and a *kurumi* equal to 6 *nāli*. The rate of interest, according to the subjoined inscription, is 2 *kalam* of paddy for each *kāṣu*, while in the Tanjore inscriptions it is 3 *kurumi* for one *kāṣu*. Thus the rate in the Pāndya country at the time of Varaguna would be nearly eight times higher<sup>5</sup> than that prevailing in Tanjore during the reign of the Chōla king Rājārāja I (A D 985 to at least 1013), in case there was no difference in the value of the *kāṣu*. The variations at the same two places and periods in the price of some of the important articles of daily consumption are recorded in the foot-notes. It is interesting to note that common salt and firewood, which are included among the daily requirements in the Tanjore inscriptions, are conspicuous by their omission in the subjoined document. This is a significant fact, though we may not be warranted in concluding from it that these two articles had not to be paid for in the Pāndya country during the reign of Varaguna.

#### TEXT

##### *First Side of the Stone*

1 Svasti [||\*] Śrī-Bhatārar-anugra[ha]tta[nā]-

2 k<sup>6</sup> Mulli-nātt-Iṅgōyakkudi T[ri]-

<sup>1</sup> The conquest of the Pallavas is attributed by tradition to Āṇḍai, an illegitimate son of Kulōttunga of Tanjore. The first battle, said to have been fought at Purālūr, ended in favour of the Pallavas. Āṇḍai was then forced to retreat to Sholinghur. "Encouraged there by a dream, he renewed the contest and defeated the enemy with great slaughter. The Pallava king was taken prisoner, and the huzen gates of the Purālūr fort were carried to the temple (!) of Tanjore," see the *Manual of the North Arcot District*, Vol I p 39. If there be any truth in this tradition, Kulōttunga must have been a surname of Vijayālaya, and Āṇḍai of his son Āḍitya I. But there is not even the slightest hint in epigraphical records that Āḍitya was the illegitimate son of Vijayālaya. Another tradition has it that the mythical Chōla king Kōṅkili had an illegitimate son named Āṇḍai by a Nāga woman, and that the province conferred on the latter by his father was called Tondai-nādu or Tondai maṇḍalam. It looks as if this Āṇḍai is mixed up with the conqueror of the Pallavas in the former story.

<sup>2</sup> Verse 306 in illustration of *Maruvudaluranattal*, and verse 327 in illustration of *Pannamurninnattal*.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol VII p 7.

<sup>4</sup> No 12 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905 from the Virattāṇḍavara temple at Kīlār near Tirukoilūr.

<sup>5</sup> In ancient times the rate of interest seems to have been more or less arbitrary. It looks as if the ordinary laws of Political Economy were not allowed full play, and it is therefore unsafe to draw any conclusions from the rate of interest. At Conjeevaram the rate of interest during the reign of a Chōla king named Parakēśarivarman was 15 per cent. About a century earlier the rate was 5 per cent in the same place. Again the interest on 250 *kalaṅṅu* of gold was 500 *kāṣu* of paddy, and 150 *kāṣu* on 50 *kalaṅṅu*, G O No 452, Public, dated 10th June 1891, p 5.

<sup>6</sup> Read 'nāli', the *ha* of *anugraha* is slightly different from *ha* in ll 5, 12 and 81.

- 3 ruppóttudaiyār śrīkōyīl-Bhatāra[r\*]kku mu[da!]\*  
 4 [ke]dāmai poli kondu<sup>1</sup> nā[ṇ]gu kalamun=di[ruv-amu\*]-  
 5 du selu[t]tuvadā[ga] Varaguna-Maharajar Tōṇḍai-nāt[tu-P\*]-  
 6 pennai-kkarai Araiśūr viṇṇuṇḍu lla[n]gōkku\*]-  
 7 di=chchavaiyār kaiyiyī=kndutta kāsū iru-nūṇ[ru-to\*]-  
 8 nūṇḍu [i\*] ivayīrā=kāsinvāy=iru-galamāga ān[ḍu\*]-  
 9 varai śavaiyār=alakkum poli-nel ai-nūṇ[ru-e[nba][di\*]-  
 10 n kalam [i\*] ivai kondu Bhatārar pani-makkalum lla[n\*]-  
 11 gōkkudī=chchavai-vāriyarum uḍa=ṇṇṇu Varagu[na\*]-  
 12 Mahar[ā]jarkku rājya-va[r\*]sham nāṅgāvadukku eḍ[ir\*]  
 13 pannirandā[m\*] yāṇḍu Tulā-śāyīru mūdalaḡa mḡa[di\*]-  
 14 yāga nāṅgu kalam[u]n=diruv-amida seluttum [pa]-  
 15 di [i\*] oru-pōḷudaiḡa vēṇḍuvāḡa arisi senn[e]r=  
 16 ṛittal nā=ṇāḷi kummāyattukku pa[ya]ṇṇu=  
 17 pparupp=uri mivēdikka paṣuvīn=ṇaṇu-ney[y]=u-  
 18 laḡku=ppasuviṇ=ṛōy-tayr=uri-kkaruvāḷai-  
 19 ppala=nāṅgu śarkkarai oru-palam kaṇi-am[ī]-  
 20 rdu kāyk[ka]ṇi oṇṇu puliṅḡaṇi irāṇḍu puḷu-  
 21 [k]kukkaṇi oṇṇu porikkaṇi oṇṇu ēṇṇi-kkaṇi  
 22 aiṇṇukkuṇ=gaṇi paḍiṇ-pala[m]  
 23 [ka]ṇi tumikkavum porikkavum paṣuvi=ṇaṇu-ne-  
 24 y āḷakku=k[kūṭ]tukku paṣuviṇ [t]ō[y]-taiyi-  
 25 r=uri-kkāyam iru-śevittu ilai-amirḍa  
 26 vellilai ir-aḍukku adaikkāy pattu  
 27 nūṇḍu oru-śevittu [i\*] āga mḡaḍi nāṅgu  
 28 pōḷudaiḡa vēṇḍuvāḡa arisi śe-  
 29 nneṇ=ṛittal paḍiṇ-aṇu-nāḷi

*Second Side of the Stone*

- 30 āga ōr=āttai[k]ku arisi sen[ne]-  
 31 [r]=ṛittal aṇḡa[t]tu-nāṇ-  
 32 [ka]lam [i\*] ivai [ka]lav-arisiḡku mu=[kkala]-  
 33 nellāga nūṇḍu-tton[nū]ṇṇu-iru gala-  
 34 m [i\*] payaṇṇu=pparupp=iru-  
 35 nāḷi ivai nāḷi=pparuppa-  
 36 kku mu=nnāḷi nellāga ōr=[ā]t-  
 37 taikku nel irubattu-nāṇ=kalam [i\*]  
 38 paṣuvīn=ṇaṇu-ney nāḷi-y-uri i-  
 39 vai nāḷi[ī] ne[y\*]kku muppaḍi=ṇāḷi ne-  
 40 nellāga ōr=ā[t\*]taikku nel nūṇḍu-ēṇḡa-  
 41 diṇ kalam [i\*] paṣuviṇ=ṛōy-[taiyi]-  
 42 r nā=ṇāḷi ivai nāḷi=t[ta]yṇṇu  
 43 mu=nnāḷi nell[ā]ga ōr=āttaikku ne-  
 44 l nā[r]patt-en-galam [i\*] karuvāḷappa-  
 45 lam paḍiṇ-aṇu ivai irāṇḍu[kku]  
 46 nāḷi nellāga ōr=āttaikku ne[l]

<sup>1</sup> The phrase *mūdai kēdmai poli kondu* corresponds to *mūda=ṇṇka poli kōṇḍu* of the Truhinopoly inscription; Director-General's *Annual* for 1908-04, p. 275, text line 15 f.

<sup>2</sup> At the beginning of this line is a symbol which looks like *ra*, but which is probably a mere crack on the stone



47 muppatt-iru-galam [i\*] śarkkarai 'nāṛṇa[p]f  
 48 [la]m i[du] oru-palattukku nāḷi-  
 49 y-uri nellāga ōr=āṭṭaikkū nel  
 50 irubattu-nāṛ=kkalam [i\*] kaṇ nāṛpa-  
 51 dīn palam ivai paṇ-pa[la]-  
 52 ttukku nāḷi nellāga ōr=ā[t]-  
 53 ṭaikkū nel pa[di\*]n-aṇu-kalam [i\*] kāyam  
 54 ālakā mu=chevittu idu  
 55 uḷakku kāyattukk-aṇu-nā-

*Third Side of the Stone*

56 [h] nell[ā]ga ōr=āṭ[ta]-  
 57 kku nel patt[o]ṇ[ba]-  
 58 [di]n kalāṇḍ mu=kkū[rū\*]nī [i\*]  
 59 lai-amirdu vel-  
 60 [h]lai irandu paṇṇu  
 61 [i]vai oru-paṇṇuk[k=ī]-  
 62 [ru]-nāḷi nellāga ōr=[ā]-  
 63 ṭaikkū nel pa[di]-  
 64 [n-a]ru-galam adai[kkā]-  
 65 y nāṛpadu ivai [i]-  
 66 rubad=adaikkāy[kku] mu=n-  
 67 [nā]ḷy-uri nellāga  
 68 ōr=āṭṭaikkū nell=[i]-  
 69 r[u]ba[tt]-en-galam [i\*] nūṛ[u]  
 70 n[ā]ṇ=chevittu idu  
 71 nāḷikk=iru-nāḷy[āga]  
 72 ōr=āṭṭaikkū nel  
 73 pann-iru-ku[rū\*]nī [i\*] el-  
 74 l[ā]m ēṇṇi ōr=ā[t]-  
 75 ṭaikkū vēna nel [ai-n]-  
 76 nūṇ-[e]ṇbadin kala[m] [i\*]  
 77 i=ppaiṇu niyadi-  
 78 [p]padu mutt[ā]mai  
 79 n[e]ḍun=gālamuṇ=je-  
 80 lu[t]tūv[adā]ga vai[t\*][t]ā-  
 81 r śrī-Varaguna-Maharāja[r\*] [i\*]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1 to 8) Hail ! By the grace of the blessed lord (*bhaṭārara*) <sup>1</sup> Varaguna-Mahārāja, being encamped<sup>2</sup> at Araṇḍūr on the bank of the (river) Peṇṇai in Tondai-nādu, gave into the hands<sup>3</sup> of the members of the assembly of Iṇḡōkkudī two hundred and ninety *kāṣu*, from the interest of which—the capital remaining unspent<sup>4</sup>—offerings had to be provided for four times

<sup>1</sup> Read *nār-palam*

<sup>2</sup> *Vīṇṇirundu* means literally 'being seated majestically'

<sup>3</sup> This is the literal translation. The money must have been sent by a messenger to be made over to the village assembly

<sup>4</sup> Literally 'taking interest (in such a way) that the capital is not destroyed,' see note 1 on page 90 above

(a day) to the lord of the glorious temple<sup>1</sup> of Tiruppôttudaiyâr at Ilangoikkudi in Mullinâdu

(Ll 8 to 10) For this (amount) the members of the assembly have to measure out five hundred and eighty *kalam* of paddy per year (as) interest, at the rate of two *kalam* for each *kâdu*

(Ll 10 to 14) Out of this (income) the servants of the lord (*bhaṭṭâr*) and the committee of the assembly of Ilangoikkudi shall jointly pay for offerings four times a day,<sup>2</sup> commencing from the month of Tula in the twelfth year opposite to the fourth year of the reign of Varaguna-Mahârâja, (according to the following) scale—

(Ll 15 to 27) (The following) are the requirements for a single offering<sup>3</sup>— four *nâli* of clean superior rice,<sup>4</sup> (one) *ur* of split green gram for the *kummdyam*,<sup>5</sup> (one) *ulakku* of cows' ghee of the best quality to be offered<sup>6</sup> (by itself), (one) *ur* of cows' curds, four black plantain fruits, one *palam* of sugar, ten *palam* of vegetables (for) the vegetable offering (*karu-amurdu*), (one) *kâykâra*,<sup>7</sup> two *pulingari*,<sup>8</sup> one *pulukkukkari*<sup>9</sup> (and) one *porikkari*—in all, five (*kunids* of) curry, (one) *ulakku* of cows' ghee of the best quality for seasoning<sup>10</sup> and frying vegetables, (one) *ur* of cows' curds for the compound curry (*kâttu*),<sup>11</sup> two *sevitru* of asafoetida; two bundles of betel-leaves,<sup>12</sup> ten areca-nuts (and) one *sevitru* of lime (*nâru*) for the leaves offering

(Ll 27 to 73) The aggregate requirements for (the offerings) four times a day<sup>13</sup> (are) — At the rate of sixteen *nâli* of clean superior rice (a day), sixty-four *kalam* of clean superior rice

<sup>1</sup> The word *irikkôl* means 'the sanctuary of a temple' according to Dr Gundert. It is used here in the same sense as the Tamil *irukkôl*, 'a temple, a place of worship, a sacred shrine.' In the Tanjore inscriptions *irikkôl* is used to designate the orthodox Hindu temple as opposed to the temples of the Dravidian village deities and to the Jain temples (*South Ind Inscr* Vol. II, p. 48, note 8, and p. 59).

<sup>2</sup> The word *siyadu* occurs again in line 27. <sup>3</sup> Literally 'the offering at one time'

<sup>4</sup> With *temel* compare *iruvôkennadai nel* in a Chôla inscription from Conjeevaram, *South-Ind Inscr* Vol. I, p. 117.

<sup>5</sup> This word occurs in a similar context in an inscription of Rājāśarvarman found at Tiruvellai near Trincomopoly (No 518 of 1905). In an unpublished record of the Chôla king Rājāśarvarman from Gudimallai in the North Arcot district, split green gram (*iru-payarru-paruppu*) is provided for *kummdya amudu* (No 222 of 1903). The modern meaning of the word *kummdyam*, viz 'mortar,' will not do here. In Malayalam and its Kanarese root *kummu* means 'to beat with a pestle,' and *kummdyam* might therefore denote something pounded, if the word is derived from that root.

<sup>6</sup> The verb *neḍikkka* in line 17 may also have to be taken with the words *tayru* (l. 18), *karuḍaiappalam* (l. 18 f) and *farikkara* (l. 19), if not with all the items mentioned in ll. 19 to 27.

<sup>7</sup> According to one of the Tanjore inscriptions of Rājārāja I (*South Ind Inscr* Vol. II, No 26) pepper, mustard, and perhaps also salt were required for this preparation. Some vegetable must also have been added, though the fact is not specifically mentioned. Old rice, pulses, pepper, mustard, cummin, sugar and ghee were required for a similar preparation called *appakkaykara*.

<sup>8</sup> Pepper, mustard, cummin, sugar, tamarind, curds, horse-gram and plantain fruits were required for it according to the inscription quoted in the preceding note. *Puliyittadungari* (consisting of pepper, cummin, tamarind, and perhaps some vegetable) was a similar preparation.

<sup>9</sup> *Pulukkukkari*, 'boiled curry,' is perhaps so called in order to distinguish it from *porikkari*, 'fried curry.' The former is not mentioned (at any rate under this name) in the Tanjore inscription quoted above, while ghee is provided for the latter. Evidently *porikkari* consisted of a vegetable fried in ghee.

<sup>10</sup> The verb *tem* means 'to sprinkle.' Condiment powder is even now sprinkled over boiled curry and the whole, seasoned with boiling ghee, in which a small quantity of mustard is frying. The preparation is called *podittocai*, 'powder sprinkling,' and the same is apparently indicated by the use of the verb *tem* here. A story is told in connection with the Tamil poet Kambar, which shows that the noun *tem* was not in common use during his time.

<sup>11</sup> *Kâttu* is a liquid preparation still in use and consists of (1) a vegetable cooked either with Bengal gram or beans, (2) two or more vegetables boiled together, or (3) specially made powder dissolved in curds. (1) and (2) do not generally require any curds.

<sup>12</sup> The word for betel-leaves both here as well as in the Tanjore inscriptions is *veḷḷai*, 'white leaf,' while the modern Tamil form is *veḷḷai*, 'empty leaf.'

<sup>13</sup> Worship at six periods of the day is the rule at present in big temples. In the case of a minor shrine, in the Tanjore temple, provision was made for offerings only three times (morning, midday and night, *South Ind Inscr* Vol. II, p. 146) and twice in the case of two other shrines (*ibid* pp. 70 and 71).

for a year At three *kalam* of paddy for one *kalam* of rice,<sup>1</sup> this (comes to) one hundred and ninety-two *kalam* (of paddy) The split green gram (required for a day) is two *nāḷi* At the rate of three *nāḷi* of paddy for (one) *nāḷi* of split (green gram),<sup>2</sup> twenty-four *kalam* of paddy per year (have to be allotted) for this (item) Cows' ghee of the best quality (required for a day) is (one) *nāḷi* and (one) *uri* At the rate of thirty *nāḷi* of paddy for (one) *nāḷi* of ghee,<sup>3</sup> this (comes to) one hundred and eighty *kalam* of paddy for a year (The quantity of) cows' curds (required for a day) is four *nāḷi* At the rate of three *nāḷi* of paddy for (one) *nāḷi* of curds,<sup>4</sup> this (amounts to) forty-eight *kalam* of paddy annually (The number of) black plantain fruits (required for a day) is sixteen. At the rate of (one) *nāḷi* of paddy for two (fruits),<sup>5</sup> these (cost) thirty-two *kalam* of paddy annually The sugar (required for a day is) four *palam* At the rate of (one) *nāḷi* and (one) *uri* of paddy for every *palam*,<sup>6</sup> this (item costs) twenty-four *kalam* of paddy per year (The daily consumption of) vegetables being forty *palam*, sixteen *kalam* of paddy (have to be allotted) for this (item) every year—at the rate of (one) *nāḷi* of paddy for ten *palam* <sup>7</sup> (One) *āḷakku* and three *śevittu* of *asafotida* (being required daily), nineteen *kalam* and three *kurumi*<sup>8</sup> of paddy (have to be allotted) for this (item) annually—at the rate of six *nāḷi* of paddy for (one) *ūḷakku* of *asafotida* <sup>9</sup> (For) the leaves offering (as required) two bundles<sup>10</sup> of betel-leaves (daily), which, at the rate of two *nāḷi* of paddy for one bundle, (come to) sixteen *kalam* of paddy for a year, forty areca-nuts (daily), which, at the rate of three *nāḷi* and (one) *uri* of paddy for 20 areca-nuts, (cost) twenty-eight *kalam* of paddy annually,<sup>11</sup> (and) four *śevittu* of lime (daily), which, at the rate of two *nāḷi* (of paddy) for (one) *nāḷi* (of lime), (cost) twelve *kurumi*<sup>12</sup> of paddy per year

(LI 73 to 81) Altogether, the (quantity of) paddy required annually is five hundred and eighty *kalam* <sup>13</sup> The glorious Varaguna-Mahārāja thus deposited (this money), in order that

<sup>1</sup> In Tanjore 5 *kalam* of paddy were required for 2 *kalam* of rice during the time of Rājārāja I

<sup>2</sup> Pulse was exchanged at this rate during the time of Rājārāja I at Tanjore

<sup>3</sup> In Tanjore ghee and paddy were exchanged in the proportion of 1 to 32 at the time of Rājārāja I

<sup>4</sup> The same rate obtained in Tanjore during the reign of Rājārāja I

<sup>5</sup> There seem to have been three varieties of plantain fruits available in Tanjore and its vicinity about the beginning of the 11th century A D Two fruits of the first kind could be had for one *nāḷi* of paddy (*South Ind Inscr* Vol II pp 75 and 77), five *nāḷi* of paddy had to be given in exchange for 18 fruits of the second variety (*ibid* p 127), the third was sold at the rate of 1200 for each *kāṣu* (*ibid* p 151)

<sup>6</sup> Two kinds of sugar were apparently available about the beginning of the 11th century A D in the Chōḷa capital and the country surrounding it Of the cheaper kind 8½ *palam* could be purchased for 2 *nāḷi*, 1 *uri*, 1 *āḷakku* and 4 *śevittu* of paddy (*South Ind Inscr* Vol II p 127), while the more costly variety exchanged at the rate of 1 *nāḷi* and 1 *uri* of paddy for ½ *palam* (*ibid* pp 70 and 71)

<sup>7</sup> In one of the Tanjore inscriptions quoted in the preceding foot-notes, the daily allotment for purchasing vegetables is 6 *nāḷi* of paddy The quantity of vegetables is not mentioned

<sup>8</sup> If this calculation is correct, a *kalam* must be equal to 15 instead of 12 *kurumi*, and a *kurumi* equal to 6 *nāḷi*

<sup>9</sup> *Asafotida* and lime are not mentioned in any of the Tanjore inscriptions, where common salt and firewood are specially provided for (*South Ind Inscr* Vol II pp 75, 77 and 180) The two latter are conspicuous by their omission in the Ambasamudram record Perhaps they had no exchange value in the Pāṇḍya country during the time of Varaguna It may also be that temples could obtain both common salt and firewood without any payment

<sup>10</sup> From lines 26 and 60 of the text it may be concluded that one bundle (*parru*) was equal to 4 *āḷakku* of betel leaves

<sup>11</sup> Provision is made for the supply of areca-nuts and betel leaves in three of the Tanjore inscriptions, where only the aggregate cost of both is given (Nos 6, 26 and 35 of *South-Ind Inscr* Vol II) 1 *nāḷi* of paddy for 8 areca-nuts and 32 betel-leaves (No 6), 4 *nāḷi* and 1 *uri* of paddy for 80 areca nuts and 60 betel leaves (No 26), and 1 *nāḷi* and 1 *uri* of paddy for 12 areca nuts and 24 betel leaves (No 35)

<sup>12</sup> The actual calculation yields 36 *nāḷi* of lime annually, costing 72 *nāḷi* of paddy, i.e. 18 *nāḷi* less than a *kalam* (= 90 *nāḷi* according to this inscription) or 12 *kurumi* But it has been pointed out that a *kalam* was made up of 15 *kurumi* (note 8 above) Thus the *kurumi* was equal to 6 *nāḷi* instead of the more common 8 *nāḷi* With this equivalent of the *kurumi* the calculation in the text would be correct

<sup>13</sup> This calculation would be correct only on the assumption that a *kalam* was equal to 1½ *kurumi* and a *kurumi* equal to 6 *nāḷi*; see the preceding note

(the members of the village assembly) might provide (the requirements) day by day<sup>1</sup> for a long time<sup>2</sup> without (any) obstruction

NO. 11 — MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF VAJRAHASTA III,  
SAKA-SAMVAT 984

By STEEN KONOW, PH.D., CHRISTIANIA

The inscription is found on a set of copper-plates which have been deposited in the Madras Museum. I did not know where they have been originally found. I publish the inscription from excellent ink-impressions<sup>3</sup> supplied by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, M.A., who describes the plates as follows:—

'The plates are five in number. The first bears writing on the inner side only. The last is completely blank, it was evidently put in to protect the single line of writing on the second side of the fourth plate. The plates have slightly raised rims (though in certain places these are either beaten down or worn away) and are strung on a ring, the ends of which are soldered into the lower part of a round seal. About the middle of the seal is a seated Nandin, whose tail extends to the bottom of the seal. From either side of the hind part of the Nandin proceed what may be taken for lotus buds. On the proper left of the Nandin are two flag-staffs placed one by the side of the other, with a bowl above them, and on the proper right of it are a conch, a lampstand and a diadem. The ring was cut by me. It is not quite circular. The diameter varies between 5" and 1½". The thickness of the ring is ½". The seal is roughly 2½" in diameter. The following measurements of the plates show that, as regards breadth, they are slightly bigger in the middle than at the ends, while, as regards height, the reverse is the case:—

Average breadth of plates	.	.	.	9½"	9½"	9½"
Average height of plates	.	.	.	4½"	4"	4½"

The fourth plate is comparatively small in height, measuring 4½" at the ends and almost 4" in the middle."

The inscription consists of 54 lines. The greater part is in a good state of preservation. The fourth plate, however, is rather corroded, and some passages of it can only be read with difficulty.

The alphabet is Nāgarī of the same kind as in the Nadagām plates of Vajrahaṣṭa of Śaka-Samvat 979.<sup>4</sup> The class nasal, and not the *Anusvāra*, is used before class mutes. Exceptions from this rule are "चौत्तु" in l. 9, and "च" in l. 48. Consonants are doubled after *r*, except in "निजित्", l. 26. *ṣ* is written for *ś* throughout. *ś* has been substituted for *ṣ* in "चौत्तु", l. 25, and "च", l. 49. On the other hand, we find *ṣ* for *ś* in "चौत्तु", l. 21, "चौत्तु", l. 39, and "च", l. 54. A nasal with a following guttural or palatal is written in the same way as in the Nadagām plates. Note further such writings as "समुत्तु", ll. 7 and 24, "प्रज्ञासित" instead of "प्रज्ञासित", l. 3, and "प्रयोदशद" instead of "प्रयोदशद", l. 19.

<sup>1</sup> The word *nigadati* is apparently synonymous with *nīdam* which occurs frequently in the Tanjore inscriptions, and with *nsadati* in the Trichinopoly cave epigraph of Varaguna (Director General's *Annual* for 1903, 4, p. 275, text line 19).

<sup>2</sup> In later inscriptions the phrase *nedan-gālamam* is replaced by the Sanskrit *chāndārdīyavat*, 'as long as the moon sees the sun (endure)'.  
<sup>3</sup> Since the above was written, I have had an opportunity of inspecting the original plates together with Mr. Venkayya.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. IV, p. 183 ff.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It contains the same twelve verses as the Nadagām plates of Śaka-Samvat 979. The remainder of the inscription is in prose. The first 41 lines are almost identical with the corresponding portion of the Nadagām plates. They are, however, more carefully engraved and gave several passages in a more correct form.

The inscription is one of king Vajrahasta (III), the son of Kāmārnava (II) of the Gāṅga lineage, and of Vinayamahādēvi of the Vaidumba family. His genealogy is given in the same words as in the Nadagām plates, from Gunamahārnavā downwards, including the date of Vajrahasta's coronation<sup>1</sup>. The inscription then goes on to state (l 40 ff.) that 'the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), the Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja, the lord of the three Kalingas, the glorious Anantavarman Vajrahastadēva, being in good health, issues the following order from Kalinganagara, having called together all the subjects, headed by the ministers' — "Be it known to you (that), for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (Our) mother, father, and Ourselves, the village named Tāmaracheru in Varāhavartanī, combined with the Chikhali hamlet (*vaṭaka*), circumscribed by the four boundaries, including water and land, free from all molestation, to last as long as the moon, the sun, and the earth, has been granted by Us, with libations of water, as an *Agrahāra*, to five hundred learned Brāhmanas who delight in the six acts of sacrificing, conducting sacrifices, studying, teaching, [giving] and accepting, (and) who are well versed in sacred lore, in the Śaka year of the dice (4), the Vasus (8) and the treasures (8), on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun. Therefore (Our gift) should be preserved by future kings in compliance with the law proclaimed by Manu. Moreover, land with the produce of two hundred *Murakas* of grain has been given, to last as long as the moon and the sun, free from hindrances, to the god Kōtīśvara<sup>2</sup> for (the maintenance of the rites of) *Bali*, *Charu*, *Navāyā*, *Dīpaprāyā*, and so on. And the repairs of what is broken and torn in this (temple) should without fail be effected by the Brāhmanas living there."

The inscription does not add anything to our knowledge of the history of king Vajrahasta III. We only learn that he also had the name Anantavarman, like his grandson Chōdagangadēva.

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription, Kalinganagara has been identified by Mr. Ramamurti<sup>3</sup> with the villages Mukhalinṅam and Nagarakatakam in the Ganjam district. Varāhavartanī occurs in several Gāṅga grants<sup>4</sup>. The village of Tāmaracheru is also known from Gāṅga inscriptions. Its boundaries are given in the Chicacole plates of the Mahārāja Dēvendravarman,<sup>5</sup> in which the village Tāmaracheru is granted to three hundred Brāhmanas on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun. The Chicacole plates of the Gāṅga Mahārāja Indravarman, issued from Kalinganagara in Gāṅgāya-Samvat 128,<sup>6</sup> further state that the village of Tāmaracheruva was granted to certain Brāhmanas on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon on the full-moon day of Mārgaśīra. The latter inscription mentions *Tāmaracheruva-grāmaṁ bā(vā)ṭakā(kā)-sahita[m]* (l 8 f). This *vaṭaka* is perhaps identical with the Chikhali-*vṛṭaka* of our inscription. The village of Tāmaracheru has not as yet been identified. It should be looked for in the neighbourhood of Chicacole.

The date of the grant is found in a part of the inscription which has not been so well preserved as the rest. The first word is scarcely legible in the ink-impression. After a careful examination of the original, however, Mr. Venkayya and myself find that the reading *kṛta* is certain. The date of the inscription is accordingly the Śaka year 984. If we take this to be

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol IV p 185, Vol V Appendix, p 50, No 355

<sup>2</sup> This was evidently the name of the temple of Śiva at Tāmaracheru

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol IV p 187 f

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol III p 127, note 5, Vol V, p 185, note 5, etc

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol XIII p 273 ff

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid* p 119 ff

the current Śaka year, the date would correspond to A D 1061-62 Professor Kielhorn has been good enough to inform Professor Hultzsch that the only eclipse of the sun which was (slightly) visible in Ganjam between the Śaka years 980—989 took place on the 20th June A.D. 1061. This would therefore be the date of our inscription

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

## First Plate

- 1 श्री<sup>2</sup> स्वस्त्य<sup>3</sup> श्रीमतामखिलभुवनविनुतनय[विनयद]यादान[दा]क्षिणसत्य[शो]-
- 2 चश्रीर्यैर्व्यादिगुणरत्नपवित्रकाशामात्रेयगोत्राणां विमलविचारा-
- 3 चारपुण्यसलिलप्रचयालितकलिकालिकल्पमधीणा<sup>4</sup> [महाम]हेन्द्राचल-
- 4 शिखरप्रतिष्ठितस्य सचराचरगुरोः सकलभुवननि-
- 5 र्थायैकसूत्रधारस्य <sup>5</sup>शशाङ्क[चू]डांसयेर्भगवतो गो-
- 6 कर्णस्वामिनः प्रसादात्समासादितैकशङ्कभेरीप-
- 7 <sup>6</sup>स्रमाहाशब्दधवलच्छत्रहेमच[†\*]मरवरत्नपमलाञ्जनसमुज्ज्वल-
- 8 <sup>7</sup>सत्यस्तसाम्नाज्यमाहिन्नामनेकसमरसङ्घट्टसमुपलब्धविजयलमी-
- 9 समालिङ्गितो[त्तु]ग[भु]जदण्डम[ण्ड]तानां त्रिकलिङ्गम[हो]भुजां [गा-

## Second Plate, First Side

- 10 [ज्ञा]नामन्वयमलङ्कारि[णोर्विणोः]व<sup>8</sup> विक्र(†)माक्रान्तधरामण्डल-
- 11 स्त गुणमहार्णवमहाराजस्य पुत्रः ॥०॥ पूर्व<sup>9</sup> भूपतिमर्विभक्त्य
- 12 वसुधा या पञ्चभिः[\*] <sup>10</sup>पञ्चधा भुक्ता भूरिपराक्रमो <sup>11</sup>भुजवलात्[†\*]म-
- 13 क एव स्वयं [\*] एकोक्त<sup>12</sup> विजित्य मत्तनिवहान्<sup>13</sup> श्रीव-
- 14 <sup>14</sup>जहस्तत्तुचात्वारिशतमत्युदार(†)[स्त्र]रित्व[\*] सर्वा-
- 15 मरचीत्समाः ॥ [†\*] तस्य तनयो गुण्डमराज<sup>15</sup> [व]षत्रयं-
- 16 मप[†\*]लयश्चर्हि ॥ तदनुजः कामार्णवदे[व]ः पञ्चत्रि[श]तम-
- 17 [न्द]कान<sup>16</sup> ॥ तस्यानुजो विनयादित्य[\*] समाससः<sup>17</sup> ॥ ततः<sup>18</sup> कामार्णवा-
- 18 जातो जगतीक[ल्पभू]रुहः [†\*] योराजद्राजितः<sup>19</sup> अयो वज्रह(†)-

<sup>1</sup> From the original plates<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol<sup>3</sup> Read स्वस्ति<sup>4</sup> Read <sup>6</sup>प्रचालितकलिकाव<sup>5</sup> Read <sup>6</sup>ब्रह्मसणे<sup>2</sup>. The 4 stroke is not visible in the ink-impression<sup>6</sup> Read <sup>6</sup>महाशब्द, <sup>6</sup>स्त्रपु, <sup>6</sup>समुज्ज्वल<sup>7</sup> Read समस्त, <sup>6</sup>महिम्ना, <sup>6</sup>समुपलब्ध, <sup>6</sup>लक्ष्मी<sup>8</sup> This looks like <sup>6</sup>श्रीमहीविष.<sup>9</sup> Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita; read भूपतिभि<sup>10</sup> Before पञ्चधा the engraver began to write च, but subsequently cancelled it<sup>11</sup> Read <sup>6</sup>बला<sup>12</sup> Read <sup>6</sup>जल<sup>13</sup> Read शत्रुनिवहान्<sup>6</sup>को<sup>14</sup> Read <sup>6</sup>जहस्तुचला, <sup>6</sup>रचिरत<sup>15</sup> Read <sup>6</sup>राजी वर्षचय-<sup>16</sup> Read <sup>6</sup>मन्दकान्<sup>17</sup> Read समासिच,<sup>18</sup> Metre Ślōka, read <sup>6</sup>वाञ्छाती.<sup>19</sup> Read <sup>6</sup>द्राजितश्चायो.

112

11b

Collotype by G. br. Plattner, Halle-Saale

28

30

32

34

36

२४ श्ववृद्धं मयि लिख्यमानं कृत्वा तस्मात्तु यथा श्रुतं को मातुर्न  
 क्वमुपशी यमा गाव मा कश्चिदुत्तकोत्तः ॥ २५ ॥ यथावत्तु द्वितीयः  
 ३० यथावत्तु द्वितीयः यथावत्तु द्वितीयः यथावत्तु द्वितीयः यथावत्तु द्वितीयः  
 ३२ यथावत्तु द्वितीयः यथावत्तु द्वितीयः यथावत्तु द्वितीयः यथावत्तु द्वितीयः  
 ३४ यथावत्तु द्वितीयः यथावत्तु द्वितीयः यथावत्तु द्वितीयः यथावत्तु द्वितीयः  
 ३६ यथावत्तु द्वितीयः यथावत्तु द्वितीयः यथावत्तु द्वितीयः यथावत्तु द्वितीयः

38

40

42

44

३८ यथावत्तु द्वितीयः यथावत्तु द्वितीयः यथावत्तु द्वितीयः यथावत्तु द्वितीयः  
 ४० यथावत्तु द्वितीयः यथावत्तु द्वितीयः यथावत्तु द्वितीयः यथावत्तु द्वितीयः  
 ४२ यथावत्तु द्वितीयः यथावत्तु द्वितीयः यथावत्तु द्वितीयः यथावत्तु द्वितीयः  
 ४४ यथावत्तु द्वितीयः यथावत्तु द्वितीयः यथावत्तु द्वितीयः यथावत्तु द्वितीयः

46

48

50

52

४६ यथावत्तु द्वितीयः यथावत्तु द्वितीयः यथावत्तु द्वितीयः यथावत्तु द्वितीयः  
 ४८ यथावत्तु द्वितीयः यथावत्तु द्वितीयः यथावत्तु द्वितीयः यथावत्तु द्वितीयः  
 ५० यथावत्तु द्वितीयः यथावत्तु द्वितीयः यथावत्तु द्वितीयः यथावत्तु द्वितीयः  
 ५२ यथावत्तु द्वितीयः यथावत्तु द्वितीयः यथावत्तु द्वितीयः यथावत्तु द्वितीयः



## Second Plate, Second Side

- 19 स्तोवनीपतिः ॥ [२\*] <sup>1</sup>प्रद्योदन्मदगन्धलुब्धमधुपव्यालीढगण्डा[न्ग]जान्नाख्यि<sup>2</sup>  
 20 भ्यस्त्रमदाह्वह्रमतुली य[स्थ]ागिनामयणी[ः] ॥ [१\*] स[ः] [श्रीम]ाननिय-  
 21 ह्वभीमनृपातिगाङ्गान्वयोतशकः<sup>3</sup> (i) पञ्चविंशतमन्दकान्म-<sup>4</sup>  
 22 भुनक्तिपथी<sup>5</sup> [स्तु]तः पार्थिवैः ॥ [३\*] तदग्रस्तुः<sup>6</sup> सुरराजस्तुना  
 23 समस्तमस्तां [श\*]मितारिमण्डलः [१\*] स्म पाति कामार्णवभूपतिर्भुव<sup>7</sup>  
 24 सन्तुष्टिमानहंसमा<sup>8</sup> समुज्ज्वलः ॥ [४\*] तदनु<sup>9</sup> तदनुजम्बो<sup>10</sup> चित्तजम्बो(प)-  
 25 पमानो गुणनिधिरनवद्यो गुण्डमाख्यो महीसः<sup>11</sup> [१\*] [स\*]कलमिदमरक्षत्रीणि<sup>12</sup>  
 26 वर्षाणि धात्रीवल्लयमलघुतेजोनिर्जितारातिचक्रः ॥ [५\*] ततो<sup>13</sup> हेमातुरस्तस्य म-  
 27 धुकामार्णवो नृपः । अवति स्मावनीमेताम[ब्द]ामिकर्णविंशति<sup>14</sup> ॥ [६\*] ॥

## Third Plate, First Side

- 28 अथ<sup>15</sup> वज्रहस्तनृपतेरयस्तुतादखिलगुणिजनाग्रण्यः [१\*] कामार्णवा]-  
 29 <sup>16</sup>क्वचन्द्रप्रगीयमानावदातशुभकीर्तिः ॥ [७\*] श्रीय<sup>17</sup> इव <sup>18</sup>वेदुम्बान्वय[प]-  
 30 यःपयोनिधिसमुद्भवायाश्च [१\*] य[ः] समजनि <sup>19</sup>विनयम[हा\*]देव्याः श्रीवज्रह-  
 31 स्त इति त[न\*]यः ॥ [८\*] <sup>20</sup>वियदृतुनिधिसंख्या<sup>21</sup> याति <sup>22</sup>शाकाब्दसङ्के दिन[क्त]-  
 32 [ति] वृषभभस्ते<sup>23</sup> रोहिणीमे सुलग्ने [१\*] धनुषि च सितपये<sup>24</sup> सूर्य[वारे] वृ-  
 33 तीयांयुजि<sup>25</sup> सकलवरिची रक्षितुं योभिषिक्तः ॥ [९\*] न्यायेन<sup>26</sup> यच्च  
 34 सममाचरितुं चित्रगो<sup>27</sup> मार्गेण रक्षति महीम<sup>28</sup> महितप्रतापे [१\*] नि-  
 [व्या]धय-  
 35 च निरसाश्च<sup>29</sup> निरापदश्च शशत्पजा<sup>30</sup> भुवि भवन्ति विभूतिमयः ॥ [१०\*] व्या-<sup>31</sup>  
 36 मे <sup>32</sup>गङ्गकुलोत्तमस्य स्यशसा<sup>33</sup> दि[क्त]क्रवाले शशिप्रद्योतामलिनेन य-

## Third Plate, Second Side

- 37 स्य भुवन[ः]प्र[ह्व]ादसम्पादिना [१\*] सिन्दूरैरतिसान्द्रपङ्क[प\*]टलैः[१\*] [कुम्भ]स्थली  
 38 पट्टके[ष्व]ालिम्यन्ति पुनः पुनश्च हरितामाधीरणा वारणान<sup>34</sup> ॥ [११\*] <sup>35</sup>असुरारी-

<sup>1</sup> Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita, read प्रद्योत°, लुब्ध°

<sup>2</sup> Read नृपतिगाङ्गान्वयीचसक .

<sup>3</sup> Metre Vamśastha

<sup>4</sup> Metre Mālinī

<sup>5</sup> Read रक्षत्रीणि

<sup>6</sup> Metre Gīti

<sup>7</sup> Read वेदुम्बा°

<sup>8</sup> Read सङ्ख्या

<sup>9</sup> Read वृषभस्ते

<sup>10</sup> Read शितपथे

<sup>11</sup> Read चित्रगो

<sup>12</sup> Read शशत्पजा

<sup>13</sup> Read यशसः

<sup>14</sup> Read सन्दकान्म-

<sup>15</sup> Read भुव

<sup>16</sup> Read जम्बा

<sup>17</sup> Metre Śloka, read हेमा°

<sup>18</sup> Read रक्षत्री

<sup>19</sup> Read विनयसहा°

<sup>20</sup> Read शाकाब्द°

The second वृ seems to have been cancelled by the engraver

<sup>21</sup> Read ययुजि सकलधरित्री

<sup>22</sup> Read महीम्

<sup>23</sup> Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita

<sup>24</sup> Read °णान्

<sup>25</sup> Read °गजानर्लि-

<sup>26</sup> Read सुनृपपृथ्वी

<sup>27</sup> Read समा समुज्ज्वल

<sup>28</sup> Read महीम्

<sup>29</sup> Read सन्दकान्मविंशति

<sup>30</sup> Metre Gīti, read द्वय

<sup>31</sup> Metre Mālinī

<sup>32</sup> Metre Vasantahak

<sup>33</sup> Read निरवाह

<sup>34</sup> Read गङ्ग°

<sup>35</sup> Metre Śloka.

- 39 ण गुपीनो<sup>1</sup> यस्य वक्षोमुखावयोः<sup>2</sup> [\*] आशीने<sup>3</sup> श्रीसरस्वत्यावनुकूलि  
 40 विराजतः ॥ [१२\*] ॥ <sup>4</sup>कलिङ्गनगरातारममाहेश्वरपरमभट्टा-  
 41 रक[म\*]हाराजाधिराजचिकलिङ्गाधिपतिश्रीमदनन्तवर्मा व-  
 42 ज्ञहस्तदेव[\*] कुशली <sup>5</sup>समस्तामाच्यप्रसुखजनपदान्धमा[ङ्ग]य [स]-  
 43 माज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु भवतां ॥ वराहव[र्त्त]न्यां । तामरचे-  
 44 रुशामी नाम (1) चिखलीवाटकेन<sup>6</sup> सममेकीकृत्य ॥ चतुस्त्रीमा-  
 45 <sup>7</sup>वच्छिन्नस्त्रजलस्थलस्त्रर्वपीडाविहर्जितमाचन्द्रार्कचितिस-

*Fourth Plate, First Side*

- 46 मकालं यावन्मातापित्रोरात्मनः पुण्ययशोभि[द्व]द्वये कृत]व-  
 47 सुनिधिशाकाब्दे<sup>8</sup> । सूर्यग्रहोपरागे । विद्वद्भ्यो य[ज]नया[ज]ना[ध्यय]-  
 48 नाध्यापन[दान\*]प्रतिग्रहपद्मनिरतेभ्यो <sup>9</sup>ब्रह्मव[र्त्त]मङ्गाः ॥ पंच-  
 49 <sup>10</sup>सत[ब्राह्मणे]भ्य उदकपूर्वकं कृत्वाग्रहारोत्सामिः  
 50 प्रदत्तस्त्रस्माङ्गाविभि[र्भू]मि[पा]लेर्मुनुनोधर्मागौ-<sup>11</sup>  
 51 रवात्परिपालनीयमिति<sup>12</sup> ॥ अपर च । कोटीश्वर-  
 52 देवाय आचन्द्रार्कपर्यन्तं निर्विरोधा । <sup>13</sup>वल्लिचरुनैवेद्यदीपपू-  
 53 जायत्यै धान्यसुरकशतद्वयोत्पत्त्या<sup>14</sup> भूमिर्हता । तच्च च । खण्डस्तु-

*Fourth Plate, Second Side*

- 54 टितभग्नघटनं <sup>15</sup>तच्चस्त्रवाङ्मणेरवस्थं कर्त्तव्यमिति ॥

No. 12 — TALAMANCHI PLATES OF VIKRAMADITYA I, A. D. 660.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D., HALLE (SAALE)

This inscription was first published by Messrs A. Butterworth and V. Venugopal Chetty in their *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p. 189 ff. According to p. 192 of the same work, the I were "discovered about 12 years ago by a servant of Adapañi Venkata Reddi of Pārlē

<sup>1</sup> Read गुपीनो.

<sup>2</sup> Read <sup>3</sup>आशीने.

<sup>3</sup> Read आशीने.

<sup>4</sup> Read <sup>5</sup>नगरात्परम.

<sup>5</sup> Read <sup>6</sup>माय.

<sup>6</sup> The engraver had originally written <sup>7</sup>वाटकेन.

<sup>7</sup> The engraver originally wrote <sup>8</sup>जलस्थल, but cancelled the first ख Read <sup>9</sup>विहर्जित; after the ख has been cancelled

<sup>8</sup> Read <sup>9</sup>शाकाब्दे.

<sup>9</sup> The reading of this word is very uncertain, read perhaps ब्रह्मवर्त्त.

<sup>10</sup> Read शतब्राह्म.

<sup>11</sup> Read <sup>12</sup>मिपासेर्मुनीकधर्मागौ.

<sup>12</sup> Read <sup>13</sup>पालनीय इति.

<sup>13</sup> Read वलि.

<sup>14</sup> Read <sup>15</sup>उत्पत्त्या.

<sup>14</sup> The engraver seems to have begun to write ताच, but the d stroke has been left unfinished; <sup>15</sup>ताचणेरवस्थ,

while ploughing some land known as Talamanchipádu in Talamanchi of Nellore taluk ' where a flourishing village is said to have once stood " They " have been sent to the Madras Museum at the request of the owner " I re-edit the inscription from three sets of ink-impressions, kindly prepared at my request by Rai Bahadur V Venkayya, M A, who describes the original as follows —

" Three copper-plates, of which the first and last are engraved on their inner side only they measure  $7\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth The height of the plates is not uniform Generally they are higher in the margins than in the middle

	Height in the margins	Height in the middle
1st plate	$3\frac{1}{4}$ "	$3\frac{1}{4}$ "
2nd plate	$3\frac{3}{8}$ "	$3\frac{1}{4}$ "
3rd plate	$3\frac{1}{4}$ " & $3\frac{3}{8}$ "	$3\frac{1}{4}$ "

Through circular holes bored on the left margin of each plate passes an oval ring measuring  $2\frac{1}{4}$ " by  $3\frac{3}{8}$ " It is nearly  $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick The ends of the ring are secured in the base of a seal, which is also oval and measures 1" by  $\frac{3}{8}$ " The emblems on the seal, which appear to have been engraved on a countersunk surface, are much worn, but show a lump in the middle—perhaps meant to represent a boar The total weight of the plates with ring and seal is 80 tolas "

The writing on the plates is well preserved, excepting a few letters near the margins of plate 1 and plate 3 a The alphabet resembles that of two other grants of Vikramaditya I <sup>2</sup> the *upadhmāniya* is used once (l 24), a final form of *m* twice (ll 24, 27), and one of *n* once (17) The three Dravidian letters *l*, *ḷ* and *r*, the second of which has the same shape as the *pādhmāniya*, occur in the two village names *Elasatti* (l 23) and *Koḷchumko[nra]* (l 22) the language is Sanskrit There are four well-known Anushtubh verses one at the beginning and three near the end, the remainder of the inscription is in prose

The document was issued in the sixth year of the reign (l 20) of the (Western) *halikya* (l 5) Vikramāditya (I), the son of Satyāsriya (i.e. Pulakēśin II), grandson of *ṭritvarman* (I) and great-grandson of *Polikeśin* (I) Each of these four kings receives the complimentary epithets as in other published grants of the same period The new inscription records the grant of the village of *Elasatti*,<sup>3</sup> north of *Koḷchumko[nra]*, to *Śrīmēghāchārya* (l 22 and 31 f), the preceptor (*guru*) of Vikramāditya I, and was written by *Vajravarman* of the *Vaidya* family

The historical importance of the plates lies chiefly in the date of the grant (l 20 f), regarding which Prof. Kielhorn kindly contributes the Postscript on p 102 below On the strength of the latter I have added the date "A D 680" to the title of this article and to the heading of the accompanying Plate

#### TEXT <sup>4</sup>

##### First Plate

1 जयत्या[विष्कृतं विष्णो]र्वीराहं चोभितापण[वं] [!\*] दक्षि[णी]नतदंष्ट्राग्र-  
विश्रान्तभु-

<sup>1</sup> On the map prefixed to the *Nellore District Inscriptions*, Talamanchi is marked by the figure '32' on the north of Nellore town

<sup>2</sup> *Journ. Bombay Br. E. A. S.* Vol XVI pp 235 and 238

<sup>3</sup> Messrs. Butterworth and Venugopal Chetti are unable to identify this village, see *Nellore District Inscriptions*, Preface, p. vi

<sup>4</sup> From three sets of ink-impressions

- 2 वन वपुः [॥ १\*] श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां हारितिपुत्रा-  
 3 णां सप्तलोकमातृभिस्सप्तमातृभिरभिवर्द्धितानां कार्तिकेयपरिरक्षणप्राप्तक-  
 4 ष्याणपरंपराणां भगवन्मारायणप्रसादसमासादितवराह्याब्जनेत्र-  
 5 णक्षणवशीकृताशेषमहीभृतां चलिक्खानां कुलमलंकरिण्योरश्वमे-  
 6 धावश्चक्षानपवित्रीकृतगात्रस्य श्रीपोलिकेशिवल्लभमहाराज-  
 7 स्य प्रपौत्रः <sup>1</sup>पराक्रमाक्रान्तवनवास्यादिपरतृपतिमण्डलप्रशिववृषिशु-  
 8 <sup>2</sup>[वि]शुशकीर्त्तेश्रीकीर्त्तेश्रीकीर्त्तियन्मपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजस्य पौत्रः समर-  
 9 [स]सक्तसकलौत्तराप[थे]श्वरश्री[हर्षवर्धनपरा]ज[योप]ल[स्य]परमेश्वरा-

*Second Plate; First Side*

- 10 [पर]नामधेयस्य सत्याश्रयश्रीपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर]-  
 11 [स्य] प्रियतनयः<sup>3</sup> चित्रकण्ठाख्यप्रवरतुर्गमेष्वैकेनैव प्रतीतानेकस-  
 12 मरमुखेषु रिपुतृपतिरुधिरजलास्त्रादनरनायव्वलदमलनिशितनिस्त्रिंश-<sup>4</sup>  
 13 धारया च धृतधरणीभरभुजगभोगसदृशनिजभुजविजितविजिगीषुः<sup>5</sup>  
 14 आत्मकवचावमग्नानेकप्रहारस्वगु[रीश्रिय]मवनिपतिजितया-  
 15 <sup>6</sup>न्तरितांमात्मसात्कृत्य <sup>7</sup>कृतैकाधिष्ठितागे[धरा]ज्यभरस्त्रभिज्ञाब्ज-  
 16 जये विनष्टानि देवस्रज्ज्जदेयानि धर्मयशोभिवृद्धये समुखेन स्वा-  
 17 पितवान् रणशिरसि रिपुनरेन्द्रान्दिशि दिशि जित्वा स्ववंशजां लक्ष्मी  
 18 प्राप्य च  
 19 परमेश्वरतामनिवारितविक्रमादित्यः<sup>8</sup> विक्रमादित्यसत्याश्रयश्रीपु-  
 20 [थि]वीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरस्य[र्वा]ना[ज्ञा]प[यति] [१\*] विधितः<sup>9</sup>

*Second Plate; Second Side*

- 20 [म]नु <sup>10</sup>भोष्माभिः प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्यषट्पत्न्यतरमे<sup>11</sup> आव-  
 21 णमाससूर्यग्रहणे<sup>12</sup> उदकपूर्वं साङ्गोपाङ्गवेदविदुषे वासिष्ठ-  
 22 सगोत्राय श्रीमेघाचार्याय स्वकीयगुरवे कोऽङ्कुलो[नृ००]ग्राम-  
 23 स्वीत्तरपात्रे<sup>13</sup> एकसत्तिर्नाम ग्रामः<sup>14</sup> मातापित्रीरामन-  
 24 यपुण्यशोवासये सर्व्ववोधापरिहारः<sup>15</sup> दत्तम् [१\*] आचन्द्रार्क-

<sup>1</sup> Read "भान्".

<sup>2</sup> Read "तनयविष".

<sup>3</sup> Read "पुरास".

<sup>4</sup> Read "कृतैकाधिष्ठिताशेष".

<sup>5</sup> Read "सो".

<sup>6</sup> Read "पात्र".

<sup>7</sup> Cancel the second "विषय" and the second "वीर्त्तेश्री"; read "वीर्त्तियन्म".

<sup>8</sup> Instead of "रनाय" read "रसनासनाय".

<sup>9</sup> Cancel the *anuvāsa* of त्वा and read "साम्प्रदाय".

<sup>10</sup> Read "दिली".

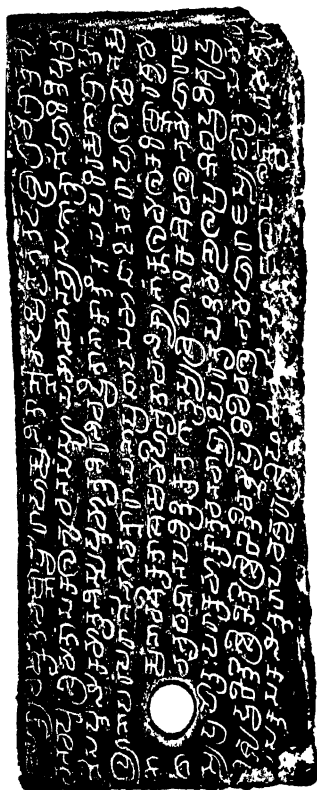
<sup>11</sup> Read "वृद्धसद्वदरे".

<sup>12</sup> Read "शाली".

<sup>13</sup> Read "विधित".

<sup>14</sup> Read "सद्वदरे".

<sup>15</sup> Read "सर्व्ववोधापरिहारी दत्तः".



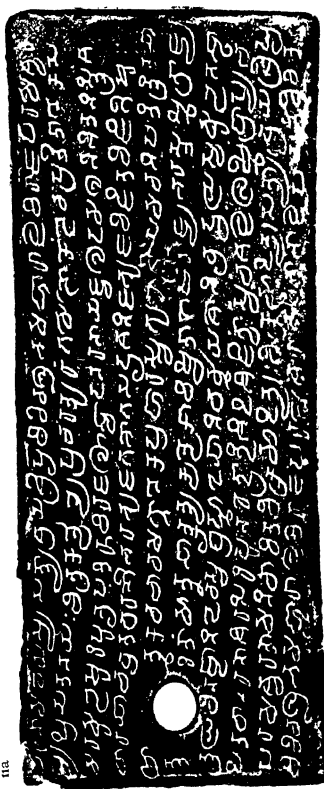
2

4

6

8

11a



10

12

14

16

18

Scale 9

Callotype by Gehr. Pletner, Halle-Saale

E. Hultzsch



- 25 धराश्ववस्थितिसमकालं यशस्विषीषुभिस्त्वदत्तिनिर्विशेषं परि-  
 26 पालनीयं [1\*] स्वन्दातु सुमहच्छब्दं दुःखमन्यस्य पालनं [1\*] दानं  
 27 वा पालनं वेति दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनमिम् [1 २\*]

## Third Plate.

- 28 उक्तं च भवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन<sup>3</sup> [1\*] बहुभिर्ब्रह्मणा मुक्ता  
 29 राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [1\*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य  
 30 तदा फलं [1 ३\*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुधारा[म् 1\*] षष्टिं व-  
 31 र्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते क्षिभिरिति । [४\*] श्रीमेघाचा-  
 32 र्यस्यान्वयस्य शासनं वेद्यान्वयश्रीवत्त्ववर्षाणां लिखितं [1\*]  
 33 स्वस्यस्तु गोब्राह्मणेभ्यः [1\*] श्री<sup>3</sup> ॥—

## TRANSLATION.

[ Verse 1 contains an invocation of the boar-incarnation of Vishnu ]

(Lane 2) The great-grandson of the glorious Polikéśi-Vallabha-Mahārāja, whose body was purified by bathing at the end of a horse-sacrifice, (and) who adorned the family of the glorious Chalikyās,<sup>4</sup>

(L 7) The grandson of the glorious Kirtavarma-Prithivīvallabha-Mahārāja, whose pure fame was established in the territories of hostile kings, such as Vanavāsi, which had been subdued by (his) valour,

(L 8.) The dear son of Satyāśraya-Śrīprithivīvallabha-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara,<sup>5</sup> who acquired the surname of 'supreme lord' (paramēśvara) by defeating the glorious Harshavardhana, the lord of the whole northern country, who had encountered (him) in battle,

(L 11) He who, at the head of many famous battles, (assisted) by none but (his) noble steed named Chitrakantha and by the edge of (his) glittering, spotless and sharp sword which behaved like a tongue in licking the blood of hostile kings, conquered would-be conquerors by his own arms which resembled the coils of the serpent who carries the burden of the earth, into whose own armour many blows had plunged, who, having gained for himself the royalty of his father, which had been concealed by the triad of kings,<sup>6</sup> caused the burden of the whole kingdom to be governed by (himself) alone, who, for the increase of (his) merit and fame, by his own mouth confirmed the property of temples and the grants to Brāhmanas which had lapsed in that triad of kingdoms, the son of whose valour (became) irresistible after he had recovered at the head of battles the royalty belonging to his family from the hostile kings of every quarter, and after he had acquired the title of 'supreme lord' (paramēśvara), Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-Śrīprithivīvallabha-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara commands all people (as follows) —

(L 19.) "Be it known to you (that), in the sixth year of (Our) reign of growing victory, at an eclipse of the sun in the month of Śrāvana, the village named Hjaatti on

<sup>1</sup> Read ० नमिति.

<sup>2</sup> The *ś* of अयं is expressed twice.

<sup>3</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>4</sup> The usual epithets of this family (ll. 2-5) are omitted in the translation.

<sup>5</sup> I.e. Pulakéśi II.

<sup>6</sup> For the Chōja, Pāṇḍya and Kēraja. Compare one of the epithets applied to Vikramāditya I. in the grants of his son Vinayāditya, above, Vol. V p. 202, note 16.

the northern side of the village of *Kolohumko[nra]* has been given by Us, with libations of water, with exemption from all molestation, to Our own preceptor (*guru*) Śrimeghāchārya of the Vāsishtīya *gōtṛa*, who knows the Vêdas with (their) *Angas* and *Upāṅgas* in order that (Our) mother and father and Ourselves might obtain merit and fame As long as the moon, the sun, the earth and the oceans shall exist, (*this grant*) should be protected without distinction from their own gifts by those who desire to accumulate fame "

[Verses 2-4 contain the usual admonitions to future rulers]

(L 31) (*This*) edict (*in favour*) of the family of Śrimeghāchārya was written by the illustrious **Vajravarma** of the **Vaidya** family Let there be welfare to cows and Brāhmanas!  
Om

### POSTSCRIPT.

By PROFESSOR F. KILLHOLN, CIE, GOTTINGEN

The inscription edited above by Prof. Hultzsch is dated in the 6th year of the reign of the W Chalukya Vikramāditya I, at the time of a solar eclipse in the month Śrāvana. From page 2 of Appendix II to Vol. VIII of this Journal it will be seen that this date must necessarily fall between A.D. 635 and 685, and from what we know to be the general rule regarding eclipses that are quoted in dates, we may conclude that the eclipse here referred to most probably was one that was visible at Bādāmi, the capital of the W Chalukyas, situated in about Long 76° and Lat 16°

Now it so happens that during the fifty years from A.D. 635 to 685 there was, in both the *pūrṇimānta* and the *amānta* month Śrāvana, only a single solar eclipse that could have been at all visible at Bādāmi, viz the eclipse which took place 3 h 5 m after mean sunrise of Monday, the 13th July A.D. 660. That eclipse, an annular one, was fully visible at Bādāmi, and the 13th July A.D. 660 was the 15th of the dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* Śrāvana. We may compare especially the solar eclipse in the date of the Pattadakal duplicate pillar inscription of the reign of the W Chalukya Kirtivarman II (No. 48 of my *Southern List*), of the 25th June A.D. 754, which likewise took place in the *pūrṇimānta* Śrāvana, and to show that in early times the *pūrṇimānta* scheme of the months was prevalent in Southern India, we may also cite the solar eclipse in the date of No. 9 of the *List*, which took place in the *pūrṇimānta* Bhādrapada, and the solar eclipse in the date of No. 551 of the *List*, which took place in the *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna.

Monday, the 13th July A.D. 660 (in Śaka-samvat 582) would thus be in every way a suitable equivalent of our date, that it is its true equivalent is rendered more than probable by the date of the Neir plates of the queen Vijayabhattachāmkā (No. 23 of my *Southern List*). That date corresponds to the 23rd September A.D. 659, and is of the 5th year of a reign of which hitherto it appeared doubtful whether it was the reign of Vikramāditya's eldest brother Chandrāditya or of Vikramāditya himself. Since we now have a date in A.D. 660 which would be a most proper equivalent for a date of the 6th year of the reign of Vikramāditya I, the date in A.D. 659 must surely be definitely assigned to the 5th year of the same reign, and the two dates in my opinion must be taken to prove that Vikramāditya I. commenced to reign between some time in September A.D. 654 and July A.D. 655.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Fleet, in his *Dynasties*, p. 363, arrived at the conclusion that "we shall probably be very close to the mark, if we place the formal commencement of his reign somewhere in the autumn of . . . A.D. 655."



# No 13.—MANDHATA PLATES OF DEVAPALA AND JAYAVARMAN II. OF MALAVA.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, CIE ; GÖTTINGEN.

Of the Paramāra kings, who ruled over Mālava for more than three hundred years, there have been published hitherto the texts of twelve copper-plate and three stone inscriptions, besides short notices of about half a dozen other stone inscriptions, generally of small importance. Of the copper-plate inscriptions, three were first edited by Colebrooke in 1806, two by L. Wilkinson in 1836 and 1838, one by Rajendralal Mitra in 1850, and three by Edward Hall in 1860 and 1861. Of the stone inscriptions, the largest was first edited by Gangadhar Shastri in 1843, and another by FitzEdward Hall in 1859. And from these *stones principes* the genealogy of the Paramāras of Mālava, with most of their dates, might have been drawn up, about fifty years ago, very nearly as I have given it above, Vol. VIII. pp. 14 and 15. Moreover, of so important a king as Udayāditya we even to-day hardly possess more than that 'wretched scrawl,' made known in 1840, of a person 'who knew nothing of Udayāditya's family.' I mention this to show how little that is really new we have learnt of Mālava, from its own records, for half a century, and to indicate what chances are open to officials of the Archaeological Survey of India to enrich our knowledge of the history of that country. For, in my opinion, a systematic search for inscriptions in the ancient Mālava country will be sure to bring to light numerous documents of importance. Even now such a search has been well inaugurated.

In 1903 there were discovered at Dhār the inscriptions published above, Vol. VIII. p. 96 ff. p. 241 ff., highly interesting from a literary point of view. And in 1904 and 1905 were found, at or near Māndhātā, the two copper-plate inscriptions now here edited. These plates of some value inasmuch as they show how Devapāla, one of the later kings of Mālava who was already known to us, was related to preceding rulers, and as they give us the names of two of his, Jaitugidēva and Jayavarman [II.], who, one after the other, succeeded him.

## A.—MĀNDHĀTĀ PLATES OF DEVAPĀLA ; [VIKRAMA-]SĀMVAṬ 1292.

These plates were found, in May 1905, near the temple of Siddhēśvara at Māndhātā, an island in the Narmadā (Narbadā, Nerbudda) river attached to the Nimār district of the Central Provinces.<sup>1</sup> They were discovered enclosed in a chest made of two stones, 1' 8½" long by 1' broad. They are now in the Provincial Museum at Nagpur, to which they have been sent by Rao Jaswant Singh of Māndhātā. The first account of them was given by an old friend of mine, Mr. Lele, Director of Education in the Dhār State,<sup>2</sup> and a transcript of the inscription engraved on them, with a translation and notes, was afterwards furnished to the authorities by Mr. Pyari Lal Ganguli, pleader of Nimār. The text and a translation, with an introduction, have also been sent to the Government Epigraphist by Pandit Hiranand Shastri, Director of the Nagpur Museum. At Prof. Hultzsch's request, I edit the inscription which is on the plates from impressions kindly supplied by Mr. Cousens.

The inscription is on three plates, which are stated to measure about 1' 5½" broad by 1' 5" high, and of which the second is inscribed on both sides, while the first and third plates are

<sup>1</sup> See *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, p. 257 ff.; Constable's *Hand Atlas of India*, Plate 27, C d; and

<sup>2</sup> Vol. III p. 46. On the temple of Siddhēśvara see also *Archaeol. Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1903-04,

Mr. Lele at the time most kindly offered to send me impressions of the plates, but was somehow or other deterred from doing so. I take the opportunity of thanking him here also publicly for the generosity with which he made over to me his valuable impressions of the Dhār inscriptions published in Vol. VIII. of this Journal.

inscribed on one side only. The writing on the several sides covers a space between 1' 4" and 1' 4½" broad by between 10½" and 11½" high. In the lower proper right corner of the first side of the third plate a space about 2" broad by 3" high is marked off by double lines, which enclose an engraving of the mythical bird Garuda, the exact shape of which may be seen from the accompanying photo-lithograph.<sup>1</sup> The plates are held together by two rings for which there are two holes in each plate, these rings, I am informed, are open and were apparently never soldered together.

The three plates contain 80 lines of well-engraved writing, which is in so perfect a state of preservation that, with the exception of not more than three *aksharas*, every letter may be read with absolute certainty. In line 40 a vacant space is left for four *aksharas* which may have been illegible in the original from which the inscription was copied, and there is a similar vacant space for two *aksharas* in line 54. The size of the letters is between  $\frac{3}{16}$ " and  $\frac{1}{8}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī of the period to which the inscription belongs, and the language is Sanskrit. The forms of individual letters hardly call for any remarks. Attention may be drawn to the initial *z* and *ṣ* (e.g. in *sva*, l. 4, and *Udaṣ*, l. 50), and to the initial *ś* (in *śha*, l. 17) and *au* (e.g. in *Audalya*, l. 27, and *Aurva*, l. 40), perhaps also to the forms of *th* (e.g. in *puruṣārtha*, l. 1), and *ksh* (e.g. in *sākshāt*, l. 1). It may also be stated that the signs for *t* and *bh*, and those for *ddh* and *dh*, often are so much alike that it is very difficult to distinguish between them. As the 22 verses in lines 1-17 are all numbered, the inscription offers specimens of all numeral figures; and in lines 28, 34, 49 and 50, it gives the fraction  $\frac{1}{2}$ , denoted by two vertical lines, placed, as the case may be, after a numeral or the sign for nought.<sup>2</sup> In line 79, before the word *rachitam*, the text contains a peculiar symbol (perhaps a monogram), the meaning of which I am unable to explain. — As regards orthography, the sign for *v* denotes both *b* and *v*, the dental sibilant is used instead of the palatal about 30 times, and the palatal instead of the dental about 25 times (even in such ordinary words as *śutah* for *sutah*, l. 9, *Sāmaveda* for *Sāmvēda*, l. 29, etc.), *rs* is used for *rs* in *Rishi*, l. 60, and *rs* for *rs* in *irṣ* for *irṣ* (i.e. *irveda*), l. 29 and elsewhere, and in *Saktri* for *Saktri*, ll. 23 and 71; *j* is employed instead of *y* in *yasō* for *yasō*, l. 73, and in the names *Jasōdhara*, l. 29, and *Jasādeva* (for *Yasādeva*), l. 64, and *ksh* for *khy* in *Saṃkshāyana*, l. 46. The occasional employment of *dy*, *dv* and *dhu* for *ddy*, *ddv* and *ddhu* need perhaps hardly be mentioned, but I may add that the word *tāmratām* is written *tāmvratām* in line 2, and that the sign of *avagraha* is employed three times, in *sōsābhuta*, l. 15, *ādyaśyam*, l. 75, and *vudhōśmad*, l. 75. There are a few clerical errors not referred to in the above, that can all be easily corrected. — The inscription, in lines 1-17, has 22 verses which chiefly contain genealogical matter, and of which verses 1-19 were already known to us from the three grants of King Arjunavarman.<sup>3</sup> In addition to them, we have in lines 20-22 the well-known verse commencing with *Vāṭābhira-vubhramam-idaṃ vusādh-dāhapatyam* which, with a single exception,<sup>4</sup> occurs in all Paramāra plates, and in lines 75-79 four benedictive and imprecatory verses, the last of which, commencing with *Iṣi kamaladāśmīvindu-līlām*, is common to all Paramāra plates. The rest of the text is in prose. In the poetical portion we find in line 6 the (as far as I can see, perfectly correct) adjective *uddāman*,<sup>5</sup> instead of *uddāma* which alone is given by the dictionaries. And in the prose part there occurs, in lines 72 and

<sup>1</sup> Similar representations of Garuda are found on all complete plates of the Paramāras of Mālava, of which facsimiles have been published, compare e.g. above, Vol. III. Plate opposite p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Compare above, Vol. VII. p. 85.

<sup>3</sup> Nos. 195, 197 and 198 of my *Northern List*.

<sup>4</sup> For the Ujjain plates of Vākpatirāja, published in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 160.

<sup>5</sup> I know of no grammatical rule by which a compound formed of *ud* and *dāmas* (in the sense of *dāmas udgata*) would become *uddāma*, and most of the passages, which in the dictionaries are quoted under *uddāma*, might just as well be placed under *uddāman*. In his commentary on *Raghuvamśa* I. 78, Mallinatha actually explains *uddāma-diggajā* by *uddāmad dāmas udgata diggajā yasmā*.

73, the strange revenue term *shamhalātama* [ka]-*samanvita*, which I have not met with elsewhere and am unable to explain.

The inscription records a grant of land by the Paramāra (or Pramāra) king — *Mahārāja*, as he is styled in line 80 — *Dēvapāla of Mālava*. A full translation of the introductory verses will be given below. As has been already stated, up to the end of verse 19 (in line 15) the text is identical with the introductory part of the three published grants of the Paramāra Arjunavarman, and so far contains little more than a list of kings who were ruling over Mālava: Bhōjadeva, Udayāditya, his son Naravarman, his son Yaśōvarman, his son Ajayavarman, his son Vindhavarman, his son Subhatavarman, and his son Arjuna (Arjunavarman). Vindhavarman and Subhatavarman were at war with the Gūjjaras, and the first of them recovered Dharā, which must have been taken possession of by the enemy<sup>1</sup>. Arjuna in his youth put to flight Jayasimha, of whom it is elsewhere said that he was a king of Gūjjaras and belonged to the Chaulukya family (of *Apahlapātaka*)<sup>2</sup>. To the nineteen verses of Arjunavarman's grants only three new verses (vv. 20-22) are added here, which tell us that on Arjuna's death he was succeeded in the government of Mālava by *Dēvapāla* and record the name of this king's father. When I published the Harsaudā inscription of *Dēvapāla*, I had to point out<sup>3</sup> that by certain epithets in that inscription *Dēvapāla* was clearly connected with the *Mahākumāras* Lakshminarmadēva, his son Harsachandradēva, and his son Udayanarmadēva of Dhārā. Verse 21 of our inscription now informs us that *Dēvapāla* actually was a son of *Harsachandra* (and therefore a brother of the *Mahākumāra* Udayavarman, whose plates are dated in A.D. 1200). In the Harsaudā inscription, which is dated in A.D. 1218, only three years after the date of the latest known grant of Arjunavarman, *Dēvapāla*, unlike his brother and his father and grandfather, is styled *Mahārājāditya*. This, together with the fact that he succeeded Arjunavarman, would indicate that in him the two branches of the Paramāra family which till then had separately held sway over Mālava became reunited, or that one of them ceased to exist<sup>4</sup>. Besides the Harsaudā stone and the present plates, the date of which will be considered below, we know of two inscriptions of *Dēvapāla*'s reign, dated in about A.D. 1229 and probably 1232<sup>5</sup>.

In lines 17 ff. *Dēvapāla* informs all king's officers, Brāhmins and others, and the *Paṭṭakila* and other people dwelling at the village of *Satājūnā* in the *Mahuada pratyāgaranaka*, that, while staying at *Māhishmatī*, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon<sup>6</sup> on the full-moon *tithi* in the month *Bhādrapada* in the year 1282 (given in words), after bathing in the *Rēvā* (i.e. *Narmadā*) and worshipping Śiva (at the temple) in the neighbourhood of (the temple of) Vishnu, *Dairyaśūdana*, he granted the village of *Satājūnā*, (as stated in lines 72 and 73) well defined as to its four boundaries (*kaṇṭha*), etc., to certain Brāhmins enumerated in lines 22-71, and (in line 74) he orders the resident *Paṭṭakila* and others to give to these Brāhmins the customary share of the produce and money-rent, etc., excepting what was already enjoyed

<sup>1</sup> The context would indicate that Dhārā had been taken by the Gūjjaras.

<sup>2</sup> See now above, Vol. VIII p. 99, compare also below, p. 118, note 2. — In *Mērutunga's Prabandhaśekhara*, p. 240 f., we are told that the Mālava king Sōhada (i.e. Subhatavarman), when about to invade the Gūjjaras country, turned back from its frontier on hearing the verse. *Pratīpā rājamārtanda rājasyām-bha rājāt | sa śaśa vīryam yātī pāśchīmāśvalambinā ||*, but that afterwards the Gūjjaras country was 'broken' by his son Arjunadēva.

<sup>3</sup> See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX, p. 311.

<sup>4</sup> See *ibid.* Vol. XIX p. 348.

<sup>5</sup> Nos. 207 and 214 of my *Northern List*.

<sup>6</sup> The text has *soma-parvati* instead of the fuller and ordinary *somagrāhaka-parvati*, similarly *śrīya-parvati* is used instead of *śrīyagrāhaka-parvati*, e.g. in the dates of No. 356 of my *Northern List* and of Nos. 389 and 390 of my *Southern List*. — I may add that, excepting the Mādhātā plates of Jayasimha, published above, Vol. III p. 48, the word *parvati* occurs in the dates of all fully preserved Paramāra plates that have been hitherto published. We have *pavitṛaka-parvati* in No. 46 of my *Northern List*, *somagrāhaka-parvati* in Nos. 49 and 121, *udayanana-parvati* in No. 57, *saṃyāta-śrīyagrāhaka-parvati* in No. 173, *Mahā-Vaśīṣṭhīya-parvati* in No. 189, *abhiśhēka-parvati* in No. 195, *śrīyagrāhaka-parvati* in No. 197, and *chandrōparāḍya-parvati* in No. 198.

by gods (i.e. temples) and Brāhmanas. After the usual appeal to future kings to preserve this grant and the imprecatory verses, the date (in line 79) is repeated in figures, with the additional remark that the day was a Thursday.

I may state here at once that, so far as the week-day is concerned, the date is incorrect—The full-moon *tithi* of Bhādrapada ended—

in the current *Chaitrārdī* Vikrama year 1282 10 h 50 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 30th August A D 1224,

in the expired *Chaitrārdī* Vikrama year 1282 on Tuesday, the 19th August A D 1225, and

in the expired *Kārttikārdī* Vikrama year 1282 on Monday, the 7th September A.D. 1226.

None of the possible equivalents of the date therefore was a Thursday. On the other hand, there was an eclipse of the moon—a partial one—from 17 h 45 m. to 20 h 13 m after mean sunrise, and therefore visible in India, on the second of the three possible days, and I have no doubt that that day, Tuesday, the 19th August A D. 1225, is really the day on which the grant was made, and that in line 79 'Thursday' has been erroneously put down instead of 'Tuesday'.

Of the localities mentioned above, Māhishmatī, from where the grant was made, is Maheswar, a town in the Indore State, Central India Agency, situated in Long 75° 37' and Lat 22° 11', on the northern bank of the Narmadā (Constable's *Hand Atlas of India*, Plate 27, B d). The village of Satājūnā exists still under the same name—the *Indian Atlas* has 'Satajana'—about 13 miles south-west of Māndhātā in Long 76° 3' and Lat 22° 8' (*Indian Atlas*, sheet 54). Mahuśa, after which the *pratyāgarānaka* or district was called, probably is the village of 'Mohod,' about 25 miles south of 'Satajana,' in Long 76° and Lat 21° 48'. Below, in line 23 of the inscription B., we have *Mahuśa-pathakē*, clearly equivalent to *Mahuśa-pratyāgarānakē*. Among other Paramāra grants, the word for 'district' is *pathaka* also in No. 57 of my *Northern List*, and *pratyāgarānaka* in Nos 172, 189, 195 and 198. The latter term long ago has been identified with the modern *parganā*, 'a district or tract of country including a number of villages'.

An abstract list of the donees will be given below, p. 115 f. From that list it will be seen that their number was 32, and that the proceeds of the village granted to them were divided into 32½ shares (*vanfaka*),<sup>1</sup> in such a manner that 26 donees received one share each, 3 half a share each, 2 one share and a half each, and 1 (the *mahārāja-paṇḍita* or 'king's Paṇḍit' Gōśa<sup>2</sup>) two shares. The original in each case gives the *gōtra* and *pravara*s of the donee, the names of his father and grandfather, and his place (or country) of origin, also, with two exceptions, the Vēdic *sākhā* or Vēda studied by him. The *gōtras*, *sākhās* and localities so mentioned may be seen from the list, the names of the donees' fathers and grandfathers are given in a separate, alphabetical list, below, p. 116 f. The two lists will show that, with a single exception, the people referred to in the preceding are distinguished by certain epithets which are prefixed to their names, and which generally refer to their religious occupation and are mostly given in abbreviated forms. In alphabetical order, these epithets are *agnī*, i.e. *agnihōtrīn*; *deva* or *devasāhika*, *upā*, i.e. *upādhyāya*; *cha* or *chaturvēda*, *śha*, i.e. *śhakkura*, *tri* (for *tri*), i.e. *trivēda*, *di*, i.e. *dīkṣita*, *devi*, i.e. *devvēda*, *paṇ* or *paṇḍit*, i.e. *paṇḍita*, *pāṭha*, i.e. *pāṭhaka*, *yājñ*, i.e. *yājñika*, *śu* or *śukla*, *brōtri*, i.e. *brōtriya*. In addition to these, we have *paṇḍita* in line 71, *rājan* in line 37, and *mahārājapaṇḍita* in line 39. About the meaning of *paṇḍita* I am somewhat doubtful. The meaning that first suggested itself to me was *paṇḍhakula*; but as most of the other epithets refer to religious occupations, I would rather

<sup>1</sup> The inscription B. (in lines 82, 84, 86 and 87) shows that the word *vanfaka* is synonymous with *paṇḍa*, 'a share.'

<sup>2</sup> He probably is the Gōśaka, mentioned in line 51 of the inscription B.

take *pañcha*<sup>o</sup> to be equivalent to *pañchakalp* (*pañchôl*) which occurs as an epithet of two persons (father and son) in Prof Weber's Catalogue of the Berlin MSS, Vol II p 96 In the case of 20 donces the same epithet is borne by grandfather, father and son, in 7 cases the grandfather and father have the same epithet, and the son has a different one, and in one case the epithet of father and son is the same, while that of the grandfather differs In the four remaining cases we have the sequences *dikshita*, *avasathika*, *śukla*, *upādhyāya*, *agnihōtr*, *dikshita*, *agnihōtr*, *dikshita*, *avasathika*, and *agnihōtr*, *upādhyāya*, *avasathika*. Speaking from personal experience, I remember that many of my Indian pupils had one or the other of the above mentioned terms as surnames — Dikshit, Padhye, Patihak, Pandit, Shukle, etc — which they probably have handed down unchanged to their children and children's children

Of the places with which the donces are connected, I take Mahāvāna-ssthāna to be Mahāban, a town in the Muttra district of the United Provinces (Constable's *Hand Atlas*, Plate 27, C b), Tripuri-ssthāna is Tewar, a village in the Jabalpur district of the Central Provinces, about six miles west of Jabalpur, Akōlā-ssthāna probably is Akola in Berar (*ibid* Plate 31, D a), and Mathurā-ssthāna is Muttra in the United Provinces (*ibid* Plate 27, C b) Pāndvānaka-ssthāna apparently is the Pāndvānaka, mentioned above, Vol V p. 210, now the town of Didwāna<sup>1</sup> in Jōdhpur, Rājputāna (*ibid* Plate 27, B h). Regarding the remaining places I cannot offer any definite suggestions Mutāvasthū-ssthāna is the same place which is mentioned as Muktāvasthū-ssthāna in the three grants of Arjunavarman,<sup>2</sup> and Hastināpura may be the village of Hathunāvāra (on the northern bank of the Narmadā in the Pagārā *pratyāgaranaka*), which was granted by Arjunavarman's grant published in *Journ Am Or Soc* Vol VII p 27 With Takārī-ssthāna compare 'Takārī,' above, Vol III p 350, and note 13 The names Āsrama-ssthāna and Sarasvatī-ssthāna I have not found elsewhere. On the other hand, Madhyadēśa is too well known to call for any remark here

After the date in line 79, the text of our inscription has the three aksharas *dā° śrī mu*, followed by the numeral 3 and a peculiar mark the exact shape of which may be seen from the photograph The first akshara of course stands for *dātakah* or *dātah*, and should be followed by a name to which the word *śrī* would have been prefixed, but I do not know whether any or what name may be intended to be denoted by *mu 3* and the following symbol We find the same *mu 3* (probably followed by the same mark which we have here) also in the two grants of Arjunavarman in *Journ Am Or Soc* Vol VII pp 29 and 33

The inscription then has the statement that 'this was composed by the king's preceptor (*rāja guru*) Madana, with the approbation of the *mahāśāndhivigrahika* (or great minister of peace and war), the learned Bilhana' — a statement which occurs also in Arjunavarman's grant in *Journ Am Or Soc* Vol VII p 33, and (with *mahāpāṇḍita* instead of *mahāśāndhivigrahika* *pāṇḍita*) in the same king's grant in *Journ As Soc Beng* Vol V p 379. On Madana, who may reasonably be taken to have composed merely the introductory verses of the inscription, see now above, Vol VIII p 99 As regards Bilhana, in verse 7 of the *prastāvi* at the end of Āśādharā's *Dharmāmṛta*<sup>3</sup> 'the learned Bilhana, the lord of poets,' is described as 'the *mahāśāndhivigrahika* of the glorious king Vindhya (*Vindhya-bhūpati*)' Since this king Vindhya can be no other than Arjunavarman's grandfather Vindhyaavarman,<sup>4</sup> it might seem as if his *mahāśāndhivigrahika* Bilhana could not be the Bilhana of Arjunavarman's grant and of the present inscription But in my opinion there are not for the present any valid reasons why the

<sup>1</sup> In Prof Peterson's *Third Report*, App I p 335, the town is called *Dimāvednanagara*

<sup>2</sup> See *Journ Am Or Soc* Vol VII pp 27 and 32, and *Journ As Soc Beng* Vol V p 379 (where the published text has *Muktāvastu-ssthāna*)

<sup>3</sup> See Dr Bhandarkar's *Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS* during 1883-84, p 391.

<sup>4</sup> *Vindhya bhūpati* has been taken to mean 'king of the Vindhyas or Mālava'; but as *Arjuna-bhūpati* in the same *prastāvi* denotes Arjunavarman, the former can only denote Vindhyaavarman

two should not be considered to be identical. Of the length of the reign of Arjunavarman's father we know nothing, and all we know in this respect about Arjunavarman is, that he reigned during the five years from A D 1211 to A D 1215. Besides, it should be borne in mind that Āśādhara himself, from whose work the above statement is taken, was a contemporary of no less than five successive kings of Mālava, from Vindhya-varman to Dēvapāla's son Jantugidēva.<sup>1</sup>

The inscription ends with the words 'this is the own hand (i.e. the sign-manual) of the Mahāśāla, the glorious Dēvapāladēva,' followed by the usual *mangalāḥ mahā-srih*.

TEXT.<sup>2</sup>

## First Plate

- 1 Om<sup>3</sup> || Ōm namah puṇishārtha-chūdāmanayē dharmmāya || \*Prativimva-<sup>4</sup>nubhād-  
bhūmēh kṛtvā sākshāt=pratiśraham | jagad-āhlādayan=disyā[d\*]=dvijem-
- 2 drō man galāni vah | (||) 1 | (||) Jiyāt=Prasūti-mo-sau kshatrah kshunnam  
rau-ābatah | samdhyāḥka-vimvam=<sup>5</sup>ṣv-otvī-datui=yaśy-ē(a)ti tamvātām<sup>6</sup> | (||) 2 ||
- 3 Yēna Mamdōdai-vāshpa-vāribhūh sa(sa)mitō mridhē | prāñēva(śva)ti-vi-yog-agnih  
sa Rāmaḥ śrēyasē=stu vah | (||) 3 | (||) Bhīmēn=āpi dhṛtā mū[1\*]ddhni  
yat-pādāḥ
- 4 sa Yuchshthrah | vams(ś)-ādyēn=ēmdunā jiyāt=su-tulya<sup>7</sup> iva nimitah | (||)  
4 | (||) Paramārakul-ōttamsah Kamsajin-mahimā nripah | śi-Bhōjadēva ity-ā-
- 5 sin-nāśūjānta-bhūtalāh | (||) 5 | (||) Yad-yaśaschamdiḥ ōdyōtō<sup>8</sup> digutsamga-  
taramgitō | dvishannripa-yaśaḥpumjaramdārikā[1\*]=mūlītam | (||) 6 | (||) Tatō=  
bhū-
- 6 d=Udayādityō mityōśāh-akakantukī | asādhāra-va-vraśrīr=asrī-hētui=vinōdhmān | (||)  
7 | (||) Mahākālaha-kalpāntō yasy-ōddāmahhu=āsu(śu)-
- 7 gaib | kata n=ōnmūlītās=tungā bhūbhṛtāh katak-ōlvanaḥ | (||) 8 | (||)  
Tasmāch=chhuna-dvishanmarmā Naravarmā narādhipah | dhaimō(im-a)-  
bhyuddharapē dhīmān=abhūt-simā
- 8 mahibbujām | (||) 9 | (||) Prati-prabhātam viprēbhyō datui[r]=grāma-padaḥ svayam |  
anēkapadātām ninyē dharmmō yēn=aika-pād=api | (||) 10 | (||) Taty(śy)=ajani  
Yaśōvarmmā
- 9 putrah kshatriya-sēkharah | tasmād=Ajaya-varm=ābhūj=jaśrī-viśrutah śu(sn)taḥ  
| (||) 11 | (||) Tat-sūtur=vvira-mūrdhanyō dhany-ōtpata(ta)u=ajayata | Gūrjarō-  
chchhēda-
- 10 nirvvaṃdhi<sup>10</sup> Vindhya-varmā mahā-bhujah | (||) 12 | (||) Dhāray=ōddhūtiyā  
sārdham dadhāti sma tridhātātām | śmyuginasya yasy-āns=trātum lōka-  
trayim=iva | (||) 13 | (||)
- 11 Tasy-āmusbyāyanah putrah Sutrāma-śrīr=ath=āśīshat | bhūpaḥ Subhata-varmm=ēti  
dharmmē tishthan=mahi-talam | (||) 14 | (||) Yasya jvalati dg-jētnh pratapas=  
tapana-dyu-
- 12 tēh | dāvāgnī-chchhadman=ādy=āpi <sup>11</sup>garjjad-Gūrjara-patānē | (||) 15 | (||) Dōva-  
bhūyam gatē tasmin=namdanō=rjuna-bhūpata(ti)ḥ | dōshpā dhattē=di uśā  
dhātri-valayam valayam

<sup>1</sup> See the inscription B, below<sup>2</sup> Denoted by a symbol<sup>3</sup> Read *pratiśraha*<sup>4</sup> Read *idmratā*<sup>5</sup> Read *ōdyōtō*<sup>6</sup> Read *ōdyōtō*<sup>11</sup> The editions of the plates of Arjunavarman have *garjasa*; but *garjjad* is the reading also of B, below, p 121, line 14.<sup>7</sup> From an impression supplied by Mr. Cousens.<sup>8</sup> Metre of verses 1-22; *Śloka* (Anuśtubh).<sup>9</sup> Read *ōdmōm*<sup>10</sup> Read *sva-tulya*<sup>11</sup> Read *nirbhāṣāt*

- 13 yathā i(II) 16 i(II) Vā(bā)lāhī-āhavē yasya Jayasimhē palāyitē | dīkṣālāhāsa-  
vyāyēna yasō dīkṣhu vijumbhitam i(II) 17 i(II) Kāvyagāndharvva-sarvvasa-  
nidhūnā
- 14 yēna<sup>1</sup> sāmpratam | bhāī-āvataram<sup>2</sup> dēvyās=chakrē pustaka-vīnayōh i(II) 18  
i(II) Yēna trivīdha-vīrēna tridhā pallavitam yaśaḥ | dhavalatvam dadhva-  
trīn ja-
- 15 gamti katham=amya(nya)thā i(II) 19 i(II) Ath=ārthīnām=apūnyēna pūnyēna  
svaigga-subhruvām | sō sdbhutatyāgāsīlās=cha śrīmgārī cha divam gataḥ i(II)  
20 i(II) Ta-
- 16 tah Pramāra-chamdrasya Harīschamdrasya namdanah | raraksha Mālava-  
kshōnīm Dēvapālāh pratāpavān i(II) 21 i(II) Pavitra-karapadmaśya(sya)  
dānavari-vijum-
- 17 bhatah | na vidmō Dēvapālasya dēvapālasya ch=āmtaram i(II) 22 i(II) Sa  
ēsha nara-nāyakah saivv-ābhyaṇdayi ||<sup>3</sup> Mahuāda-pratijāgarānakē Satā-
- 18 juṇā-grāmē samasta-rājapurushān=vṛā(bṛā)hman-ōttaiān=patimivāsī(śi)-pattakila-jana-  
pad-ādīmś=cha vō(bō)dhayaty=astu vaḥ samvidi-
- 19 tam yathā ||<sup>3</sup> śrī-Māhishmatī-sthitar=asmābhūhr=“dvyaśityadhika-dvādaśasāta-  
samvatsarē Bhādrapadē māśē paurṇamāśyām sō-

## Second Plate, First Side

- 20 ma-parvvanī Rēvāyām snātvā śrī Dantyaśūdana-sannidhau bhagavantam  
Bhavanī-patim samabhyarchhya samsāśy=śāśatām dīśhvā | tathā hī ||  
Vā.<sup>6</sup>
- 1 tābhra-vibhramam=idam vaśu(su)dh-ādhipatyam=śāpātāmātra-madhurō viśhay-  
ōpabhōgah | prānās=trīnāgrajalavimdu-samā nurānām dha-
- 2 rmmah sakhā param=śō paralōka-yānē || ita saivvam vimrisy=ādīśvata-  
phalam=amgikṛtya ||<sup>7</sup> Āśramasthāna-vinirgatāya Vājūnādhyamcināsā-
- 3 kh-ādhyāyīnē Parāśa[ra\*]-gōtrāya Parāśa-Śakti-Vasīsth-ēti<sup>8</sup> tri-pravarāya śrōtri<sup>9</sup>  
Dāmōdara-putrāya śrōtri<sup>9</sup> Vra(bṛā)hma-putrāya śrōtri<sup>9</sup> Gangādhā-
- 4 rasa(śa)rmmānē vṛā(bṛā)hmanāya vamtakam=ēkam 1 Mahāvanasthāna-  
vinirgatāya Pavitra-gōtrāya Gārggya-Gaurivī-Āmgiras-ēti tri-pravarāya Āsva-  
lāyanaśākh-ādhyāyīnē di<sup>10</sup> Gangādhara-putrāya āśva(śa)thika-Mahāditya-putrāya  
śukla-Bhadrésya(śva)rasa(śa)rmmānē vṛā(bṛā)hmanāya vamtakam=ē-  
kam 1 Mahāvanasthāna-vinirgatāya Pavitra-gōtrāya Gārggya-Gaurivī-Āmgiras-ēti  
tri-pravarāya Āśvalāyanaśākh-ādhyāyīnē di<sup>10</sup> Śim(śim)ha-  
kamtha-putrāya śu<sup>11</sup> Madhukamtha-putrāya śu<sup>10</sup> Chandrakamthasa(śa)rmmānē  
vṛā(bṛā)hmanāya vamtakam=ēkam 1 Mahāvanasthā[na\*]-vinirgatāya Andalya-  
gōtrāya<sup>12</sup> Mā-
- dhyaṁcināsākh-ādhyāyīnē di<sup>10</sup> Padmasvāmī-putrāya di<sup>10</sup> Trilōchana-putrāya di<sup>10</sup>  
Nārāyanasa(śa)rmmānē vṛā(bṛā)hmanāya sārḍham vamtakam=ēkam 1½ Ma-

Originally yēma was engraved

The edition of the grant of Jayavarman in *Journ Am Or Soc* Vol VII p 26, has *bhādravādrānām*

These signs of punctuation are superfluous

Read =asmābhūhr

<sup>5</sup> Metre Vasantatilakā

Instead of the *akshara dhā* originally *dāu* seems to have been engraved

This sign of punctuation is superfluous Here and in other places below the rules of *samāh* have not been

ed

Originally *Parādī-Śa*<sup>6</sup> was engraved Read *Parādīara-Śakti-Vasīsth-ēti*, where the name *Śakti*,  
e, would stand for the more correct *Śakti* See below, line 71

<sup>7</sup> e, here and below, *śrōtrīya*-

<sup>10</sup> e, here and below, *dīkṣita*-

<sup>11</sup> e, here and below, *śukla*

<sup>12</sup> Here the *pravara*s are omitted

- 29 *hāvanasthāna-vinirggatāya* Kātyāyana-gōtrāya<sup>1</sup> Śā(sā)maṇḍ-ādhyāyine tri<sup>2</sup>  
*Rāmēsva(śva)ra-pautrāya* tri<sup>2</sup> Jāsādhara-<sup>3</sup>putrāya tri<sup>2</sup> Śūrasarmanā<sup>4</sup>  
 vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=ē-
- 30 kam 1 Takāristhāna-vinirggatāya Bhāradvāja-<sup>5</sup>gōtrāya Bhāradvāj-Āmgrasa-  
 Vā(bā)rhaspaty-ēti tri-pravarāya Kauthmasākh-ādhyāyi-
- 31 nē tri<sup>2</sup> Dālana-pautrāya tri<sup>2</sup> Āśādhara-putrāya tri<sup>2</sup> Visvėsvaraśarmanā<sup>6</sup>  
 vra(bā)hmanāya vamtakam=ēkam 1 Takāristhāna-vinirggatāya Bhāradvā-
- 32 ja-gōtāya Bhāradvāj-Āmgrasa-Vā(bā)rhasya(spa)ty-ēti tri-pravarāya Mādhyamdna-  
 śākh-ādhyāyine di<sup>7</sup> Kōlhana-pautrāya di<sup>7</sup> Madhu-putrāya di<sup>7</sup> Rā-
- 33 masa(śa)rmmanē vrā(brā)hmanā[y]a vamtakam=ēkam 1 Tripurīsthāna-  
 vinirggatāya Bhāradvāja-gōtrāya Bhāradvāj-Āmgrasa-Vā(bā)rhaspaty-ēti tri-  
 prava-
- 34 rāya pam |<sup>7</sup> Haridhara-pautrāya pam | Mahīdhara-putrāya pam<sup>8</sup> Bhṛgu-  
 śarmanā<sup>8</sup> vrā(brā)hmanāya sārddham vamtakam=ēkam 1½ Mutavathūsthāna<sup>9</sup>  
 vinirggatāya
- 35 Kāśyapa-gōtāya Kāśyapa(p-Ā)vatsāra-Naidhrv-ēti tri-pravarāya Āśvalāyanaśākh  
 ādhyāyine cha<sup>10</sup> Prthivīdhara-pautrāya cha<sup>10</sup> Āśā(śā)dhara-pu-
- 36 trāya agni<sup>11</sup> Nārāyaṇaśarmanā vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=ēkam 1  
 Akōlāsthāna-vinirggatāya Parāvaśu(su)-gōtrāya Parāvaśu(su)-Kāmākāya-
- 37 na-Kaikaśēya<sup>12</sup> tri-pravarāya tha |<sup>13</sup> Bharatapāla-pautrāya tha | Dālana-putrāya  
 rāja-Gōśa(sa)śarmanā<sup>14</sup> vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=ēkam 1 Mathurāsthā-
- 38 na-vinirggatāya Āśvalāyanaśākh-ādhyāyine Vasi(su)sthā-gōtāya Kāśyap-Āvatsāra  
 Vāśi(su)sth-ēti tri-pravarāya chaturvēda-Janārdana-pautrā-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 39 ya chaturvēda-Dharaudhara-putrāya mahārājapamdiśa-śrī-Gōśaśarmanā<sup>15</sup>  
 vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtaka-dvayam 2 Mathurāsthāna-vinirggatāya Ā-
- 40 śvalāyanaśākh-ādhyāyine Bhārggava-gōtrāya Bhārggava-Chyavana-Āpnuvānā<sup>16</sup>  
 Aturva-Jāmadagny-ēti pamcha-pravarāya cha<sup>17</sup> . . . <sup>16</sup>-pautrāya cha<sup>17</sup>
- 41 Vāhnu-putrāya cha<sup>17</sup> Rāmēsva(śva)rasa(śa)rmmanē vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=  
 ēkam 1 Mathurāsthāna-vinirggatāya Āśvalā[y]a\*]naśākh-ādhyāyine Kāśyapa  
 gōtrā-
- 42 ya Kāśyap-Āvatsāra-Naidhrv-ēti tri-pravarāya cha<sup>18</sup> Samuddhara-pautrāya cha<sup>18</sup>  
 Dēvadhara-putrāya cha<sup>18</sup> Gadādharaśa(śa)rmmanē vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=  
 ēkam 1 Ma-
- 43 thurāsthāna-vinirggatāya Āśvalāyanaśākh-ādhyāyine Bhārggava-gōtrāya Bhārggava  
 Vaitahavya-Sāvētas-ēti tri-pravarāya cha<sup>19</sup> Pavitra-pautrā-
- 44 ya cha<sup>19</sup> Dharaudhara-putrāya cha<sup>19</sup> Garbhēśva(śva)raśarmanā vrā(brā)hmanāya  
 vamtakam=ēkam 1 Mathurāsthāna-vinirggatāya Āśvalāyanaśākh-ādhyāyi-

<sup>1</sup> *Kātyāyana-gōtrāya* was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line Here, again, the *pravara* is omitted.

<sup>2</sup> Here and below for *tri*°, i.e. *trivēda*—

<sup>3</sup> For *Yatōdhara* .

<sup>4</sup> For *Śūrasarmanā*

<sup>5</sup> In the place of the *akshara ra* originally *dea* was engraved

<sup>6</sup> Read *Vivēśvara*°

<sup>7</sup> This, or *pam*°, here and below, = *pamdiśa*—

<sup>8</sup> The *śākhā* of this man is omitted

<sup>9</sup> Below, in lines 47 and 49, the name is *Mutavathā*°

<sup>10</sup> I.e., here and below, *chaturvēda*—

<sup>11</sup> I.e., here and below, *agnīśātri*—

<sup>12</sup> Read *Kaikaśēti*

<sup>13</sup> I.e., here and below, *śākhā*—

<sup>14</sup> The *śākhā* of this man is omitted

<sup>15</sup> Read *Apnavāna*°, see below, lines 52 and 66

<sup>16</sup> Here an open space is left for a name of four syllables which has been omitted.



[illegible][illegible]

40

42

44

46

48

50

52

5-

54

5

412

60

62

64

66

68

70

72

74

7E

78

30



- 45 nē Kāśyapa-gōtrāya Kāśyap-Āvatsāra-Naidhruv-ēti tri-pravarāya cha° Samuddhara-  
pautrāya cha° Dēvadhara-putrāya cha° Lōhataśarmanā viā(brā)hmanā-  
46 ya vamtakam-ēkam l Dmḍvānakasthāna-vinrggatāya <sup>1</sup>Śāmkshāyanasāk-  
hādhyāyinē Gautama-gōtrāya Gautam-Āmgrasa-Autatthy-ēti<sup>2</sup> tri-pra-  
47 rāya cha° Dhānādhāra-putrāya cha° Vra(bra)hma-putrāya cha° Purushōttama-  
śarmanā vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam-ēkam l Mutāvathūsthāna-vinrggatāya  
Mādhyam-  
48 dmasakh-ādhyāyinē Kāśyap-gōtrāya Kāśyap-Āvatsāra-Naidhruv-ēti tri-pravarāya  
dvi<sup>3</sup> Gōvinda-pautrāya dvi° Vāsadhara-putrāya dvi° Gada-  
49 dharaśarmanā vrā(biā)hmanāya vamtaka(k-ā)rdham  $\frac{1}{2}$  Mutāvathūsthāna-  
vinrggatāya Mādhyamdmasakh-ādhyāyinē Kāśyapa-gōtrāya Kāśyap-Āvatsāra-  
Naidhu-  
50 v-ēti tri-pravarāya di° <sup>4</sup>Gamgādhara-pautrāya di° Kēśava-putrāya Udaśar-  
manā viā(biā)hmanāya vamtaka(k-ā)rdham  $\frac{1}{2}$  Mahāvanasthā[nā\*]-  
vinrggatāya Kau-  
51 thumaśakh-ādhyāyinē Gautama-gōtrāya Gautam-Āmgrasa-Autatthy-ēti tri-  
pravarāya pam° Madana-pautrāya pam° Kāhna(nha)da-putrāya pam°  
Kuladharaśa(śa)manā  
52 vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam-ēkam l Takārīsthāna-vinrggatāya<sup>5</sup> Kanthumaśakh-  
ādhyāyinē Vatsa-gōtrāya Bhāggava-Chyavana-Āpnuvān° Aurvya-Jāmadagny-ē  
3 ti pamcha-pavarāya tri° Janāiddana-pautrāya tri° Naraśim(sim)ha-putrāya āva<sup>7</sup>  
Abhinandasaśarmanā viā(biā)hmanāya vamtakam-ēkam l Madhyadēśa-  
vinrggatā-  
54 ya Mādhyamdi[nā\*]śākh-ādhyāyinē Mudgala-gōtrāya Āmgrasa(sa)-Bhara sa-<sup>8</sup>  
Mudgal-ēti tri-pravarāya agni° Chohitū-pautrāya agni° Dhānādhāra-putrā-  
55 ya agni° Anantaśarmanā viā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam-ēkam l Madhyadēśa-  
vinrggatāya Mādhyamdmasakh-ādhyāyinē Sāmdilya-gōtrāya Sāmdilya-Āsi(sī)ta-  
56 Dēval-ēti tri-pravarāya yājñi<sup>9</sup> Nāgadēva-pautrāya yājñi° Kṛṣṇa-putrāya agni°  
Sthānēśva(śva)raśarmanā vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam-ēkam l Mathurāsthāna-  
vini-  
57 rggatāya Āśvalāyanasāk-ādhyāyinē Dhaumya-gōtrāya Kāśyap-Āvatsāra-[Nai\*]dhruv-  
ēti<sup>10</sup> tri-pravarāya cha° Viśnu-pautrāya cha° Sādhārana-putrā-  
58 ya cha° Ūdha[rā]śarmanā<sup>11</sup> vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam-ēkam l Mathurāsthāna-  
vinrggatāya <sup>12</sup>Rāpāyiniśākh-ādhyāyinē Bhāradvāja-gōtrāya Āmgi-  
59 rasa-Vā(bā)raspatya-Bhāradvāj-ēti tri-pravarāya tri° Mādhava-putrāya<sup>13</sup> tri°  
Sōmēśva(śva)ra-putrāya tri° Kuladharaśarmanā vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam-  
ēkam l

## Third Plate

- 60 Mathurāsthāna-vinrggatāya Rāpāyiniśākh-ādhyāyinē Bhāradvāja-gōtrāya Āmgrasa-  
Vā(bā)raspatya-Bhāradvāj-ēti tri-pravarāya tri° Ru(rī)shi-putrāya tri°

<sup>1</sup> Read *Śāmkshādyana*° or, more correctly, *Śāmkshāyana*°<sup>2</sup> *Autatthy* - *Auchatthy*, see below, B, line 33<sup>3</sup> *I e*, here and below, *dviśāda*.<sup>4</sup> Originally *Gāmgā*° was engraved, but the first *g* has been struck out<sup>5</sup> Originally °*sthāna* vi° was engraved<sup>6</sup> Read -*Āpnavāna*.<sup>7</sup> *I e*, here and below, *avasathika*.<sup>8</sup> In this name an open space is left for two syllables

The name which one would have expected is

*Bharmyate*<sup>9</sup> *I e*, here and below, *yājñika*.<sup>10</sup> The *akshara* *vē* is engraved above the line<sup>11</sup> Originally *Ūdhapa*° was engraved<sup>12</sup> Read, here and below, *Rāpāyiniśākh*.<sup>13</sup> The *akshara* *dha* is engraved above the line

- 61 Mārkaṇḍa-putrāya tri° Madhusūdanaśarmmanē vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=ēkam 1  
Sarasvatīsthāna-vinirggatāya Kathasākh-ādhyāyīnē [Har]ita-Kuta-
- 62 gōtrāya Āngirāsa(sa)-Amva(ba)riṣha-Yauvanasv(śv)-ēti tri-pravarāya cha° Vijayī-  
pautrāya cha° Ajayī-putrāya cha° Allīśarmmanē vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=  
ēkam 1
- 63 Madhyadēsa-vinirggatāya Mādhyamdināsākh-ādhyāyīnē Kāśyapa-gōtrāya Kāśyap-  
Āvatsāra-Naidhrv-ēti tri-pravarāya upa°<sup>2</sup> Nārāyaṇa-pautrāya agni°<sup>3</sup>
- 64 Jasadēva-putrāya di° Lāhadaśarmmanē<sup>4</sup> vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=ēkam 1  
Madhyadēsa-vinirggatāya Mādhyamdināsākh-ādhyāyīnē Śamḍīya-gōtrāya A-
- 65 śi(si)ta-Dēvala-Sām(sām)dīly-ēti tri-pravarāya agni° Katuka-pautrāya di° Pura-  
shōttama-putrāya āva° Narasimhaśarmmanē vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=ēkam 1  
Ma-
- 66 dhyadēsa-vinirggatāya Mādhyamdināsākh-ādhyāyīnē Mārkamḍēya-gōtrāya  
Bhārggava-Chjavana-Āpnuvān°<sup>5</sup> Aurvva-Jāmadagny-ēti paṃcha pravarāya agni°  
Chchitā-pau-
- 67 trāya upā° - Dāmōdara-putrāya āva° Mārkamḍēyasarmmanē vrā(brā)hmanāya  
vamtakam=ēkam 1 Madhyadēsa-vinirggatāya Mādhyamdināsākh-ādhyāyīnē  
Bhāradvāja-gō-
- 68 tīāya Āngirāsa(sa)-Vā(bā)haspatya-Bhāradvāj-ēti tri-pravarāya dvi°<sup>6</sup> Nārāyaṇa-  
pautrāya dvi° Padmanābha-putrāya pātha°<sup>8</sup> Vāyudēvaśarmmanē vrā(brā)hmanāya  
vamtaka-
- 69 m=ēkam 1 Mathurāsthāna-vinirggatāya Āśvalāyanaśākh-ādhyāyīnē Kautsa-gōtrāya  
Āngirāsa(sa)-Amva(ba)riṣha-Yauvanasv(śv)-ēti tri-pravarāya cha° Hari-pau-
- 70 trāya cha° Janārddana-putrāya cha° Rājēśarmmanē vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=  
arḍdham ½ Hastinēpura-vinirggatāya Kanthumaśākh-ādhyāyīnē Pārāsa(sa)ra-gōtrā-
- 71 ya Pārāsa(sa)ra-Śakti-<sup>9</sup>Vasi(si)shth-ēti tri-pravarāya paṃcha°<sup>10</sup> Kāhna(nha)da-  
pautrāya paṃcha° Kumāra-putrāya paṃdi°<sup>11</sup> Kusumapālaśarmmanē  
vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=ēkam 1
- 72 samastō-pi grāmaś=chatuḥkamkata-<sup>12</sup>visu(su)ddhah sa-vrikshamālākulah sa-  
hiranyabhāgabhōgah s-ōparikarah saivvādāya-samētah sa-midhnikshēpah sha-
- 73 mhalatama[ka]-<sup>13</sup>samanvitō mātāpitrōr=ātmanas=cha punyajasō-<sup>14</sup>bhivridḍhayō  
chamdrārkaṇḍanavakshiti-samakālam yāvat=paraya(yā) bhaktyā śāsā(sa)nēn=ōdaka-  
pūrvvam pradattah [I\*] tan=ma-
- 74 tvā tanuvāśi(si)-pa[ttā]kilajanapadar=yathādīyamāna-bhāgabhōgakaḥhiraṇyādīkaḥ  
dēvavrā(brā)hmanabhukta-vaijyam=ājñā-vidhēyaur=bhūtvā saivvam=ēbhyaō vrā(brā)-  
hmanēbhyaō dātavyam [I\*]
- 75 sāmānyam ch=aitat=punya-phalam vudhvā<sup>15</sup> smadvamśajair=anyair=api bhāvi-  
bhōktrbhīr=asmatpradatta-dhaimmādyō<sup>16</sup> syam=anumantavyaḥ pālaniyas=cha<sup>17</sup> ||  
Uktam cha || <sup>18</sup>Va(ba)hnbhīr=vaśu(su)dhā

<sup>1</sup> Originally *Āngirāsa* - was engraved<sup>2</sup> *I e*, here and below, *upādhyāya* -<sup>3</sup> This sign of abbreviation is engraved at the commencement of the next line<sup>4</sup> For *Yasiddēva*<sup>5</sup> Originally *Lāhada*° was engraved<sup>6</sup> Read - *Apnavāna* -<sup>7</sup> Originally *Āngirāsa* - was engraved<sup>8</sup> *I e pāthaka* -<sup>9</sup> Read *Śakti* -, and see above, p 109, note 8<sup>10</sup> *I e*, here and below, *pañchakalpi* (?)<sup>11</sup> *I e paṃdi* -<sup>12</sup> Read *chatuḥkamkata*<sup>13</sup> The *akshara* in brackets might possibly be read *chka* As will be seen from the facsimile, the space between *ld* and *ta* at the commencement of line 73 is larger than it generally is between two *aksharas*<sup>14</sup> Read *punyaśāś* -<sup>15</sup> Read *budhvā*<sup>16</sup> One would have expected *dharmaadyō*; but *dharmaadyō* is the reading of most of the Paramāra copper-plates<sup>17</sup> Originally *śi=chā* was engraved.<sup>18</sup> Metre of this verse and the next Ślōka (Anuśṭubh)



(V 6) When the lustre of the moonlight of his glory overflowed the lap of the regions, there closed the day-lotuses of the glory accumulated by hostile kings

(V 7) Then came Udayāditya, whose one desire was constant enterprise, who, of unequalled glory as a hero, made inglorious his adversaries

(V 8) As lofty mountains, abounding in ridges, at the end of a mundane period are uprooted by impetuous winds, so in fierce contest how many rulers of the earth, abounding in armies, were not uprooted by his irresistible arrows!

(V 9) From him sprang king Naravarman, who cleft the vital parts of adversaries, the acme of kings, wise in upholding religion

(V 10) At every dawn freely granting shares of villages to Brāhmins, he made religion, one-footed though it is (*in this Kālī age*), possessed of several feet<sup>1</sup>

(V 11) His son was Yaśōvarman, the chaplet of Kshatriyas, (*and*) from him sprang his son Ajayavarman, renowned for the glory of victory

(V 12) His son, of auspicious birth, the foremost of heroes, was Vindhavarman, long of arm, eager to extirpate the Gūrjaras,

(V 13) The sword of this (*king*) skilled in war, with Dhārā rescued by it, assumed three edges,<sup>2</sup> to protect as it were the three worlds

(V 14) Then the son of that illustrious one, king Subhatavarman, abiding by religion, ruled the surface of the earth, glorious like India

(V 15) The fire of prowess of that conqueror of the quarters, whose splendour was like the sun's, in the guise of a forest-fire even to-day blazes in the town<sup>3</sup> of the blustering Gūrjara.<sup>4</sup>

(V 16) Now<sup>5</sup> that he has attained unto godhead, his son king Arjuna supports with his arm the circle of the earth like a bracelet

(V 17) When in the battle which was his childhood's frolic Jayasimha took to flight, his fame spread in the quarters in the guise of the laughter of the quarters' guardians

(V 18) A treasure-house of the stores of poetry and song, he now has relieved the goddess (Sarasvatī) of the burden of her books and lyre

(V 19) This triple hero<sup>6</sup> made his fame triply sprout. How otherwise did the three worlds acquire then whiteness?

<sup>1</sup> I.e. the golden age *dharma* had four feet, of which it lost one in each subsequent age (*Pañcāraṃsmiti*, ed. by V. Venk. Sastri, Islāmpurkar, Vol. I P. I p. 82). The word for 'share' in the original being *pada*, i.e. 'foot', the king by granting shares of villages increased the number of *dharma's* feet and so brought back as it were the golden age. Compare *Ind Ant Vol XVIII* p. 218, l. 19 *mahādāyāy-a-tiḥayān-kurvan=pari-dāny=auśakāśa*! *dharma-y=atī-tridhā=yō=trī-tā*, see also *ibid* Vol. XII p. 159, l. 7

<sup>2</sup> By itself the sword had two edges (*dhārā*), the town of Dhārā, retaken by it, became its third edge (*dhārā*). The author suggests that the sword became like the *tridhārā*, i.e. the 'three stream' Gangā, which flows through, and purifies, heaven, earth, and the lower regions

<sup>3</sup> The word *patana* may also be taken as a proper name of the well known Patana (see *eg* above, Vol. VIII p. 224, No. XII, and p. 220, No. XXXII)

<sup>4</sup> *Gaṇyād Gūrjara* occurs also above, p. 85 l. 27, compare also *Ind Ant Vol XVIII* p. 217, l. 11 *māvam Gūrjara garjya*

<sup>5</sup> This 'now' is really inappropriate in inscriptions of Arjunavarman's successors, but the verses 16-19 have been taken over unchanged from that king's own grants

<sup>6</sup> I.e. a hero in fight, in compassion (like Jīmūtaśāhana), and in bounty (like Bali)—*yuddha-vīra*, *dāya-vīra*, and *dāna-vīra*, compare Vāmanaśākhya in his edition of the *Kāyagracāta*, p. 113, *Śrīngadrūṭilaka*, III. 14 (*trivīdhō adyakaśa*), and similar works. In the *Pārijāta-maṅgarī*, above, Vol. VIII p. 102, l. 7, and p. 103, l. 18, Arjunavarman is styled *trivīdhā-vīra-chūḍāmaṇi*. The same epithet I find applied to a person named Udaya, in three Mount Abā inscriptions of the Vikrama years 1245 and 1291 (Mr. Cousens's List, Nos. 1725, 1726 and 1840). With the whole verse one may compare *Śhāpālī*, p. 258 *Narasimha mahāpāla kṛti=trī-pāthagā tava*! *na kasya dhāvāt ślāghyā pūṣṇā dhuvanaṭrayam* l.

(V 20) Then, through the want of merit of suppliants and through the merit of the lovely-browed damsels of paradise, he who was both marvellously bountiful and amorous went to heaven

(V 21) Then Dēvapāla, full of prowess—the son of Harīśchandra, the moon of the Pramāras—came to rule the Mālava country

(V 22) Because of the pouring out of the water of donations by him who holds *kuśa* grass in his lotus-hand, we know no difference between Dēvapāla and the guardian of the gods [whom the exploits of the enemy of the Dānavas caused to take the *argha* in his lotus-hand (to make a respectful offering)]<sup>1</sup>

## LIST OF THE DONEES IN LINES 22-71

Number	Name of donee	Description	Gōtra	Śākhā or Vēda	Place of origin	Shāses
1	Gangādihara <sup>2</sup>	śrōtriya	Parāśa[ra]	Vāpamādhyamdina	Āśrama <sup>3</sup>	1
2	Bhadrésvara	śukla	Pavitra	Āśvalāyana	Mahāvana	1
3	Chandrasaṅgha	"	"	"	"	1
4	Nārāyana	dīkshita	Audalya	Mādhyamdina	"	1†
5	Śura	trivēda	Kātyāyana	Sāmavēda	"	1
6	Viśvēśvara	"	Bhāradvāja	Kaṭhuma	Tskārī	1
7	Rāma	dīkshita	"	Mādhyamdina	"	1
8	Bhṛigu	pañḍita	"	omitted	Tripurī	1†
9	Nārāyana	agnihōtrin	Kāśyapa	Āśvalāyana	Mutāvathū	1
					Carried over	10

<sup>1</sup> The king Dēvapāla and the guardian of the gods (*dēvapāla*, i.e. the god Indra) are alike because either of them is *dānavāra vygrimbhītaḥ pavitrakarapadmah*. About the exact meanings of the first of these two words there can be no doubt, it means both 'the pouring forth of the water of donations' (*dāna-dāra*), and 'the exploits of the enemy of the Dānavas' (*Dānava arī*, i.e. the god Vishnu Krishna). I am not so sure about the two meanings of the second word. Referred to the king, it means 'holding *pavitra* (i.e. *kuśa* or *darbhā* grass, which is taken up by the person who is about to make a donation) in his lotus hand'. Applied to Indra, I take it to mean that Indra, respected with the exploits of the conqueror of the Dānavas, took up the *pavitra* (i.e. the *argha* vessel) to make a respectful offering to Vishnu. In support of this explanation I would quote *Ep Ind* Vol. I, p. 124, v. 2, where Brahman offers to Vishnu the *argha-salila*, when he sees how the latter has cheated Bali. But I am myself not quite satisfied with this explanation, because I suspect the word *padma* to have been used in two different senses in the compound. From inscriptions we may compare with our verse especially the verse in *Ind Ant* Vol. XVIII, p. 218, ll. 19 and 20 *Śrīyam bahāra vidhivad-dānavadrātīśhītaḥ | Mahādhra vad-dvayadrātīśhīta-vaṛgga-tat saṅgam-dgataḥ* ||, where *dānavadrātīśhītaḥ* means both 'excessively pleased by the water of donations' and 'pleased by the enemy of the Dānavas'. *Dānavāra* also has a third meaning, 'the rutting juice of elephants' (*mada-jala*), and in that sense as well as in the sense of 'the enemy of the Dānavas' the word is used in the *Nāśadhīyaśharita*, XIII, vv. 3 and 23, the first of which, in so far as it is applicable to Indra, seems to have suggested the *śrīyam bahāra dānavadrātīśhītaḥ Mahādhra* [a] of the verse quoted above from an inscription. (Incidentally I may mention that *Pañchanalitya* is not 'the title of a work,' but a name of the 18th *sarga* of the *Nāśadhīyaśharita*). In *Ākāśa*, p. 200, the hand of a king is compared with the ocean, because both hold the *dānavāra*.

<sup>2</sup> All these names have the word *śarman* attached to them.

<sup>3</sup> With the exception of *Mādhyamdina* and *Qastindipura*, these names have the word *śākhā* attached to them.

LIST OF THE DONEES IN LINES 22-71—*contd*

Number	Name of donee	Description	Gotra	Sākhā or Vēda	Place or origin	Shares
					Brought forward	10
10	Gōsala	rājan	Parāvasu	<i>omitted</i>	Akōlā	1
11	Gōṣṭh	mahārājapandita	Vasishtha	Āśvalāyana	Mathurā	2
12	Rāmēśvara	chaturvēda	Bhargava	"	"	1
13	Gadādihara	"	Kāśyapa	"	"	1
14	Garbhēśvara	"	Bhārgava	"	"	1
15	Lōhata	"	Kāśyapa	"	"	1
16	Purushōttama	"	Gautama	Śāṅkhāyana	Dīpāvānaka	1
17	Gadādihara	divyēda	Kāśyapa	Mādhyamīna	Muttāvathū	†
18	Uda! (Uday?)	<i>omitted</i>	"	"	"	†
19	Kuladhara	paṇḍita	Gautama	Kaṭhuma	Mahāvana	1
20	Abhinanda	āvasathika	Vatsa	"	Takāri	1
21	Ananta	agnihōtrm	Mudgala	Mādhyamīna	Madhyadēśa	1
22	Sthanēśvara	"	Śāṇḍilya	"	"	1
23	Ōḍha[ra]	chaturvēda	Dharmya	Āśvalāyana	Mathurā	1
24	Kuladhara	trivēda	Bhāradvāja	Rāṇyuni	"	1
25	Madhusūdana	"	"	"	"	1
26	Alli	chaturvēda	Harta-Kutsa	Kaṭha	Sarasvatī	1
27	Lālāḍa	dīkṣita	Kāśyapa	Mādhyamīna	Madhyadēśa	1
28	Narasimha	āvasathika	Śāṇḍilya	"	"	1
29	Mākanḍēya	"	Mākanḍēya	"	"	1
30	Vāyudeva	pāṭhaka	Bhāradvāja	"	"	1
31	Rājē	chaturvēda	Kautsa	Āśvalāyana	Mathurā	†
32	Kusumapāla	paṇḍita	Pārāsara	Kaṭhuma	Hastinapura	1
TOTAL						32†

## NAMES OF THE FATHERS AND GRANDFATHERS OF THE DONEES.

Ajayi, chaturvēda, l. 62  
 Āśādihara, trivēda, l. 31, chaturvēda, l. 35.  
 Bharatapāla, thakkura, l. 37  
 Brahman, śrōtriya, l. 23, chaturvēda, l. 47  
 Chhittū, agnihōtrm, ll. 54, 66  
 Dālāpa, trivēda, l. 31

Dālāpa, thakkura, l. 37.  
 Dāmōdara, śrōtriya, l. 23; upādhyāya,  
 l. 67.  
 Dēvadihara, chaturvēda, ll. 42, 45.  
 Dharaṇḍihara, chaturvēda, ll. 39, 44, 47,  
 agnihōtrm, l. 54.



Gangādhara, dīkṣita, II 25, 50  
 Gōvmda, dvivēda, I 48,  
 Hari, chaturvēda, I 69  
 Haradhara, paṇḍita, I 34  
 Janārdana, chatuṣvēda, II 38, 70, trivēda,  
 I 53  
 Jasādēva, agnihōtrīn, I 64  
 Jasōdhara, trivēda, I 29  
 Kānhada, paṇḍita, I 51, pañchakalpin(?),  
 I 71  
 Katuka, agnihōtrīn, I 65  
 Kēlhana, dīkṣita, I 32.  
 Kēsava, dīkṣita, I 50  
 Krishna, yājñika, I 56  
 Kumara, pañchakalpin(?), I 71  
 Madana, paṇḍita, I 51  
 Mādhava, trivēda, I 59  
 Madhu, dīkṣita, I 32  
 Madhukantha, śūka, I 27  
 Mahāditya, āvasathika, I 25

Mahādhara, paṇḍita, I, 34  
 Markanda, trivēda, I 61  
 Nāgādēva, yājñika, I 56  
 Narasimha, trivēda, I 53.  
 Nārāyaṇa, upādhyāya, I 63, dvivēda, I 68  
 Padmanābha, dvivēda, I 68  
 Padmasvāmin, dīkṣita, I 28  
 Pavitra, chaturvēda, I 43  
 Prithvīdhara, chaturvēda, I 35  
 Purushōttama, dīkṣita, I 65  
 Ramésvara, trivēda, I 29  
 Rishi, trivēda, I 60.  
 Sādhātana, chaturvēda, I 57,  
 Samuddhara, chaturvēda, II 42, 45  
 Simhakantha, dīkṣita, I 26.  
 Sōmésvara, trivēda, I 59  
 Trilōchana, dīkṣita, I 28  
 Vāsadhara, dvivēda, I 48  
 Vijayi, chaturvēda, I 62  
 Vishnu, chaturvēda, II. 41, 57

#### B — MĀNDHĀTĀ PLATES OF JAYAVARMA II, [VIKRAMA-JSAMVAT 1317

These are two plates which were found by Mr Lele,<sup>1</sup> some time in 1904, at the village of Godaipa opposite the island of Māndhātā, on the southern bank of the Narmadā in the Nimār district of the Central Provinces. They were sent by the Deputy Commissioner of Nimār to the Provincial Museum at Nāgpur, where they are now deposited. They measure about 1' 5½" broad by 10½" high, and are held together by two rings, now out, for which there are two holes in either plate. I edit the inscription which they contain from impressions sent to me by the Government Epigraphist.

The first plate is inscribed on one side, and the second on both sides. The writing both on the first plate and on the first side of the second plate covers a space about 1' 4" broad by between 9½" and 10" high, that on the second side of the second plate 1' 4½" broad by 8" high. The three sides together contain 53 lines of well engraved writing which throughout is in a perfect state of preservation. On the proper right of the second side of the second plate, between lines 42 and 50, a vertical line marks off a space 3" broad by 4" high, which contains an engraving of Garuda, with, below it, the words *sva-hastō-yam mahārājasya* ||, in smaller characters than those in the body of the inscription. The bird is represented in human form, kneeling towards the left, but with the head turned towards the right, and with four hands, the two inner ones of which are joined over the breast, while the two others are lifted up on either side, the one on the left holding a snake, the head of which looks like a bird's head. The size of the letters is about ¾". The characters are Nāgarī, closely resembling those of the inscription A, and the language is Sanskrit. The inscription is so carefully written that in respect of orthography only few remarks are necessary. The sign for *v* denotes both *b* and *v*, the dental sibilant is used for the palatal only in *sata*, I 25, as is often the case elsewhere, *dy*, *dv* and *dhv* are employed instead of *ddy*, *ddv* and *ddhv*, *Janārdana* is written *Janārjyana* in line 34, and *śaḍbhīr* as *shaḍbhīr* in line 37. The sign of *avagraha* is employed seven times, and, excepting in *sāmpratam*, I 16, *m* at the end of a verse or half-verse

<sup>1</sup> The plates were first mentioned by Mr Lele in a Report of his on the progress of Archaeological work in the Dhār State, dated the 24th August 1904.

is denoted by the sign for *m*, not by that of *anusvāra* — In lines 1-23 the inscription has 23 verses, chiefly containing genealogical matter, 21 of which are already known to us from the inscription A, and in lines 25-27 we again find the verse commencing with *Vatābhra-vibhramam=idaṃ vasulh-ādhipatyam*, and in lines 42-48 five benedictive and imprecatory verses, the last of which here too is the verse commencing with *Iti kamaladalāmbuvamśu-lōlām*. There are besides two verses in lines 50-52, which record the names of persons who had to do with the writing of the grant. In the prose part of the text, attention may be drawn to the peculiar construction in lines 25-28, *asmābhīh . . . Gāṅgadēva-pārsvat . . . grāmō=yam trābhīyō brāhmanābhīyō dāpitah*, 'we have caused Gāṅgadēva to give this village to three Brāhmins' <sup>1</sup>

The inscription records an order by the Paramāra *Mahārājādhirāja Jayavarman* [II] of *Mālava*, dated, as will be shown below, in A D 1260 and 1261. Of the 23 verses with which it opens, verses 1-21 are identical (except for two various readings<sup>2</sup>) with the same verses of the inscription A, and contain therefore the same list of kings from *Bhōjadēva* to *Dēvapāla*. The two new verses, 22 and 23, may be rendered thus —

"When<sup>3</sup> that king, the glorious *Dēvapāla*, had joyfully resorted to Indra's abode, his son, a death-dealing god to enemies (*while*) ever pleasing the people by his good qualities, the wise king *Jatugidēva*, the glorious *Mālava* chief, ruled this land, by his noble exploits a young *Nārāyaṇa*"<sup>4</sup>

"Now that he, after enjoying the delights of royalty, has gone to the habitation of the gods, his younger brother, king *Jayavarman*, rules the land"

*Dēvapāla*, therefore, was succeeded by his son *Jatugidēva*, and he by his younger brother *Jayavarman* [II] — *Jatugidēva* was known already from the *prastāva* in *Āśādharā's Dharmāmṛita*, referred to above,<sup>5</sup> according to which the commentary on that work was completed during the reign of the Paramāra *Dēvapāla's* son *Jatugidēva*, on a date which corresponds to Monday, the 19th October A D 1243. In my *Northern List*, No 223, I have assumed that *Jatugidēva* is identical with a king who is mentioned in a *Rāhatgadh* inscription of the 28th August A D 1256, noticed by me in *Ind Ant* Vol XX p 84, where I have given the king's name as *Jaya[simha]dēva*. But with what we now know from the present inscription, I am not sure whether Sir A. Cunningham<sup>6</sup> was not right in reading the same name as *Jaya[varmma]dēva*, and would therefore suspend my judgment on the matter till we possess proper impressions of an inscription at Udaypur in Gwālior,<sup>7</sup> which seems to be of the reign of a king *Jayasinghadēva* and to be dated in the [Vikrama] year 1311 (in Jan-

<sup>1</sup> Exactly the same construction occurs in my *Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS*, Bombay, 1881, p 11 *tāna lākhaka Sōhada-pārsat-lākhapatā*, 'he caused the writer Sōhada to write (a certain MS)'. With the use of *pārsatā* we may compare that of *hasatā* in Prof. Peterson's *Fifth Report*, p 29: *Udayachandraganina Jinabhadralākhaka-hasatā=Vimalachandragan-hasatā=cha Ghanaviryuktisāstram lākhitam*.

<sup>2</sup> In verse 17 this inscription has *Jastrasimhā* instead of *Jayasimhā*, and in verse 21 *prastāva* instead of *parakāśa* — For the reading *Jastrasimhā* see above, Vol VIII p 203, where a certain person is called both *Jayan tasimha* and *Jastrasimha*. If any importance could be attached to the new reading, it would in my opinion show that the *Jayasimha*, who was defeated by Arjunavarman, undoubtedly was the Chalukya *Jayantamha* (*Jayasimha*) *Abhinavāsiddharāja*.

<sup>3</sup> The text actually has "Now that *Dēvapāla* has resorted to Indra's abode, his son *Jatugidēva* rules this land". The verse undoubtedly was taken over unchanged from an inscription of *Jatugidēva* himself.

<sup>4</sup> '*Bāla-Nārāyaṇa*' most probably was an epithet of the king. Compare *Kumdra-Nārāyaṇa*, as an epithet of the Paramāra *Sindhurāja*, in the *Navasahasānukacharita*, I 59.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p 107.

<sup>6</sup> See *Archaeol. Survey of India*, Vol X p 31. Judging from Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing of the inscription which I have again examined, the two *aksharas* between *Jaya* and *dēva* are almost completely broken away.

<sup>7</sup> I am writing this with Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing of the inscription before me.

uary 1255) For the present, what is certain is, that Jantugidēva<sup>1</sup> was reigning in A D 1243 and his younger brother Jayavarman in A D 1260-61

In lines 23 ff of our inscription Jayavarman informs all king's officers, Brāhmanas and others, and the *Paṭṭakla* and other people dwelling at the village of Vadauda in the Mahuāda pathaka, that, while staying at Mandapadurga, in the year 1317 (given in words), he caused the *Pratīhāra*<sup>2</sup> Gāngadēva to give the village of Vadauda to three Brāhmanas

And, according to lines 28 ff, the *Pratīhāra* Gāngadēva, on Sunday, the third *tithi* of the bright half of Āgrahāyana (Mārgasīrsha) of the year 1317, while the *nakṣatra* was Pūrvāśādhā and the *yōga* Śūla, at Amarēśvara-kṣhētra on the southern bank of the Rēvā (Narmadā), after bathing at the confluence of the Rēvā and Kapilā and worshipping the holy Amarēśvaradēva (Śiva) with the five offerings,<sup>3</sup> gave the village of Vadauda, divided into six shares (*vanṣaka*) so that—

four shares (*pada*) were assigned to the *agnihōtrīn*<sup>4</sup> Mādhyamaśarma— a son of the *pāṭhaka* Harīśarma and grandson of the *divēda* Vēda— a Brāhman of the Bhārgava *gōtṛa*<sup>5</sup> and student of the Mādhyamdina Śākhā, who had come from Navagāmva,<sup>6</sup>

one share (*pada*) to the *chaturvēda* Janārdana— a son of the *divēda* Lāmadēva and grandson of the *divēda* Lāshū— a Brāhman of the Gautama *gōtṛa* and student of the Āśvalāyana Śākhā, who had come from Takāri, and

one share (*pada*) to the *divēda* Dhāmadēvaśarma— a son of the *dīkṣhita* Divākara and grandson of the *dīkṣhita* Kēkū— a Brāhman of the Bhāradvāja *gōtṛa* and student of the Mādhyamdina Śākhā, who had come from Ghatāushari

From line 37 to line 48 the text contains so well-known phrases that it may be passed over here. The remaining part of the inscription yields the following information —

On Thursday, the 11th of the bright half of Jyēsthā of the year 1317, this king's order (*rāja sāsana*) was written 'here, at Mandapadurga,' by Harshadēva, a son of the learned Haviṣa, with the approbation of the *sāndhivigrahita* (or minister of peace and war), the *paṇḍita* Māladhara, an official of the *Mahātrījādhirāja*, the glorious Jayavarma-dēva, and the king's document was corrected by the grammarian (*sābdhika*) Āmadēva, a disciple of the learned Jōśeka (Jōse)<sup>7</sup> 'who knew the boundless essence of legal science' The grant was engraved by the *rāpakhāra* Kānhaḍa. The *dāta* was the great minister (*mahāpradhāna*), Rājā Ajayadēva

The words 'this is the own hand' (i.e. the sign-manual) of the *Mahātrīja* are engraved, as has been already stated, under the engraving of Garuda on the second side of the second plate

The dates contained in this inscription are both correct. The first date, in lines 28 and 29, for the expired (*Chātrādī* or *Kārttikādī*) Vikrama year 1317 corresponds to Sunday, the 7th November A D 1260. On this day the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h 13 m, the *nakṣatra* was Pūrvāśādhā, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 17 h 4 m, according

<sup>1</sup> In the first half of the 13th century A D we find the name *Jantugi* twice in the family of the Yādavas of Devagiri, and there was a [Śīlāra] *Konkanachakravartin Jantugidēva*, an unpublished mention (below) in the Bombay As Soc) of whom apparently is dated in A D 1207

<sup>2</sup> Given in the abbreviated form *prati*<sup>o</sup>. The word *pratīhāra* means 'a door keeper', but denotes a royal official

<sup>3</sup> Compare *pañcōpachāra pāṭha*, e.g. in *Ind Ant* Vol XVIII p 347, l 10, and above, Vol III p 215, l 5, and p 300, l 42. The five articles presented are *gandha*, *pushpa*, *dhūpa*, *dāpa* and *navēdya*; compare *Sūdra amādhāra*, p 140 f, where *pañcōpachāra*, *dāśōpachāra* and similar terms are explained

<sup>4</sup> These epithets here too are given in the abbreviated forms *agni*<sup>o</sup>, *pa*<sup>o</sup>, *dev*<sup>o</sup>, *cha*<sup>o</sup>, and *dī*<sup>o</sup>

<sup>5</sup> In the original the *pravara*s also are given

<sup>6</sup> The names of the places of origin here also have the word *sthāna* attached to them

<sup>7</sup> See above, p 106.

to Garga for 22 h 20 m, and by the equal space system from 10 h 30 m, and the *yōga* was Śūla for 20 h 46 m, after mean sunrise. And the second date, in lines 48 and 49, for the expired *Kārttikādī* Vikrama year 1317 corresponds to Thursday, the 12th May A.D. 1381, when the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 10 h 46 m after mean sunrise. The dates show that the year 1317 of the inscription was a *Kārttikādī* year.

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription, Mandapadurga, from where the king's order was issued, is Mandogari (Māndā), a deserted town in the Dhār State, in Long 75° 23' and Lat 22° 21' (Constable's *Hand Atlas*, Plate 27, B d). From the same place was issued the order in the Epihānagar plates of king Arjunavarman<sup>1</sup>. On Mahuada, see above, p. 106. Vadauda perhaps is the village of 'Burud' which according to the *Indian Atlas* is about three miles north-east of 'Satajana,' the village granted by the inscription A. I have already pointed out that *Mahuada-pathakā* of this inscription is equivalent to *Mahuada-pratyāgarakā* of the inscription A, and I may state that a (or the ?) village of Vadauda is mentioned also in the plate of the Paramāras Yaśōvarman and Lakshmīvarman, in *Ind Ant* Vol XIX. p. 352, ll. 5 and 13. Amarēśvara-kshētra is the Amarēśvara-tīrtha from which the grant of Arjunavarman in *Journ Am Or Soc* Vol VII p. 27 was issued, and the Amarēśvara mentioned in the plates of Jayasinha, above, Vol III p. 47, is near the island of Māndhātā, on the southern bank of the river Narmadā. The grant in *Journ Am Or Soc* quoted just now also mentions the confluence of the Rēvā and Kapilā, which is now called 'Kapila Sangam, where a small stream joins the Narmadā'.<sup>2</sup> Of the places of origin of the donees, Takāri-sthāna is one of the places mentioned in A, Navagāmva-sthāna may be the town of Nawegāon in the Chāndā district, mentioned in the *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, p. 370, but there is at least one other place of the same name in the Central Provinces, Ghatāushari-sthāna I am unable to identify.

TEXT<sup>3</sup>

## First Plate

- 1 || Ōm namah puruṣārtha-chūdāmanyaḥ dharmāya ||<sup>4</sup> Prativimva-bhādhā-bhūmāḥ  
krityā śākṣhāt-pratigraham | jagad-ā-  
2 hlādayan-diśyā[d\*]=divyēndrō<sup>5</sup> mangalāni vah || 1 [I\*] Jiyāt=Paraśurāmō=sau  
kṣatrah kṣhannam ran-āhatah |<sup>7</sup> samdhyāṅka-vimvam=ā-  
3 v-ōvvi-dātur=yasy=auti tāmratām || 2 [I\*] Yēna Mamdōdarivashpa-vāmbhūh  
samtō mrdhē [I\*] pānēśvari-viyōgāgnih sa  
4 Rāmāh śiēyasē satu vah || 3 [I\*] Bhimēn=āpi dhritā mārddhni  
yat-pādāh sa Yudhishthirah | vams-ādyēn=ēmdunā jiyāt=sva-tulya 1-  
5 va narmmatā || 4 [I\*] Paramārakul-ōttamsah Kamsajun-mahimā nripah |  
śi-Bhōjadēva ity=āsin=nāśirakrānta-bhūtalāh<sup>8</sup>  
6 || 5 [I\*] Yād-yasāśchamdrak-ōdyōtō<sup>9</sup> digutsamga-taramgitō | dvishamripa-  
yasāhpumjapumdarikair-narmmatam || 6 [I\*] Tatō sbhūd=U-  
7 dayādityō nityōtsāh-akakantukī | asādharana-vīrāsīr=asīr-hētur=vvirōdhinām ||  
7 [I\*] Mahākāla-ha-kalpā-

<sup>1</sup> See *Journ As Soc Beng* Vol V p. 379 — The town is called *Mandapapura* in line 16 of the *Dēgāgh* inscription published ibid Vol LII P I p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> See *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, p. 258.

<sup>3</sup> Metre of verses 1-21. Ślōka (Anushtubh).

<sup>4</sup> After *drō* another vertical stroke was engraved, but has been struck out.

<sup>5</sup> Thus sign of punctuation was originally omitted.

<sup>6</sup> Read -bimbam.

<sup>7</sup> In the place of *ta* originally *la* was engraved.

<sup>8</sup> Read *ōdyōtō* — Between the *akṣharas tā* and *ścham* a vertical stroke was originally engraved, but has been struck out.

<sup>9</sup> From an impression supplied by Dr. Sten Konow.

<sup>10</sup> Read *prativimba*.

10.

- 8 ntē yasy-ōddāmbhīr-āśugaiḥ | katī n-ōnmūlītās-tumgā bhūbhritah katak-ōlvanāḥ  
 [(11) 8 [||\*] Tasmāch=chhinna-dvishanmarmmā Narava-  
 9 rmmā narādhīpāḥ | dharmm-ābhyuddharanē dhīmān=abhūt=simā mahābhujām ||  
 9 [||\*] Prati-prabhātam viprēbhyō dattair-grāma-padaḥ svaya-  
 10 m | anēkapadātām ninyē dharmmō yēn=aika-pād=apī || 10 [||\*] Tasy-ājanī  
 Yaśōvarmmā putrah kshatriya-sēkharah | tasmād=Ajayava-  
 1 rmm-ābhūj=jayaśrī-vīśrutāḥ sutah || 11 [||\*] Tat-sūnur=vvira-mūrdhanyō  
 dhany-ōtpatir-ajāyata | Gūrjjarōchohḥēda-nrvvamdhī<sup>1</sup> Vimdhya varmmā  
 mah[ā]-  
 2 bhujah || 12 [||\*] Dhāray=ōddhritayā sārḍham dadhātu sma tridhātām |  
 sāmyuginasya yasy-āsīs-trātum lōka-trayīm=iva || 13 [||\*] Tasy-ā-  
 3 mshyāyanaḥ putrah Sutrāma-śrīr=ath=āśīshat | bhūpah Subhāṣavarmm-ēti  
 dharmmē tśhthan=mahī-talam || 14 [||\*] Yasya jvalatu da(di)g-jē-  
 4 tuh pratāpas=tapana-dyutēḥ | dāvāgni-chchhadmā(dma)n=ādy-āpī | garjjad-  
 Gūrjara-pattanē || 15 [||\*] Dēva-bhūyam gatē tasmin=nandanō=rjuna-  
 bhūpati[h\*]  
 5 | dōśnā dhattē sḍhunā dhātrī<sup>2</sup>valayam valayam yathā || 16 [||\*]  
 Vā(bā)lālī-āhavē yasya Jaitrasimhē<sup>3</sup> palāyitē | dīkpālāhā-  
 6 sa-vyāyēna yaśō dikshu vjrimbhitam || 17 [||\*] Kāvya gāmdharvva-sarvvasva-  
 midhmā yēna sāmpratam | bhār-āvataranam dēvyāś=chakrē  
 7 pustaka-vīnāyōḥ<sup>4</sup> || 18 [||\*] Yēna trividha-vīrēna tridhā pallavitam yaśah |  
 dhavalatvam dadhūs=trīm jagamtu katham=anyathā ||  
 8 19 [||\*] Ath=ārthnam=apunyēna punyēna svarga-subhruvām | sō sdbhuta-  
 tyāgasilās=cha śrīmgārī cha divam gatah  
 9 || 20 [||\*] Tatah Pramāra-chamdrasya Harīschamdrasya namdanah ||(1)  
 prasāstā<sup>5</sup> Mālava-kshōṇīm Dēvapālāh pratāpavā-

## Second Plate, First Side

- 20 n || 21 [||\*] <sup>6</sup>Tasmīn=Amdra-padam mud=āśritavati śrī-Dēvapālē<sup>7</sup> nripē  
 tat-sūnur=dvishad-amtakō nija-gunair=lōkā-  
 21 n=sadā ramyaan | dhīmān(ī)=Jaitugidēva ēsha nripatḥ śrī-Mālav-ākhamdalāḥ  
 śāsti kshōṇum=imām-udāra-cha-  
 22 ritaiḥ svair=Vā(bā)lanārāyanah || 22 [||\*] Bhuktvā<sup>8</sup> rājya-sukham tasmin=  
 prāptē tridāsa-mamdrām | śāsti tasy=ānujaḥ kshōṇīm Jaya-  
 23 varmmā janādhīpāḥ || 23 [||\*] Sa ēsha nara-nāyakah sarv-ābhyudayī ||<sup>9</sup>  
 Mahuada-pathakē Vadauda-grāmē samasta-rājapurushān-vrā(bra)-  
 24 hman-ōttaran=pratimvāsi-pattakīla-janapad-ādīmā=cha vō(bō)dhayaty=astu vah  
 samviditam yathā ||<sup>9</sup> śrīman-Mamāpadurgga-shtitair=a-  
 25 smābhīh septadāsādīhuka-trayōdāśasa(sa)ta-sainvatsarē ||<sup>9</sup> samsārasy=āśaratām  
 dīśtvā || tatāḥ hu || <sup>10</sup>Vātābhra-vibhramam=īdam vasu-  
 26 dh-ādhipatyam=āpātāmātra-madhurō viśhay-ōpabhōgaḥ | prānās=trīnāgrajalavimdu-samā  
 narānām dharmmah sakḥā param=ahō

<sup>1</sup> Read *nrvbāmbhī*<sup>2</sup> Originally *dhātri* was engraved.<sup>3</sup> In A and in the three grants of Arjunavarman the name is *Jayasimhē*<sup>4</sup> In the place of *et* originally *et* was engraved.<sup>5</sup> Instead of this word A has *rarakāḥ*<sup>6</sup> Metre *Sārdālavikṛīṭa*<sup>7</sup> The *akḥara* *pa* of this word seems to be corrected out of *īd* which was originally engraved.<sup>8</sup> Metre *Slōka* (Anushtubh).<sup>9</sup> These signs of punctuation are superfluous.<sup>10</sup> Metre *Vasantatilakā*.

- 27 paralôka-yânê [||\*] it sarvva vimrśya dāpan-ādmstaphalam=amgikṛitya <sup>1</sup>  
 prati<sup>2</sup> śrī-Gāṁgadēva-pārśvāi<sup>3</sup> Vadauda-grāmō=yam  
 28 tribhṃ vrā(brā)hmanēbhṃ dāpitaḥ | Tēna cha prati<sup>3</sup> śrī-Gāṁgadēvena  
 sammat<sup>4</sup> 1317 Āgrahana-śukla-tritīyāyām tithau  
 29 Ravi-vāsarē Pūrvvāśādhā-nakṣatrē Śīla-nāmnī yōgē śrīmad-Amarēśvara-  
 kṣētrē Rēvāyā dakṣiṇē lūlā Rēvā-Kapilā-  
 30 sangamē snātāvā bhagavamtam chaśāchāra-gurum śrīmad-Amarēśvara<sup>5</sup>  
 dēyam pañc-opachārah samabhyarchya ||<sup>1</sup> jīvitam vidyuch-chaṁchalam  
 jīātvā  
 31 Navagāmvasthāna-vinrgatāya Bhārgava-sagōtāya Bhārgava-Chyāvana-<sup>7</sup> Āpnāna  
 Aurva-Jāmadagny-ēta pañcha-pravarāya Mādhyam-  
 32 dīnāsākh-ādhyāyīmē dvī<sup>8</sup> Veda-pautrāya<sup>9</sup> pā<sup>10</sup> Harisarmma-putrāya agnī<sup>11</sup>  
 Mādhasarmanmānē vrā(brā)hmanāya padāni chatvāri  
 33 4 Takāristhāna-vinrgatāya Gautama-sagōtrāya Gautam-Āngirasa-Añchatthy ēti  
 tri-pravarāya Āśvalāyanasākh-ādhyā-  
 34 yinē dvī<sup>12</sup> Lāśhū-pautrāya dvī<sup>13</sup> Līmadēva-putrāya cha<sup>14</sup> Janārjanasarmma<sup>15</sup>  
 vrā(brā)hmanāya padam-ēkam 1 Ghatāusharisthā-  
 35 na-vinrgatāya Bhīradvāja-sagōtrāya Āngirasa-Vā(bā)raspatya-Bhāradvāj ēti  
 tri-pravarāya Mādhyamdināsākh-ādhyāyīmē  
 36 dvī<sup>14</sup> Kēkū-pautrāya dvī<sup>15</sup> Divakara-putrāya dvī<sup>16</sup> Dhāmadēvasarmmas  
 vīā(brā)hmanāya padam-ēkam 1 ēvam-ēbhyaḥ<sup>17</sup> tribhṃ  
 37 vrā(brā)hmanēbhyaḥ śhatbhīr<sup>18</sup> vvasantakair-Vadauda-grāmō=yam samastō=pi  
 chatuḥkankata<sup>17</sup> viśuddhah sa-vrikṣhamālākulah sa-hiraṇyabhā-  
 38 gēbhōgaḥ s-ōparikarah sarvvādāya-samētah sa-nidhē(dh)ukṣhēpō mātāpitṛ-  
 ātmanas=cha punyayasōḥbhividdhayē  
 39 chaṁdrārkārnnavā[kṣh]it-samakālam yāvat-parayā bhaktiā dēvavrā(brā)hmaṇa  
 bhukta-varjyam śāsanēn-ōdaka-pū-

Second Plate , Second Side

- 40 rva[m] pradattah || tan=matvā tannivāsa-pattakūjanapadair-yathādyamāna  
 bhāgabhogakarahiraṇyādīkam=ājñā-vindhē-  
 41 yar=bhūtvā sarvvam=ētēbhyaḥ samupanētavyam<sup>18</sup> | sāmānyam ch=antad=dharṇam  
 phalam vu(bu)ddhy-āsmadvamsajair-anvair=apī bhāsi-bhī ubhir-  
 42 smatpradāpita-dharṇm idāyō<sup>19</sup> syam=anomanantavyah pālaniya=cha || Uktam  
<sup>20</sup>Va(ba)hubhīr=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhīh Sugar-ādī-  
 43 bhīh | yasān yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalam [||\*] Sva-dattām  
 para-dattām vā yō hareta vasumdharm

<sup>1</sup> These signs of punctuation are superfluous

<sup>2</sup> I.e., here and below, *prathidra*.

<sup>3</sup> Read -*pārśvā*-

<sup>4</sup> Originally *sammatt* seems to have been engraved. Read *samtat*

<sup>5</sup> Read *Āgrahayana*

<sup>6</sup> The *akṣhara* *ś* of this word in the engraving is really *rara*

<sup>7</sup> Read *Chyavana*-, this correction may have been made already in the original.—Here and in some places below the rules of *samāhi* have not been observed.

<sup>8</sup> I.e., here and below, *dvī*

<sup>9</sup> I.e. *pātrāya*

<sup>10</sup> I.e. *chatvāri*

<sup>11</sup> I.e., here and below, *dīkṣita*

<sup>12</sup> Read *śatbhīr*

<sup>13</sup> Originally *ntavyam* was engraved.

<sup>14</sup> Metro of this and the next two verses *Ślōka* (Anuṣṭubh)

<sup>15</sup> Originally *-śatvāya* was engraved.

<sup>16</sup> I.e. *agnī*

<sup>17</sup> Read *Sandrdana*

<sup>18</sup> Read *-ābhya*

<sup>19</sup> Read *chatuḥkankata*

<sup>20</sup> Compare above, p. 112, note 16.



The inscription is an eulogy of the *Nāyaka* *Vāsudēva*, the minister of king *Bhānudēva* of *Kākāira*.<sup>1</sup> It states that he constructed two temples of *Mahādēva*, and another in honour of the local deity of the fields, besides a building with a gateway, and excavated two tanks. It is dated in the [Śaka] year 1242 bearing the name *Haudra*, on the 5th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of *Jyāishṭha*, corresponding to (Tuesday), the 27th May A.D. 1320. Unfortunately the week-day is not mentioned, and hence the date does not admit of verification. It is also possible that it may have been Wednesday, the 28th May, as there was a repetition of the Hindū date *pañcāmī* in that fortnight and month. The record gives the genealogy of the minister for four generations, and that of his sovereign for seven generations. It is stated that *Vāsudēva*'s ancestors were elephant-catchers (P). Though in the *Kanker State* wild elephants are not now found, they are still to be met with in the division in which it is included.<sup>2</sup> The most important part of the inscription is that which gives the genealogy of the *Kākāira* chiefs, mentioning in order the following — *Simharāj*, *Vyāghra*, *Vōpadēva*, *Kṛishṇa*, *Jaitarāja*, *Sōmachandra* and *Bhānudēva*. The dynasty is stated to be lunar, and the want of any epithet indicating paramount sovereignty postulates a subordination to another power. The epithets applied to them — *avanāśa* (l. 1), *nripa* (ll 2 and 5), *dharanidhara* (l. 6), *bhūpāla* (l. 7) and *nripati* (ll 10 and 13), are all synonyms of the word 'king'. In two copper-plate grants of *Pamparājadēva* found in the *Kanker State*<sup>3</sup> the king is styled *Sōmavamānāvayaprasūta-mahāmanḍalika* (feudatory chief of the lunar race), which supports the above statement. The present *Rāj* family of *Kanker* is doubtless connected with these kings. It belongs to the lunar race and has always claimed to be a very ancient family.<sup>4</sup> According to its own traditions it claims to have come from *Orissa*. Its original ancestor was ruling at *Jagannātha-purī*, but, on suddenly becoming a leper, in which state he could no longer occupy the throne, left the place and went out in search of a cure. At *Siḥāwā*, close to *Kanker* and now in the *Dhamtarī tahsil* of the *Rampur district*, a spring was found, by bathing in which he got rid of the loathsome disease. The local people<sup>5</sup> persuaded him to stay on at *Siḥāwā* and installed him king, and he and his descendants continued to rule there. There can be little doubt that *Siḥāwā* was once the capital of this dynasty, as its ruins and temples testify. There is still an inscription there, which is dated in the Śaka year 1114. The capital was finally removed to *Kanker*. This must have been done prior to *Bhānudēva*'s times. For in line 12 we read *Kākāvś nripa-Bhānudēva nagarē* (in *Kākāira*, the town or capital of king *Bhānudēva*), and in lines 3 to 5 *Kākāvś . . . śrī-Jaitarājō-bhavad* (there was the illustrious *Jaitarāja* in *Kākāira*). Thus *Jaitarāja* was the grandfather of *Bhānudēva*. Thus *Kākāira* has been the capital of the State for over 600 years. *Kanker* once included the rich *Dhamtarī tahsil* of the *Rampur*

<sup>1</sup> This is really the correct name of the town and State, but it is now officially written as *Kanker*. In General Cunningham's *Report* for 1873-74 it is spelt as *Kākēr*, showing that the nasal had not been till then inserted. The local people at present still call it *Kākar*.

<sup>2</sup> The Central Provinces, called *Gondwanā* by the *Musalmanās*, were so infested by these animals that even revenue was levied in elephants. Even places like *Jabalpur*, which were and are far less jungly than *Kanker*, had their quota of wild elephants. See *Jarrett's Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol II p. 196, where the following occurs — "Garha (2 miles from *Jabalpur*) is a separate State abounding with forests in which are numerous wild elephants. The cultivators pay the revenue in muburs and elephants." About a dozen years ago 40 elephants were captured in *Burākhōl*, a State now transferred to *Bengal*, and I had once an occasion of riding one of them.

<sup>3</sup> These have not yet been published and are at present in my possession.

<sup>4</sup> *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 1870, p. 236.

<sup>5</sup> It is said that the installation of the *Kanker* chief is up to this day confirmed by the *Halbās* by anointing the *Rājā* before the shrine of *Maulidēvi*. The *Halbās* are an aboriginal tribe mostly living in that State and the adjoining tracts. These *Halbās* claim to have come from *Orissa* along with the leper king and are still the chief domestics of the *Kanker* chief. They speak a dialect which is a curious mixture of *Onyā*, *Chhattisgarhī* (a form of Eastern Hindi) and *Marāṭhī*, see Dr *Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. VII p. 381.



district, but is now limited to an area of 1,429 square miles lying between 20° 6' and 20° 34' N and 80° 41' and 81° 40' E

As regards the buildings and tanks mentioned in the inscription, there can be no doubt that the two tanks are identical with the present Diwān and Śītalā talāos, between which the ruins of the temples may still be seen. It is very probable that the Śītalā talāo—a name which gained currency since a hut dedicated to the goddess Śītalā was constructed on its bank—is the Kaudika-bandha of the inscription, the unnamed tank being called Diwān talāo or 'minister's tank,' thus keeping up the memory of its original constructor, who by calling it a *taḍāga* apparently distinguished it from the *bandha*, i.e. the tank formed by merely damming up a stream. The very name Kandika-bandha indicates its secondary importance. In the first place it was merely a *bandha* (dam), and secondly it was probably constructed by the payment of *kaudikas*,<sup>1</sup> a Sanskritised form of *kaudīs* (cowries) or shells, a currency of the lowest value.

The temples and buildings have all fallen or been pulled down, and from the materials a fresh temple was constructed by the predecessor of the present chief. The old temples were seen by Mr Fisher, who was Deputy Commissioner of the Raipur district (to which Kanker was formerly attached) about 1873 A.D., and he alludes to them in his private Journal<sup>2</sup> thus:—"Saw some very curious old temples to the west of the village, one has a *bijak* giving, as I was told, some particulars of its history. They are very old and utterly neglected now." This *bijak* was seen on the gate of the Mahādēva temple about the year 1825 as recorded in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV p. 505, where its date is also stated, which is the same as that of our inscription in all details. A noteworthy point in our inscription is the mention of the construction of a *puratōbbhadra* with a *pratōli*, about which latter Dr Vogel has written an article in the *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal*, July 1906, p. 539. He has proved that *pratōli* really meant a gate-way, evidently strongly built and of considerable height. It was sometimes provided with a flight of steps<sup>3</sup>. I have not been able to find *puratōbbhadra* in the *Kōśas* to which I have access, but *sarvatōbbhadra* is described as a kind of house with 4 doors facing the 4 quarters<sup>4</sup>. From this I infer that a *puratōbbhadra* was a building with only one door in front. And the Kākara *puratōbbhadra* was actually furnished with a gate-way (*pratōli*).

<sup>1</sup> In this part of the country a good deal of transactions were done in cowries (shells, Sanskrit *kapaḍīka*), which are still used as currency by the poor people. It must not however be supposed that there were no coins here. In the copper-plates of Pampasajadēva alluded to before, the coin *tanka* of local mint finds a mention. It is still a practice in some places to get work done, chiefly digging and throwing of earth, by what is called *kaudikas*, a mode of piecework payment, 2 or 4 cowries or more according to the labour involved being paid for each basket of earth thrown out. A man with cowries stands at a place where the earth is to be thrown, and as each labourer turns up and throws down the earth, he receives immediately the fixed number of cowries each time. This mode of labour automatically punishes the idlers and saves a good deal of supervision and account-keeping where a large number of labourers are engaged simultaneously on such a work.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in Cunningham's *Archaeological Reports*, Vol. VII p. 147.

<sup>3</sup> Dr Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 43.

<sup>4</sup> The idea seems to have been taken from a *sarvatōbbhadra* village, which is described in the *Mānasāra*, a book of the highest authority on Hindū architecture, as "a town or village of quadrangular form, containing in the middle a temple dedicated to one of the triad, Brahmā, Vishnu or Mahādeva. It has 4 streets of equal length on the 4 sides at right angles, and 2 more crossing each other in the middle. Between these may be formed 3, 4, 5, or as many more streets as the extent of the village will admit, on each side, parallel to the middlemost street. Without the walls should be placed the shrines of the deities who preside over and defend the several quarters of the village, at the angular points should be erected halls, porticoes, colleges and other public edifices, and towards the quarter of Agni (south east) a watershed for the accommodation of travellers and passengers. The whole village should be secured by a quadrangular wall and a ditch around it, with 4 large and as many small gates in the middle of the sides and at the angular points. Without the northern gate should be erected a temple for the worship of Mahākālī, and the huts of Chandālas or outcasts should be a *krōśa* distant from the village. A tank or reservoir should be constructed either on the south or north side or near either of these 2 points for ablutionary and culinary purposes"—See Ram Raz's *Architecture of the Hindus*, 1834, p. 43.

## TEXT.

- 1 श्री सिद्धिः ॥ आशीहंशे<sup>1</sup> हिमांसोर्महितगुणगणस्त्रिंहरादैरसिंहस्तस्माद्दामात्र  
नीशोभव-
- 2 दनुजयशा तेजसापास्तशूर्यः<sup>2</sup> ॥ जज्ञे सोपि स्ववीर्योचितनृपतिस्तत्र<sup>3</sup> बोधे  
स चैवं कृश्या-<sup>4</sup>
- 3 खं वैरिराजव्रजदलनपर विक्रमाक्रांतविस्<sup>5</sup> ॥१॥ काकैरेवनिपालमौलिसुनु  
प्रोद्धा-
- 4 'सिंहैराङ्गुरज्योतिर्योतितपादपंकजनखज्योतिस्त्रकाशा' भुवि ॥ संयामांगणवी-  
विक्र-
- 5 मगुणः श्रीजैतराजोभवत्तस्मादङ्गुतसत्प्रतापमहसः श्रीसीमचन्द्रो नृपः ॥२॥  
तस्मात्स्त्री-<sup>6</sup>
- 6 गुणसागरादभिनवस्त्रवांगवेधोज्वलः<sup>7</sup> श्रीभानुर्धरणीधरः क्षितितले<sup>8</sup> लब्धप्रतिष्ठो-  
दयः [।\*]
- 7 जागेर्त्ति<sup>11</sup> प्रतिपक्षपक्षदलनो भूपालचूडामणिर्यस्मिन्शाश्रति<sup>12</sup> लोक एष सुकतो  
जागर्त्ति श-<sup>13</sup>
- 8 हासनः ॥३॥ देशः<sup>14</sup> पुष्यनिरीतिशास्त्रतधनस्तत्कर्मनिष्ठा हिजाः खेटापूर्-  
पराः प्रजाष्कि-<sup>15</sup>
- 9 मपरं पौराः पर धार्मिकाः [।\*] सभ्याः<sup>16</sup> शास्त्रविचारधौतमनसो धर्मात्-  
तारे कलौ राज्यं शास-
- 10 ति भानुदेवनृपतौ किं किं न लोकीत्तरं ॥४॥ वंशे नागदक्षीपजीव-  
जनस्तीतेभयना-
- 11 यक्तः श्रीदामोदरसुनुकज्वलयशा<sup>17</sup> पौ[लू]प्रजानायकः ॥ स्थातस्तत्तनय-  
स्वभावसर-
- 12 लो भोमाभिधस्तत्सुतो काकीरे नृपभानुदेवनगरे<sup>18</sup> श्रीबासुदेवोभवत् ॥५॥  
स्वभोयं [न]-
- 13 गरक्ष जातिजनतान्धप्रभानायको<sup>19</sup> विख्यातष्कि<sup>20</sup> भानुदेवनृपतेः<sup>21</sup> पादांशुना-  
राधकः [।\*]

<sup>1</sup> Read आशीहंशे हिमांशो<sup>2</sup> Read कृश्या<sup>3</sup> Read 'ज्योतिःप्रकाशी<sup>4</sup> Read लब्ध<sup>5</sup> Read सहासनः<sup>6</sup> The original has *Adira*.<sup>7</sup> Read 'नय'.<sup>8</sup> Read 'शूर्य'.<sup>9</sup> Read 'स्नानविद्वत्'.<sup>10</sup> Read तत्काशी.<sup>11</sup> Read जागर्त्ति.<sup>12</sup> Read 'शाश्रति'.<sup>13</sup> Read 'लब्ध'.<sup>14</sup> Read विख्यातः किञ्च भानुदेव.<sup>15</sup> Read बोध.<sup>16</sup> Read 'ज्योतिर्घोतित'.<sup>17</sup> Read 'वीज्वल'.<sup>18</sup> Read 'विश्वशासति<sup>19</sup> Read प्रजाः किं.<sup>20</sup> Read श्रीबासु.<sup>21</sup> Read पादांशुना.

- 14 स्यामांशसदादिवर्गपुरतः ख्यातप्रभावो 'महाजगत्पद्मविक्रमो धृतिधरः  
श्रीवा-<sup>3</sup>
- 15 सुदेवो भुवि ॥६॥ देवशीशसिभूषणस्य<sup>4</sup> कतिना देवालयं कारितं युगं  
मंडपशोभितं च
- 16 पुरतोमद्रं प्रतोत्था सह । क्षेत्रेशस्य तथा सुरालयवरं स्मीतं [त\*]-  
डागं तथा बधं कौडिकसंज्ञकं
- 17 बहुजलं दीर्घं तथा खानितं ॥७॥ 'हृष्टापूर्तपरस्याशीश्वलीत्तिशसि-  
चट्टिका<sup>5</sup> [†\*] वासुदे-
- 18 वस्य विस्फारा स्थिताचन्द्रार्कतारकं ॥८॥ संवत् १२४२ रौद्रसंवत्सरे ।  
ज्येष्ठ<sup>6</sup> वदि
- 19 पंचम्यां । 'प्रसस्तिस्मारोपिता नायकवासुदेवेन ॥ लिखिता 'सत्तिकुमा-  
रेण ॥ शिव ॥ [†\*]

## TRANSLATION.

On Success! (Verse 1) In the race of the Moon there was (born) *Simharāḥ*, a (very) lion to enemies, (and) praised as possessing numerous virtues. From him was born king *Vyāghra*, of unequalled fame, who outshone the sun by his splendour. He also begot an ornament of kings befitting his own manliness *Vopadēva*; and the latter, likewise, (had a son) named *Kṛ[ishna]*, who was given to destroying crowds of hostile kings, (and) who dominated the universe by (his) valour.

(V 2) (Then) there was in *Kākaira* the illustrious *Jaitarāja*, the lustre of the nails of whose lotus-feet was rendered (still more) brilliant by the light emanating from the shining diamonds in the diadems on the heads of kings (prostrating themselves before him) to the ground, (and) who had the merit of conquering heroes on the battle-field. From him who owned the glory of wonderful great valour (was born) the illustrious king *Sōmachandra*.

(V 3) From him, the glorious ocean of virtues, (was born) a young king the illustrious *Bhānu*, who was brilliant by (his) whole body and apparel, who acquired honour and prosperity, the destroyer of the party of opponents, a crest-jewel of kings (He) is (now) protecting the earth. While he is ruling, the people are (all) virtuous (and) well-intentioned.

(V 4) The country is replete with permanent wealth and virtue and is devoid of (all) calamities, the twice-born are devoted to good actions, the subjects are intent on performing sacrifices and doing charitable acts. What more? The citizens are very virtuous (and) refined, (and) their minds are purified by the study of the *Śāstras*. What wonder does not (happen) in (these) iron age, while king *Bhānudeva*, the incarnation of virtue, is ruling the kingdom?

(V 5.) In a family which abounded in men subsisting on (catching?) groups of elephants there was the *Nāyaka Pō[ṭu]*, of brilliant fame, a leader of men, the son of the illustrious *Dāmōdara*. His famous, straightforward son was called *Bhīma*. His son was the illustrious *Vāsudeva*, (who resided) in *Kākaira*, the town of king *Bhānudeva*.

<sup>1</sup> Read महाशक्ति°.<sup>2</sup> Read श्रीवा°.<sup>3</sup> Read शक्ति°.<sup>4</sup> Read हृष्टा°.<sup>5</sup> °स्वासील° and °शक्ति°.<sup>6</sup> Read शक्ति°.<sup>6</sup> Read ज्येष्ठ°.<sup>7</sup> Read प्रशक्ति°.

(V 6) This illustrious **Vāsudēva**, the pillar of the city, the chief gem (*śhming*) with priceless splendour amongst (*his*) caste fellows, famous, devoted to the lotus-feet of king **Bhānudēva**, known to be very valorous before the array of knights on the battle-field, great, of wonderful power (*and*) patience, is (*now*) administering the country.

(V 7) (*This*) clever (*minister*) caused to be built two temples of the god whose ornament is the moon (*viz* Mahādēva), together with halls, a *puratōbhadrā* with a gate-way, and an excellent temple (*dedicated*) to the guardian deity of the fields. Moreover (*he*) caused to be dug a large pond (*taḍāga*) and a long tank (*bandha*) called **Kaudika**, which contained a great quantity of water.

(V 8) The moon-light of the true fame of **Vāsudēva**, devoted to sacrifices and charitable works, has expanded (*and*) become established so long as the moon, the sun and the stars endure.

(Line 18.) **Samvat 1242**, in the **Raudra** year, on the 5th (*tiṭha*) of the dark (*fortnight*) of **Jyāishtha**, (this) *prastā* was erected by the *Nāyaka* **Vāsudēva**. Written by Śākhi kumāra. Hail!

### POSTSCRIPT.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C I E, GÖTTINGEN

Prof Hultzsch has asked me to express an opinion on the date of the stone inscription published above, of which he has sent me an impression. He also, at the instance of Mr Hra Lal, has requested me to give my readings of, and, if possible, to verify, the dates of two copper-plate inscriptions of the **Kākairā (Kanker)** chief Pamparājadēva, which are about to be published by Mr Hra Lal, and of which impressions have been forwarded by him.

The date of the stone inscription clearly is, as given by Mr Hra Lal *Samvat 1242 Raudra samvatsarē | Jyēshṭha-vadī pañchamyaṁ* |. It does not admit of exact verification, and the only question concerning it is, to which era the year 1242 should be referred so that the date may fall in a *Raudra-samvatsara*. A priori the expression *samvat 1242* would be taken here to denote the **Vikrama** year 1242; but there is no **Vikrama** year 1242 that could be called a **Raudra** year. Nearest to V 1242, **Raudra**, by the southern system, would be the expired *Chaitra* **Vikrama** year 1257, and by the northern mean-sign system it would indicate the time from the 13th November A.D. 1195 to the 8th November A.D. 1196, in the expired *Chaitra* or *Kārttikā* **Vikrama** years 1252 and 1253. If the year of the date were 1252 instead of 1242, it might be taken to be the expired *Kārttikā* **Vikrama** year 1252, in which case the 5th of the dark half of **Jyāishtha** would undoubtedly fall in a **Raudra** year, but there is nothing to prove that the writer erroneously put 1242 instead of 1252.

Assuming, then, the figures for the year and the Jupiter's year to have been correctly given, it would only remain to take the expression *samvat 1242*, as has been done by Mr Hra Lal, to denote the expired **Śaka** year 1242, which by the southern system was a **Raudra** year. But here we are at once met by a difficulty. In my paper on the dates of the **Śaka** era in inscriptions I have shown<sup>1</sup> that among 400 **Śaka** dates of inscriptions only five do not contain the word **Śaka** or **Śāka**, and that of even these five dates three are spurious or suspicious, while the two others are in verse. There is therefore every reason to assume that the writer of the inscription would have denoted the **Śaka** year 1242 by some such expression as *Śakē* 1242, not by *samvat* 1242. And there might be the further objection that in the Central Provinces, where the date comes from, the system of Jupiter's years ordinarily followed seems to have been the northern system, not the southern system by which alone the **Śaka** year 1242 can be described as a **Pandra** year.

<sup>1</sup> See *Ind. Ant.* Vol XXVI p 149.

As the date cannot be verified, it would be useless to indulge in further speculations<sup>1</sup>. To the wording of it seems certainly to be suspicious. And I can only say that, assuming the figures for the year to be correct and the date to be really a Śaka date, it would correspond to the *pārnāmānta* Jyāishtha, to Monday, the 28th April A D 1320, and for the *amānta* Jyāishtha, as stated by Mr Hua Lal, to Tuesday, the 27th, or Wednesday, the 28th May,<sup>2</sup> A D 1320.

Of the two copper-plate inscriptions of Pamparāja, one is clearly dated as follows —

[L 7] . . . . . Śvara-

[L 8] samvatsarē Kārtika-māsē Chitrā-rikshē Ravi-dinē suryōparāgē

[L 10] . . . . . samvat 966 .

ie "in the Śvara year, at an eclipse of the sun on a Sunday, in the *nakshatra* Chitrā in the month Kārttika, . . . in the year 966"

I have no doubt that the year 966 of this date must be referred to the Kalachuri era.

In *Festgruss an Roit*, p 53 ff, I have tried to prove from the 12 dates between the years 958 and 968, which hitherto have been available, that the Kalachuri (Chēdi) era commenced on the 5th September A D 248, that the years were *Asvini* years and the months *pārnāmānta* months, and that therefore, to convert an expired Kalachuri year into an expired year of the Kalyuga, we must add 3349 when the date falls in the bright half of Śvina or in any month from Kārttika to Phālguna, and 3350 in all other cases. Applying this here, we find that date, for the *pārnāmānta* Kārttika of the expired Kalachuri year 966 = Kalyuga expired 66 + 3349 = 4315, regularly corresponds to Sunday, the 5th October A D 1214, when the 15th of the dark half ended 3 h 33 m, and when the *nakshatra* was Chitrā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 2 h 38 m, after mean sunrise. On the same day there was a total eclipse of the sun, the greatest phase of which at Kanker (in about Long 82° and Lat 0°) was four digits<sup>3</sup>.

It will, I think, be generally admitted that Sunday, the 5th October A D 1214, undoubtedly is the proper equivalent of our date, but, in connection with this date, the writer apparently has wrongly quoted the year Śvara instead of the immediately following year Bahudhānya. By the northern mean-sign system Śvara lasted from the 2nd September A D 1212 to the 29th August A D 1213. By the northern lun-solar system therefore Śvara was the proper name of Kalyuga 4314 expired, and not of the year of our date, viz Kalyuga 4315 expired, which according to the northern lun-solar system, as already intimated, would have received the name Bahudhānya. For the present, I can ascribe the error only to the writer's carelessness, but the error is of such a nature that it confirms rather than invalidates our general result<sup>4</sup>.

The date of the other copper plate of Pamparāja I read thus —

[L 9] . . . . . | samvata | 965 Bhādiapadē vadī 1[0]

[L 10] Mriga-rikshē Sō[ma]-dinē |

Here everything is perfectly clear and certain in the impression excepting the number of the year and the second *akshara* of the name of the weekday. As regards the latter, it appears to

<sup>1</sup> If the year were 1244 (instead of 1242), it might be taken to be a Kalachuri year, in which case the date would have fallen in a Raudra year. I do not mean to suggest hereby that the inscription could be as early as the period (A D 1492-93).

<sup>2</sup> The 5th *tiṭhī* commenced 1 h 4 m before mean sunrise of the Tuesday and ended 0 h 30 m after sunrise of the Wednesday.

<sup>3</sup> Between A D 1201 and 1250 this is the only solar eclipse in the month Kārttika that could have been visible at Kanker.

<sup>4</sup> Mr Hua Lal quite lately has sent me for calculation a date from the Central Provinces, which undoubtedly corresponds to Wednesday, the 5th October A D 1005. According to the original date, this day should fall in the year Parabhava, but by the northern lun-solar system it would fall in the year Pralaya which follows immediately upon Parabhava, and by the southern system in the year Viśvavasu which immediately precedes Parabhava.

me evident that the engraver after the *akshara sô* in the first instance by mistake engraved the letter *d* (of *dinê*), and that he then altered this *d* to *ma*. Under any circumstances there could be no doubt that the intended weekday is *Sôma-dina* or 'Monday'. Nor can there be any real doubt about the number of the *tithi*. The date clearly gives us the dark half of the month Bhâdrapada and during it the *nakshatra* Mriga (Mrigaśirsha). Now in the dark half the *nakshatra* will ordinarily be Mriga about the 8th *tithi* of the *amânta* and the 10th *tithi* of the *pûrnamânta* Bhâdrapada, and a careful examination of the impression shows that the word *vadi* is actually followed by 10, the 0 of which is engraved quite on the margin of the plate. I therefore take it that the date gives us for calculation "the year 965, the 10th *tithi* of the dark half of (the *pûrnamânta*) Bhâdrapada, with the *nakshatra* Mriga and a Monday." And treating the year again as a Kalachuri year, I find the following equivalents. —

For the expired Kalachuri year 965 = Kalyuga expired 965 + 3350 = 4315 Saturday, the 2nd August A.D. 1214, when the 10th *tithi* of the dark half of the *pûrnamânta* Bhâdrapada ended 18 h 25 m, and the *nakshatra* was Mriga, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 21 h 40 m, and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 20 h 21 m, after mean sunrise

For the current Kalachuri year 965 = Kalyuga 4315 current Monday, the 12th August A.D. 1213, when the 10th *tithi* of the dark half of the *pûrnamânta* Bhâdrapada commenced 7 h, and when the *nakshatra* was Mriga, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 15 h 46 m, and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 14 h 27 m, after mean sunrise

Of the two, I do not hesitate to accept Monday, the 12th August A.D. 1213, as the true equivalent of our date. That the *tithi* of the date was a current *tithi* can cause no difficulty. And the fact that Kalachuri years, occasionally and exceptionally, are quoted as current years is proved by another date, in an inscription of which Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar some time ago has been good enough to send me a photograph. The inscription referred to is one at Secorinârâyan which the late Sir A. Cunningham had stated to be dated—

*Kalachuri-samvatsarê || 898 || Âsvina-sudi 2 Sôma-dinê*

According to the photograph the date really is—

*Kalachuri-samvatsarê || 898 || Âsvina-sudi 7<sup>1</sup> Sôma-dinê*, and with this reading the date regularly corresponds, for the current Kalachuri year 898, to Monday, the 24th September A.D. 1145, when the 7th *tithi* of the bright half of Âsvina ended 20 h 57 m after mean sunrise

#### NO. 15.—NOTE ON THE TWO COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF MAHENDRAPALA OF KANAUJ.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, CIE, GÖTTINGEN

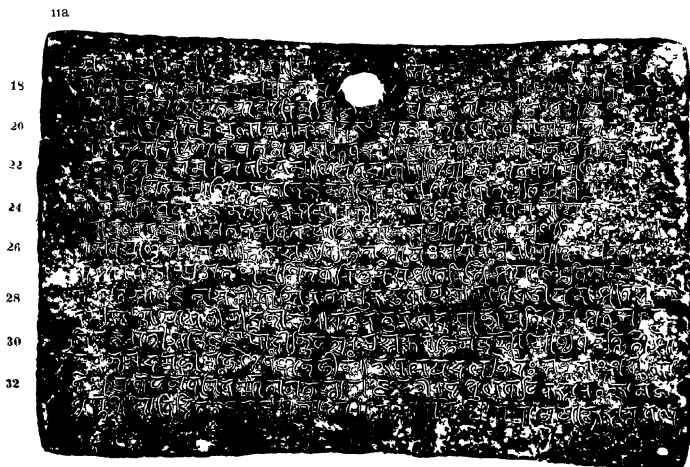
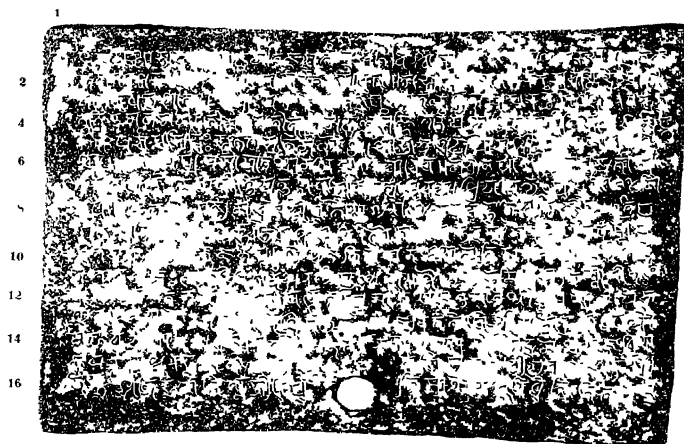
While I was reading the final proof of my paper on the two copper-plate inscriptions of the time of Mahêndrapâla of Kanauj, published above p. 1 ff., I received from Prof. Hultsch excellent ink-impressions of the two inscriptions which had been supplied to him by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya. The impressions enabled me to make one or two slight corrections in my text, but it was impossible to insert in my article Mr. Venkayya's description of the original plates, and to get ready in time the collotype facsimile of the second of the two inscriptions, the plates of Avanivarman II Yôga, which Prof. Hultsch had at once ordered to be prepared and which is now published herewith.

On the plates A., those of Balavarman, Mr. Venkayya writes as follows —

"The two plates are about 13" broad and about 9½" high, somewhat less in the middle. They are strung on an almost circular ring, 2½" in diameter. The ends of the ring are secured below

<sup>1</sup> So the *tithi* was already given, correctly, in *As. Res.* Vol. XV p. 505

Una plates of Avanivarman II Yoga. — [Vikrama-]Samvat 956



Scale 45

E Hultzsch

Collotype by Gebr Plettner, Halle Saale

From ink-impressions supplied by Rai Bahadur V Venkayya





a circular seal, which is slightly damaged and measures nearly  $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. It is about  $\frac{1}{8}$ " thick, and bears in relief a squatting figure, perhaps representing a god, the right hand of which seems to be raised, as if to indicate the *abhaya-hasta*. . . . . Either plate near the top has a ring-hole which is about  $\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter."

On the plates B, those of Avanivai man II Yōga, Mr Venkayya writes —

"The three plates are between  $12\frac{1}{2}$ " and  $12\frac{1}{4}$ " broad and between  $8\frac{1}{2}$ " and 9" high. They are strung on an oval ring which measures  $2\frac{1}{2}$ " by  $2\frac{1}{4}$ ". The ends of the ring are secured below a circular seal, which is slightly mutilated and measures nearly 2" in diameter. The seal bears in relief a squatting figure, similar to the one on the seal of the other plates. Each plate contains a ring-hole which is about  $\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter."

On the excellent facsimile published herewith I have to say only a few words. It will show that the inscription in some places is not very easy to read. As regards individual signs I would merely draw attention to the forms of the initial *v* and *ḍ*, *eg* in *ihuv*, l. 33, and *ḍam* =, l. 45, to the sign for *ry*, *e g* in *avayasya*, l. 11, to the final *t*, *eg* in *=bhāt*, l. 32, and to the numeral figures, especially that for '9', in line 68.

In my text of the inscription the word *śi-* has by an oversight been omitted before *Ta[rū]nd*, above, p. 10, l. 57.

#### No 16—VANDRAM PLATES OF AMMARAJA II

By PROFESSOR E. HULTSCH, PH.D., HALLE (SAALE)

These plates were found in the backyard of Buddharaju Venkataraju of Vandram, a village in the Bhimavaram taluka of the Kistna district, and were forwarded by the Head Assistant Collector of Narsapur through the Collector of Kistna to Rai Bahadur Venkayya, who sent me two sets of ink-impressions of them, with the following remarks —

"These are five copper-plates, measuring  $7\frac{1}{4}$ " in length and  $3\frac{3}{8}$ " in height. They have high rims more than  $\frac{1}{8}$ " thick. The ring on which the plates are strung was cut by me for the first time and soldered subsequently. It is oval, measures  $3\frac{3}{8}$ " by  $3\frac{1}{8}$ ", and is nearly  $\frac{1}{8}$ " thick. The ends of the ring are secured in an expanded eight-petalled lotus at the bottom of a circular seal, which measures  $2\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter. The seal is much damaged, but bears, in relief on a countersunk surface, the legend *Śrī-Tribhuvānāmkṣa*, with a boar facing the proper left over it and a floral device below. The other symbols cut in the seal are not quite distinct. Traces of the sun over the boar, of the crescent of the moon behind his tail, and of an elephant goad in front of him are visible."

The first and last plates bear writing only on one side, and the three remaining plates on both sides. The plates are in a bad state of preservation. Of plate *a* a small portion is missing. Plate *iv b* is a palimpsest, and part of its writing is effaced. The two first lines of plate *iv b* and some letters of the two last lines of plate *iv a* are damaged by corrosion. Of plate *iv b* the two first lines and part of the third are in a still worse condition. On the last plate (*v*) some letters are more or less doubtful.

After the MS. of this article had gone to the press, I received from Mr Venkayya the original copper-plates, with the help of which I was able to improve my readings of several indistinct words.

The alphabet is ancient Telugu of the usual type. I would only draw attention to the peculiar form of the secondary *ḍ* in *-mūrttār*, l. 18, and *samāhāya*, l. 36 f. The language is Sanskrit, but the four first lines of the last plate contain some Telugu words. The Sanskrit portion consists of both prose and verses.

The inscription opens with the genealogy of Ammarāja (II) of the (Eastern) Chālukya (I 5) dynasty ll 1-17 are practically identical with ll 1-23 of the Elavaru grant of the same king<sup>1</sup> But Vikramāditya (I) receives the title *Yuvarāja* (I 13), and the name *Kollabaganda* is twice (ll 14 and 17) spelt with *b*, not with *bh*

Ammarāja II is then praised in seven verses, all of which occur in his Padaṅkalūru grant,<sup>2</sup> where they are however differently arranged<sup>3</sup> The two verses (5 and 6) recording the date of his coronation are also found in the Mahyapūṇḍi grant<sup>4</sup> It is a curious fact that the major portion of plate u b (consisting of verses 3-5 and nearly the whole of verse 6) of the Vandram plates is engraved over another grant of Ammarāja II, which seems to have been partially effaced by the writer, but of which distinct traces are still visible<sup>5</sup> I subjoin a transcript of those lines of the original inscription on plate u, b which can still be made out

- 20 . . . . . स समस्तभुवनत्रयश्रीविजयादित्यम्-  
 21 हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरः परममहारकः परमब्रह्मण्यो मातापितृपादानुधा-  
 22 यी वेंगीसहस्रराष्ट्रकूटप्रमुखान् कुटुंबिनस्समाह्वयेयमाज्ञा-  
 23 पयति [I\*] विदितम् . . . . . स वंशे वशिष्ठगोत्रो विद्वान् आ-

The poetical description of Amma's reign is followed by a prose passage (ll 30-37) which is worded in nearly the same manner as ll 30-36 of the Elavaru grant<sup>6</sup> Ammarāja II, who is here styled '*Samastabhuvanāśraya*, the glorious *Vijayāditya* (VI) *Mahārājādhanāja-Paramāśraya Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, the very pious one, who meditates at the feet of (his) mother and father, thus commands, having called (them) together, the ryots, headed by the *Rāshṭrakūṭas*, inhabiting the twelve villages (the chief one of which is) Prāṇḍoru in the Pāvunavāra district (*vishaya*)'

So far the text can be easily transcribed and understood But the remainder of the inscription cannot be deciphered in full, as a number of words in the damaged portions are doubtful or quite illegible Besides, the author of the long metrical passage describing the donee (ll 37-61) knew so little Sanskrit, or got his draft copied in such an imperfect way, that I am unable to propose satisfactory corrections even of some of the well-preserved portions of it The whole of this passage seems to be in verse Making allowance for the damaged and lost lines I number the verses as 8-23 Verse 8 praises the family (*gōtra*) named *Mitrayu*. A descendant of it was *Tūrkkaya-Peddiya*<sup>7</sup> (v 9), who lived in the large village *Rāviparru* (v 10), his son *Vijayāditya* (v 11) and his grandson *Tūrkkaya Yajvan* (v 12) The last had by *Kandamāmbā* a son named *Kuppanayya* (v 14), who seems to have enjoyed the titles of minister (*amātya*, v. 15) and vassal (*śimanta*, v 16) He had the surname *Vipāṇārā[yana]* (v 21) and founded a shrine of Śiva at *Drākshārāma*<sup>8</sup>

"To this *Kuppan[ā]mātya*, who is devoted to Me, the village named *Tāṇḍeru* has been given by Us, having made (it) an *Agrahāra*, to whom (the village) named *[Beti]pūṇḍi* (in the neighbourhood) of *Prāṇḍoru* in your district<sup>10</sup> (*vishaya*), together with the share of gold,

<sup>1</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol. XII p 91 ff

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid* Vol VII p 15 ff

<sup>3</sup> The verses of the Padaṅkalūru grant (ll 23-37) correspond to the following verses of the Vandram plates 1, 4, 3, 5, 6, 7, 2, and an additional verse is inserted between 1 and 4

<sup>4</sup> Above, p 47 ff

<sup>5</sup> Both sides of plate v. also exhibit traces of obliterated writing A grant of Bhīma I is a similar palimpsest, see Prof Kielhorn's remarks, above, Vol V p 127

<sup>6</sup> In the latter the epithet *mātipitṛpāddānuḍhyatah* (l. 35) is however missing

<sup>7</sup> With *Tūrkkaya* compare the names *Tūrkkaserman* (above, Vol V p. 120, note 14) and *Tūrkkama* (*Ind Ant* Vol XIII p 214, text l 49)

<sup>8</sup> *Drākshārdm kṛta-Śiva-nayab;* v. 22 (l 58)

<sup>9</sup> *Pāṇḍurū* is the Telugu genitive of *Prāṇḍoru* (l. 35)

<sup>10</sup> *I.e.* in the Pāvunavāra *vishaya* of l 35.

as given with exemption from all taxes, having made (it) an *Agrahāra*." I subjoin my reading of this passage, which is so peculiarly worded, that it remains doubtful whether the present grant refers to Tānderu or to Bēripūndi or to both, and whether only the second or both of them belonged to the Pāṇavara-vishaya.

61 . . . . . तस्मै कुप्यन[<sup>1\*</sup>]म[<sup>1</sup>]त्या[<sup>1</sup>य]

62 मङ्गत्ताय<sup>1</sup> तान्<sup>2</sup>नासजासयज्ञारिखत्योन्नाभिदत्त<sup>3</sup> । य[<sup>1</sup>]स्य भव[<sup>1</sup>]द्वि-

63 षये प्रान्दो<sup>4</sup>ति [विटि]पुण्डिनास्य सन[<sup>1</sup>]टकभागसयज्ञा[री\*]कृत्य सर्व[<sup>1</sup>]कर-

64 पर<sup>5</sup> दत्त इति विदितस्तु व[<sup>1</sup>] ॥ अस्य (स) ग्रामस्यावधय[<sup>1\*</sup>] ॥ . . . .

Of the subsequent description of the boundaries of the village granted (ll 64-67) I am unable to furnish a satisfactory manuscript. The remainder of the inscription (ll 67-72) is nearly identical with ll 57-60 of the Elavaru grant<sup>1</sup>. The last line (72) seems to read —

य(1) ते कृमिः ॥ [२५<sup>1</sup>] आङ्गणिः<sup>2</sup> कटकराजः [1\*] महा[का]भटकर[<sup>1\*</sup>]य [1\*]  
जीन्ताचार्येण लिखितं ॥

Accordingly the *Āṅṅapṭe* was the *Katukarāja*<sup>3</sup> the poet<sup>7</sup> Mahā[kā<sup>2</sup>]bhatta, and the writer *antācharya*<sup>8</sup>.

Of the localities mentioned in this inscription, Drākshārāma is well-known,<sup>9</sup> and the *vīṇavāra vishaya* is probably the same as *Pāṇavara-vishaya* in a grant of Bhīma II.<sup>10</sup> The villages Prāndoru, Bēripūndi, Tānderu and Rāvipattin I am unable to identify.

#### FIRST HALF OF THE TEXT 11

##### First Plate

1 ॐ खस्ति श्रीमतां सकलधुवनसख्यमानमानव्यमगोत्राणां ज्ञा-

2 रीतिपुत्राणां कौशिकीवरप्रसादलब्धराज्यानां मातृगणपरिपालीतानां<sup>12</sup> स्वा-

3 मिमहासेनपादानुध्यायीनां<sup>13</sup> भगवन्नारायणप्रसादसमासादित-

4 वरवराहलाञ्जनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृतारतिमण्डलानाम-

5 <sup>14</sup>श्रमेधावभूतज्ञानपवित्रीकृतवपुष्पां चालुक्वानां कुलम-

6 लकरिणीः सत्य[<sup>1\*</sup>]श्रयवत्समेन्द्र[स्य\*] भ्राता कुजविष्णुवर्धनोष्टाद-

7 श वर्ष[<sup>1</sup>]णि वेगिदेशमपालयत् ॥ तत्पुत्री जयसिंहस्त्रयस्त्रिशतं । त-

8 दनुजेन्द्रा[जनन्दनो] विष्णुवर्धनो नव । तस्मून्मर्गियुवराजः पञ्चवि-<sup>15</sup>

9 शति । तत्पुत्री जयसिंहस्त्रयोदश । तदवरजः कोकिलिः षष्मासन् ॥

<sup>1</sup> Read सङ्गत्ताय

<sup>2</sup> Read ॐ नारीकृत्याम्नाभिदत्त

<sup>3</sup> Read परिहारिष

<sup>4</sup> Instead of *tath-ōktam Vyāsēna*, <sup>1</sup> 69 reads *tatha ch-ōktam Vyasa-bhatti[ā\*] akēna(na)*

<sup>5</sup> Read कटक

<sup>6</sup> See above, p 49 f

<sup>7</sup> I.e. the author of the verses describing the donee. In other grants of Ammarāja II Pōtanabhatta and dhavabhatta are mentioned as 'poets'

<sup>8</sup> The same person was the writer of the Elavaru and Padmakalūru grants

<sup>9</sup> See e.g. above, Vol IV p 37, note 3

<sup>10</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol. XIII p 213

<sup>11</sup> From two sets of ink impressions and the original copper plates

<sup>12</sup> Read ॐ पालितानां,

ॐ ध्यायिनां

<sup>13</sup> Read ॐ सुवर्ण.

<sup>14</sup> The *anuvāda* stands at the beginning of the next line

## Second Plate, First Side.

- 10 तस्य ज्येष्ठो भ्राता विष्णुवर्धनस्तमुच्चाय सप्तत्रिंशत् । तत्पुत्रो विजया-  
दित्यभट्टार-
- 11 कोष्ठादश । तत्पुत्रो विष्णुवर्धनः षट्त्रिंशत् । तत्पुत्रो विजयादित्यनरेन्द्र-  
सृगराज-
- 12 षाष्टाचत्वारिंशत् । तत्पुत्रः कलिविष्णुवर्धनोऽष्टादशवर्ष । तत्पुत्रो गुणगां-  
कविजया-
- 13 दित्यश्चतुश्चत्वारिंशत् । तदनुजयुवराजविक्रमादित्यभूतः स्रुत्वा-  
14 'क्यभिमम्पालस्त्रिंशत् । तत्पुत्रः कोल्लविगण्डविजयादित्यः षण्मासान् ।  
तत्पुत्र-
- 15 म्भराजः सप्त वर्षाणि<sup>१</sup> । तत्पुत्रविजयादित्यं बालसुच्चाय तालपी मासमेकं [1\*]  
16 त जित्वा चालुक्यभीमतनयो विक्रमादित्य एकादश मासान् । ततस्ता-  
लपराजस्य सुतो युव-
- 17 \* मल्लः सप्त वर्षाणि । तं जित्वा कोल्लविगण्डविजयादित्यसुतो भीमराजो  
द्वादश वर्षाणि । तस्य म-
- 18 हे[त्र्य]रमूर्तेरमासमानाकृतेः कुमारामः [1\*] लोकमहादेव्याः खलु यक्षम-  
भवदम्भराज-

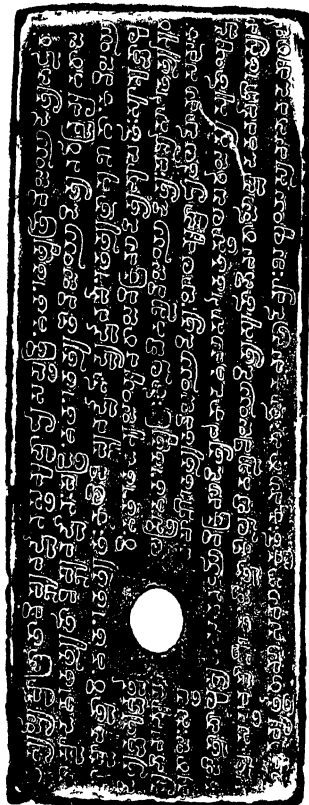
## Second Plate, Second Side

- 19 ख्यः ॥ [१\*] यो रूपेण मनोजं विभवेन महिन्द्रमहिम्नकरसुहृदहसा  
[1\*] हरमरिपुरद-
- 20 हनेन न्यकुर्वन्(1)भाति विदितदिग्वनिकर्त्तिः<sup>२</sup> ॥ [२\*] कविशयककल्पतव-  
द्विजसुनि-<sup>३</sup>
- 21 दीनाश्वत्थजन्म(न)रभिः । याचकजन्मपित्तामणिरवनिश्चम-<sup>४</sup>
- 22 निर्महोयमहसा युमणि[1\*] ॥ [३\*] विदितधराधिपविजयो हि-
- 23 विधायुधकोविदो [विष्णोनारिक्कुलः] । करितुरगागमकुम्भ-
- 24 लो हरचर . . . . . मधुपः<sup>५</sup> श्रीमान् ॥ [४\*] गिरिर-
- 25 खवसुसंख्यावे<sup>६</sup> सक[च] . . . . . [श्री]र्वमासिक्कुल [1\*] कल्प-  
चयो-
- 26 दशदिने भृगुवारे मैत्रनक्ष[त्रे] ॥ [५\*] धनुषि रवी चन्द्रो<sup>७</sup> द्वाद-
- 27 [श]र्ववे तु [जन्मनः] पष्ट । योधादुदयगिरिन्द्रो<sup>८</sup> कविर्हि कौका-

<sup>१</sup> Read 'क्यभीम'.<sup>२</sup> Read वर्षाणि.<sup>३</sup> Read 'कोरि' . From here to the end (1 27) this side of the plate is a palimpsest.<sup>४</sup> Read 'तवर्जि'.<sup>५</sup> Read 'रवनीयमभि'.<sup>६</sup> Read 'हरचर'.<sup>७</sup> Read 'व्यान्दि' शकसमये भार्गवीयः<sup>८</sup>.<sup>८</sup> Read 'व्यान्दि' शकसमये भार्गवीयः.



11a



E. Hultsch

Scale 8

Colotype by Gehr. Plattner, H. Hille-Saale

20  
22  
24  
26

28  
30  
32  
34  
36

## Third Plate, First Side

- 28 तुरागाय ॥ [६\*] यस्मिन्<sup>1</sup> सासति नृपतौ परिपक्वानिकसस्यसं-<sup>2</sup>  
 29 पच्छालिः । <sup>3</sup>सततपयोधेनुरभिर्णिरीतीतिरपरग्निरस्तचोरी  
 30 देशः ॥ [७\*] स सकलरिपुनृपतिमकुटतटघटितमणिगण-  
 31 मधुकरनिकरपरिचुवितचरणसरसिरुहयुग-  
 32 लोयु[ग\*]लोचनपदकमलविलसद्विरफायमानो<sup>4</sup> मा-  
 33 नोन्नतोद्धतः<sup>5</sup> समस्तलोकः समस्तभुवनाश्रयश्रीविज-  
 34 यादित्वमहाराजाधिराजप[र\*]मेश्वरः परमभट्टारकः परमत्र-  
 35 ङ्गः मातापितृपादानुध्यातः पावनवारविषये प्राप्नोति-  
 36 [द्वाद]शग्रामनिवासिनो राष्ट्रकूटप्रमुखान्कुर्विनस्तमाज्ञ-

## Third Plate, Second Side

- 37 येत्यमाज्ञापयति ॥ . . . . .

## No. 17.—THE INSCRIPTIONS ON THE MATHURA LION-CAPITAL.

By F W THOMAS, M.A., LONDON

The Mathurā lion-capital was discovered by the late Dr Bhagvanlal Indrap under circumstances detailed in his article on *The Northern Kshatrapas* edited and published by Professor E J Rapson in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, N. S., Vol XXVI 1894, pp. 541-554, see in particular pp 542-4. It was found embedded in the steps of an altar voted to Sitalā on a site belonging to some low-caste Hindūs at Mathurā, but not more definitely located. Having been with difficulty secured by Dr Bhagvanlal, the capital was conveyed to Bombay, subsequently, on his death, it was despatched to England, and it can now be seen in the Buddhist Room at the British Museum.

The inscriptions incised on the capital were transcribed and translated by the discoverer himself, but owing to his death the task of publishing the MS was entrusted by the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society to the late Professor Bühler, who was able to compare the readings with the stone itself and with paper impressions presented to him in 1889 by Dr James Burgess. At the commencement of the published account, which appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, N. S., Vol XXVI 1894, pp 525-540, Prof Bühler observes that the collation has made necessary some alterations in the transcript and in the translation, among which the more important ones have been pointed out in the notes. But I may confidently assert that all really essential points have been fully settled and explained by Dr Bhagvanlal, whose great acumen and scholarship are as conspicuous in his interpretation of these inscriptions as in his other epigraphic publications. For convenience's sake I have prefixed an introduction, summarising the chief results deducible from the inscriptions."

<sup>1</sup> Read यस्मिन्हासति

<sup>2</sup> The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>3</sup> Read °रणीर्णिरीति°

<sup>4</sup> Read °माणी.

<sup>5</sup> The *Elavaru* grant (I 32 f) supplies the correct reading मानीश्री नतीद्धतसमस्तलोक.

While endorsing in the main these statements of so great an authority, from all points of view, as the late Prof. Bühler I have endeavoured, in re-editing the inscriptions with Plates, which before were wanting, to give an unbiased reading based upon new impressions supplied by the kindness of the Department in the Museum (at the instance of Dr. J. F. Fleet, who originated the suggestion of this article), and upon frequent inspections of the stone itself. The present versions will therefore be found to differ in some particulars from those of Dr. Bhagvanlal and Prof. Bühler.

The shape and dimensions of the capital will be best realized from the accompanying Plates, but some particulars demand a verbal description. In the first place, the circular hole in the upper square surface, corresponding to a similar hole in the under surface, proves that the capital was surmounted by a shaft or some other continuation. Prof. Bühler remarks that various representations on slabs from the Amarāvati Stūpa prove this shaft to have supported a *Dharmachakra*, referring to the Archaeological Survey Plates published by Dr. Burgess (Plate xxxviii figs 1 and 6, and Plate xl figs 3 and 4). But it has already been pointed out by me in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1906, pp. 216 and 464, that the use of lion-capitals of actual pillars was a common feature in Indian architecture, derived from Persian models. Examples may be seen in the Archaeological Survey publications relating to Bharhut (Cunningham, Plates vi, viii, x), Sāñchi (Maisey, Plates xix, xxiii), Mathurā (V. A. Smith, Plates xlm-xlvi and xlix-l), Amarāvati (Burgess p. 93, Plates xlix lvi, lv, lv and Burgess, 1882, Plate xiv), and elsewhere. The presumption, therefore, is that the lion-capital formed the crown of a real pillar.

Secondly, the state of the stone has been somewhat impaired by time and accident. In some cases, e.g. in the loss of the horn-like projections of the two heads, this has involved no curtailment of the text. The chippings at the two bottom corners have been, no doubt, equally harmless. But the front, which would be the most exposed portion of the stone, has in part so peeled away as to render some characters illegible. In the second line of the large inscription carved on the body of the lion to the spectator's left (J 1 1) the large *ria* is followed by traces of two or three *aksharas* of equal size leading to a partly visible *sa* ('), after which intervene three doubtful characters before we come to firm ground again in *puli*.<sup>1</sup>

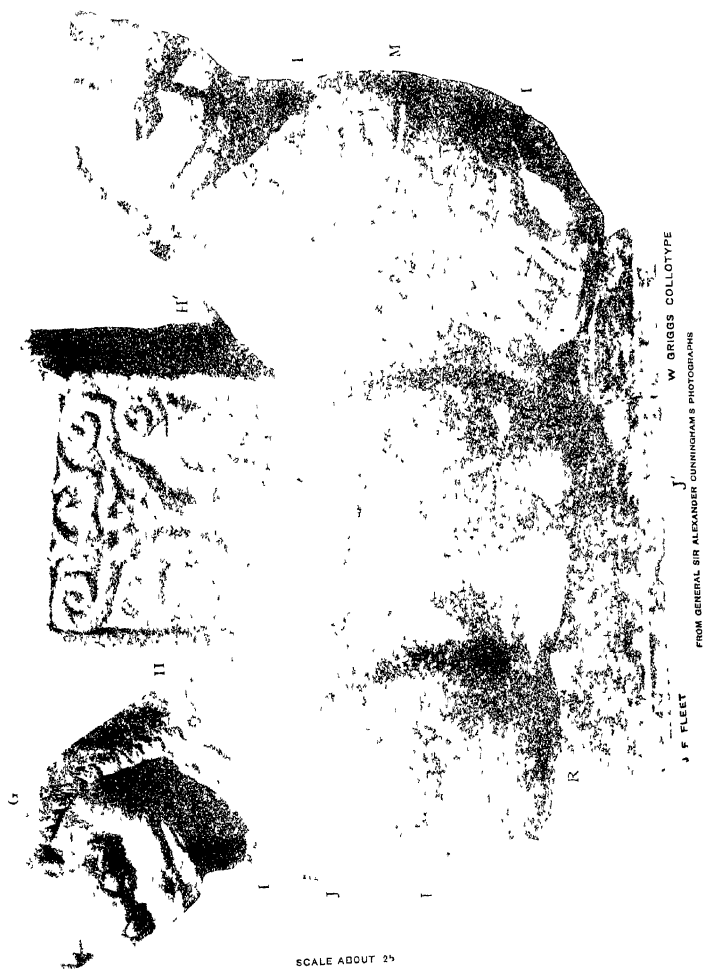
In size the *aksharas* vary considerably. We may distinguish five groups: (1) the inscriptions B E F I J M on the front and back of the stone (among which I perhaps exceed, the others slightly in size), having characters about 2-2½ in in height; (2) G N P E'', on the back and under surface of the stone, circa 2-1½ in; (3) A (on the unpolished top and back of the stone), K L (on the breast of the left lion), O Q R (underneath), J' (front, on the leg of the left lion), circa 1½ in; (4) C D E' (which may be estimated from E', slightly the largest, visible among the characters of E), circa 1 in; (5) H H', slightly incised in small characters, of about ¾ in, at the places indicated on the front. In the same inscription the *aksharas* generally maintain a fair average size, but sometimes they become a little cramped by limitations of space. It is clear that the inscriptions in the larger characters (1), (2) and (3) were carved first, and those of a smaller size were afterwards crammed in wherever space offered.

In type, on the other hand, the characters present an uniformity which, like the subject matter of the records, forbids any supposition of additions during the subsequent history of the stone. They have been compared by Prof. Bühler to those of the Shāhbīzgañhi and Manselras versions of the Edicts of Aśoka. But the degree of similarity and dissimilarity may now be more exactly estimated from Bühler's *Indian Palaeography*, where the columns viii and ix

<sup>1</sup> In quoting Khordshir records, length of vowels is noted except where the intention is to insist upon the exact reading supplied by the original as question.



Front of the capital



No 1 are based chiefly upon these inscriptions. The type may be described as intermediate between the Aśoka forms and the cursive derivatives of the Dhammapada MS and discovered by Dr Stein, to which approximate the vase scratchings from Mānikāla and places and the inscription of Sui-Yih'i (see the Plate given by Dr Hoernle in the *Antiquary*, Vol X facing p 325). It does not, however, appear to be quite identical with that exhibited in any of these or in the Taxila plate (see the facsimile above, Vol IV p 56), where on account of the historical contiguity we should expect to find, and do find, congenial. The inscriptions edited by M Senart in the *Journal Asiatique*, Sér IX Vol (1899), p 526 ff and Vol IV (1894), p 504 ff (No 35), are also in similar characters (see the Plates).

The forms of the individual letters may be seen from Plate IV. Those of *pha*, *sa*, *mu*, *spa*, composition of medial *e* and the looped form of *u* have been described by Buhler. Attention may be called to the *rda* in Q 1, the *spa* in A 7, the *rna* (?) in I 1, the curious form in J 1 interpreted by Buhler as *shē*, the archaic *ma* with the original angle beneath in A 2. A few points for further consideration. The form of *ta*, which occurs many times, has in other records the *e* of *tra* (see the Plate). Although we have certainly one case (J 2, in *hīrita*), and appears two others (E'' in *krakārita*?, and R 1 in *Tachhīlāsa* or *Rachhīlāsa*?), where the bottom *e* is wanting, the character occurs so often that there can be no doubt as to what it denotes supposing it to be a *da* Buhler, who in his articles in the *Z D M G* Vol XLIII pp 133 and 166 has read a similar character as *tt* (so also Johansson, *Der Dialekt der Shāhābāgarhī-ahīra*, I p 126), was influenced by finding it in *pratśō* (M 2) and similar cases. But the similar form of *da* is several times instanced, and the *t* for *d* in *pratśō* and elsewhere is a phonetical, not an orthographical, feature, found in other Kharōṣṭhī records.

The only question remaining, as concerns *ta*, is part of a larger matter. How do we represent the conjunct *r*? In a number of cases the addition is made by a stroke inclined to the left attached to the lower curve. This occurs in A 1 (*chhatra*°), A 6 (*mātrā*), A 7 (*rat*°). In these examples there was some slight danger of confusion with *tō*, which shows the Plate) a similar stroke attached to the upper curve. Perhaps for this reason another *ice* is more frequently adopted, namely a dot in place of the stroke, see B 1 and 3 (*chhatra*°), 2 (*putra*), M 1 (*chhatra*°), Q. 2 (*chhatra*°). There remain A 3 (where *te* is written), A 5 where I can detect no clear indication of the *r*-stroke or dot), G 1 (where there is nothing attached to the *ta*, though the reading may be *chhratava*, if not *chchhatava*), G 2 (*chhatava*), 3 (where we seem to have *atraurēna* for *atō*°). In A 1 we have two strokes, both of which seem to be intentional, one of them, which resembles the downward stroke of the Aramaic Pahlavi *t*, I have conjectured to denote a doubled *t* before the *r*. Of a cerebral (*ṭa*) I can find no trace, unless indeed it is contained in the mysterious third sign of A 13.

With other consonants than *t* the *r* is regularly inserted where required. We may quote *a* in A 7 (where it takes the form of a detached stroke), *gra* in A 2 and N 2, *pīa* in A 10 (*adhavipra*°), A 11 (*prat*°), M 3 (*pratśō*), N 3, *dhra* in A 10 and M 2, *chhra* (*chchha*°?) G 2 and I 1 (*chhratava*° and *chhratrava*). In the last example, as also in *praghraṭ* I 10, *paghrav* in I 2, it would seem to be even repeated, but this may be a feature of nunciation rather than of writing. A really oblique *r*-stroke is found in *mahēshv*, A 2, and probably in *Paspasv*, A 7.

The case of *kra* is peculiar. If we disregard the doubtful inscription E'', it is found four times, in *bhakraṭvātō* (A 12), *nākraruasa* (F 1 and N 1), and *sakrastānasa* (P 1), *re* in places where we expect a simple *ga*. This can hardly be accidental, it would seem probable that in these cases the combination *kra* represents a spirantic pronunciation of *ga*, analogous to the Russian *g*, more especially as in the name of Seistān (Pahlavi *Sayhastān*) this sound no doubt prevailed at the time.

A few further points remain to be noticed. (1) In *ateurena* and *hōrakāparvārēna* (A 9 and 10) we find a perhaps intentional stroke diverging from the tail of the *na*, though not in both cases on the same side. Have we here *na*? The rather noticeable variations in the form of the nasal may be observed in Plate iv.

(2) *Sa* varies between the forms with and without the small adjunct near the centre (see Plate iv). In N 3 the addition of the *r*-stroke makes *sam*. In E 4 a slight curve at the foot may also indicate *sam*, anticipating as in the Stein documents, the following nasal. A writing *sa* is certainly to be seen in G. 1 and probably also in B 2.

(3) The two occurrences of *kharaḥṣṭa* (A. 4 and E 1) seem both to show a small diverging mark in the place where *h* is usually appended, a circumstance which, together with the probable derivation of the word, suggests a reading *rha*=*hra*.

(4) In A 2 *a* has a small stroke added as a sort of head.

(5) In A 13 we have the distinguishing mark of *ṣ* vertical and at the top, elsewhere it is horizontal and at the centre.

(6) The *śṣ* of A 11 has two small (head and foot) strokes differentiating it from the *śṣ* of the previous line,— apparently without reason.

(7) The complicated *jo* of C. 2 recalls the varieties on the coins (see Gardner, *The Coins of Bactria*, pp. 55, 83).

(8) Lastly we may mention that the stone presents a number of dots and other small marks which must apparently be ascribed to accident or wear. In some cases we might be tempted to trace the *anusvāra*, e.g. in J, where we should thus arrive at a reading *Sarvāstivātammān*.

The Prākṛit in which the inscriptions are composed has been described by Bühler and perhaps need not be discussed at length. It is distinguished by closeness to Sanskrit. Elision of medial consonants occurs, if we neglect the suffixal *k* (*nagaraa*, *kusūlaa*, *māhāśāṅgha*), only in *ateurena* (for *\*vureṇa* ?), *saṣpa*[t]ṣ. In *ayava* and *puya* (= *dhārya* and *phā*) we have a weakening of *ch* to *y*. I have suggested (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1906, p. 205) that the sound denoted by this *y* was that of the French *j*, and the matter will arise again in connection with the proper names. The changes apparent in the word *chhatra* are not necessarily Indian. The hardening of *g* and *d* to *kr* and *t* has been already dealt with; on the other hand *p* appears in *thūva* and *pratiḥvātṣ* as *v*, never *b* as *p*. Conjunct *s* is, except in foreign and technical names (*kharaḥṣṭa*, *sakastāna*, *sarvāstivāda*), assimilated ([t] *thūva*, *kadhavāra*, *prati*[t] *thānta*, *bhu*[k] *khū*), *r*, on the other hand, remains both as prior (*surva*, *khārdaa*), and as posterior, member of a conjunction. The forms of the *a* and *ā* declensions are very well preserved. The nominative singular masculine appears both as *a* (in *thūva*, etc.) and as *o* (*kharaḥṣṭo*, etc.), the neuter is in *a*[m] (*śarīra*[m]), the genitive singular in *[s]* *sa*, twice written *sa*. In *-mūna* the *i* declension shows the Prākṛit form, of the *i* inflexion we have several forms (instrumental *-ad*, etc.). The *r*-stems seem to be regular (*dhāte* in A 3 being a miswriting for *dhātā*), while in *yuvārāṇa* [h] in A 4 we have an ultra-Sanskrit use of the consonant paradigm. We may note the employment of *sarvāstivāda* in place of *\*vādan*. The only pronouns occurring are *imā*, nominative masculine, and *utā*, a locative, and the only finite verb *bhusavi* (certainly not *bhūsat*, as Bühler read) presents a problem; see the note to A 13. The false concord *śarīra pratiḥvātṣ* is found elsewhere (see the note *ad loc*).

We now come to the historical matter, which has been discussed both by Bühler, pp. 529-33, and by Professor Rapson (p. 541 ff. of the same volume). The object of the chief inscription (A.) is to record a religious donation on the part of the Chief Queen of the Satrap Hāyula, with whom are associated various members of her family and her whole court. In the other inscriptions we find honourable mention of (1) certain other members of the Satrap family at Mathurā, (2) other Satraps, and (3) a Buddhist teacher, or two Buddhist teachers, bearing the

names Buddhila (or Budhila) and Bu[d]dhadēva. The last named, who is termed an *dhōrya* and represented as a champion of the *Sarvāstivādin* school against the rival *Māhāsāṅghikas*, bears a name which cannot have been rare, one teacher of this name is mentioned by Tīrānātha as a leader of the *Vaibhāshikas* (see Schiefner's translation, pp 4 and 67, and the references in the St Petersburg Dictionary), and we have therefore no sufficient means of identification. It is different with some of the other names.

In the first place, the Great Satrap Rājūla himself and his son, the Satrap Sūdāsa, have both been identified with rulers named on coins and in other inscriptions from Mathurā (see Buhler, pp 531-2, *Ep Ind* Vol I pp 195-6, 199, Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol III p 30, and Vol XX pp 48-9, V A. Smith, *Mathurā*, p 21, Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p 9, § 33). These identifications were made by Cunningham, who also proposed to identify the *Yuvārāja* Kharaōsta with the Kharamōsta, son of Artas, known from coins, a suggestion which is scarcely tenable (Buhler, *op cit* p 532). The further identification of the Great Satrap Kusūlaka Pādika with Pātika, son of the Satrap Liaka Kusūlaka, named in the Taxila plate, is important not only as supplying a date, though in an unknown era,—for the Taxila Plate is dated in the year 78, (in the time) of the Great King Mōga,—but also as implying that the other Satraps mentioned may also have ruled in distant places. It appears therefore that the inscriptions make a point of naming with respect the chief representatives of the Kshatrapa dominion in Northern India, and this is a strong argument for retaining the evident interpretation of inscription P as 'in honour of the whole Saka realm' (*Sakastāna*). It is therefore important to ascertain what other indications of nationality the inscriptions supply.

In an article published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1906 (pp 181-216, see also pp 460-4) I have endeavoured to prove (1) that Sakas inhabited the region now known as Seistan as early as the time of Darius the Great and Alexander, (2) that the inscriptions of the lion-capital exhibit a mixture of Persian and Saka nomenclature, and I have inferred that the Kshatrapas of Northern India were the representatives of a mixed Parthian and Saka domination. I think that all these propositions must be adhered to. Upon the first of them we need not dwell here. The second is strongly supported *a priori* by the fact that Pātika of Taxila, who bears himself a distinctively Persian name, mentions as his overlord the Great King Mōga, whose name is with equal distinctiveness Saka.

I may here refer to a small point in the Taxila inscription which is not without interest. The form of the phrase *chhatrapasa Liakō Kusūlakō nama tasa* (for *chhatrapasa Liakasa Kusūlakasa*), which recurs in a second phrase, has been by Buhler compared with passages in two of the Jama inscriptions from Mathurā. We may perhaps find something of the kind in later Sanskrit inscriptions and in the style of the *Pūṇchatantra* and *Htōpadeśa*. But the turn of the phrase is so conspicuous a feature of the edicts of the Achæmends that we are strongly tempted to regard it as, like the earliest Indian architecture, derived through the Satraps from a Persian model.

This is not the place for resuming at length the discussion of the *etymology* of all the names occurring in the inscriptions. A few points may be mentioned—

1. The name *Kharaōsta* or *Kharha(hra)ōsta*, as = *khshathra*, 'sovereignty,' + *ōsta*, 'blessing,' is practically certain. The initial *kha*, which reappears in *khaharāta* with variant *kshaharāta*, presents no difficulty, it recurs in the *khapallāna* (no doubt = *khshathrapahlāna*, 'defence of sovereignty,') of the new Sārnāth inscription (above, Vol VIII p 173 ff). The variation in the initial consonant group, of which we find a third form in *chhatrapa*, is of the same nature as that in *cavalier* and *chivalry*, that is to say, it is due to historical and dialectical differences.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On a coin given by Prof. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, Pl in No 1, we have *Kehahardāta* in Brāhmī together with *Chhahardāta* in Kharoṣṭhī, some of the Nāsk inscriptions have *Khahardāta*, etc.

The *hra*, from *thra*, arose (with other forms) on Iranian soil, *Mihra* (Skt *Mihra*) being a variant of *Mithra*,<sup>1</sup> of which a still more simplified form is found in *Muraboyana* of the Takht-i-Bahā inscription (see M. Boyer's article in the *Journal Asiatique*, Sér. X Vol. III (1904) pp. 463-4), the old Persian dialect had also *s*, concerning which it may be sufficient to refer to the grammars.

2. *Mēvahr* is no doubt a variant of the Scythian name *Manakes Mevaks*, which we find attached to the king Maues and Mōga (= *Mauaka*).

3. The two names *Kālūt*, *Kāmūt* show a Pahlavi suffix *ūt*, in the second case with addition of an Indian termination.

4. *Naulūdō* is no doubt for *Naurūdō*, 'New Growth,' with a Pahlavi or Afghan *l* for *r*.

5. The element *Khala-* appears in *Khalama* and *Khalasamušo*.

6. The termination *-ūs* in *Kōmūsūt* and *śamūtō* seems to be Scythic.

7. The element *-s* in *Āyas*, *Kōmūsūt*, *Nandaskasa*, *Pispas* is certainly not the Sanskrit *śi*, which would have been so written in these inscriptions. It is a derivative element, perhaps identical with the *-ci*, *-zi* (Pahlavi *-cik*) which appears in many Iranian names.

8. The *y* in *Āyas*, *Hayuvarana*, *Āyimsa*, found also on the coins as an alternative for *s* in *Āyilsa*, etc. (see Gardner, *op cit* pp. 93, 173), most probably represents a *j* sound resembling the French *j*, for which reasons it must also remain undetermined whether the *ayana* (= *āchārya*) and *paya* (= *pādā*) of our inscriptions were intended or not to represent a pronunciation with a *y*.

9. The name *Abūhōlā* doubtless consists of two members, *Abū* (of uncertain meaning) to be traced in *Αβουλινης* (see Justi's *Iransches Namenbuch*, s. v.) + *hōla*, a variant of the *hōra* in *Spālahōra* and the *hōrakā* of our inscriptions. That *spāla* is a Pahlavi form of O. Pers. *spāda* = Zend *spāda* = Neo-Pers. *spāh* is plain from its occurrence in *Spalapati*, which corresponds to the Persian *Ispahbad*, Pahlavi *Spāhpat* (see Justi, *op cit* and Horn, *Neupersische Etymologie*, No. 699). As the Zend-Persian *ahura* is used in the sense of 'prince' and as the form *hōra* is to be traced in the common (Sassanian) name *Hormudas*, there can be no reason to doubt that this is the meaning of the second part of the name of *Abūhōlā* and that her *hōrakāparvāra* was a 'retinue of princesses (or ladies)'.<sup>2</sup>

10. As regards the term *Kusūlāa* (= *Kusūlaka* of the Taxila Plate), it seems to me extremely unlikely that the word is unrelated to the *Kuyūla*, *Kujūla*, *Koçoula* applied to Kadphises and Kanishka, more especially now that the Sārnāth inscriptions have brought Kanishka into relation with the northern Satraps. The word seems to me to have been probably a title of the order of *Śāhū*, *Bahādūr*, and the like.

It will now be sufficient to enumerate the persons occurring in the inscriptions. These are —

(1) The family of Rājūla —

(a) Rājūla himself with his sons Kharāḍta (*Yuvārāja*,<sup>3</sup> son of the Chief Queen Abūhōlā), Sudāsa (entitled Satrap), *Khalama* (entitled *Kumdra*), and *Maja* (entitled *Kanishka*),—the two last also being possibly children of the Chief Queen Abūhōlā— and his daughter Hana.

(2) Five other, probably princely, persons *Kālūt*, *Naulūdō*, *Kāmūt*, *Āyimsa*, *Khalasamušo*. These were perhaps relatives of Rājūla.

(3) Friendly satraps, namely *Kusūlāa Pādika*, *Movak*, *Miyika*,<sup>4</sup> *K(r)ēnina*, *Khandu*, *Tachhila* (*Rachhila*).

(4) A Buddhist *āchārya*, named *Buddhila* (*Budhila*), and a second (perhaps identical with the former), named *Buddhadēva*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Huang in *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, Vol. XXXVI p. 242 ff., & J. Jey, Vol. XXXVI, p. 483 ff.

<sup>2</sup> On this and other similar titles see M. Boyer's article in the *Journal Asiatique*, Sér. IX Vol. XIX p. 95 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The name of a satrap *Mevaks* is traced by Prof. E. Lebon in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1894, p. 648.

The inscriptions supply in themselves no means of dating. But the style of the monument of which they celebrate the foundation seems to have been strongly Persian. This is in favour of an early date, but for a definite determination of it we must continue to rely upon the more or less contemporary Taxila plate belonging to the year 78 (in the reign) of the Great King Mōga, who is usually placed (see Rapson, *Indian Coins*, § 29) as early as 120 B C.

### TEXTS, TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES.

#### A. I.

- 1 Mahachhatra(ttra)vasa rajulasa [Mahāchhatravassa Rājūlassa]
- 2 agra(ggia)maheshmajasā(o ?) [āgramahēshi-Āyasā]
- 3 komusaa dhite [Kômūsāā dhite]
- 4 khara(rha ?)ostasa yuvaraṇa [Kharaṁstassa yuvarāṇah]
- 5 mata nadadi(ṣi ?)akasa . [mâtâ Namdadi(ṣi ?)akasa ]

#### A. II.

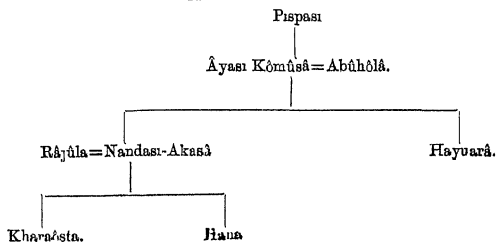
- 6 sadha mata(tra) abuholaa(o ?) [sadha mâtrâ Abūhōlāā]
- 7 pitramahi pispasra bhra [pitāmahi-Pispasā bhra-]
- 8 tia hayuarana sadha hanadhitra(?) [-trâ Hayuarānā sadha Hana-dhitrâ]
- 9 atra(te)ūena horakapa [amteūrēna hōrakāpa-]
- 10 rivarena iṣe piadraviprate [-rivārēna iṣṭ pradraviprat-]
- 11 śe(śre ?) nissime śarira pratithavito [-śē nissimē śarira[m] pratithāvitō]
- 12 bhakravato śakamunisa budhasa [bhakravatō Śakamunissa Buddhasa]
- 13 ma(mia ?)kite(hi ?)ra(?)ya śasṣae bhusaveti(?) [ . . rāya śasṣaḥ bhūśā-v-iti]
- 14 thūva cha sagharama cha chatu [thūva cha samghārāma cha chatu-]
- 15 diśesa saghasa saiva [-ddiśassa samghassa Sarvā-]
- 16 stavatana parigrahe [-stivātānam parigrahē]

### TRANSLATION.

By the Chief Queen of the Great Satrap Rājūla, daughter of Āyasī Kômūsā, mother of the Her Apparent Kharaṁsta, Nandasī-Akasā (by name), together with her mother Abūhōlā, her paternal grandmother Pispasī, her brother Hayuarā (?), her daughter Hana, her household and court of hōrakās (ladies), a relic was deposited in this piece of land in a stūpa with the thought. 'May it be for the eternal . . . of the Holy Śākya sage Buddha' And the stūpa and the monastery are for the acceptance of the universal Sangha of the Sarvāstivādins.

### NOTES.

**Genealogy**—The scheme appears to be as follows —



**Readings**—L 1 The additional stroke in the *tra*, if not accidental, may denote a doubling. At least I learn from Prof. Rapson that a (cross) stroke is used in the Stein documents for that purpose.

L 2, *agga* with a cross stroke, *ma* in *mahēshi* has the original form with a subscribed angle, *shri* has the otiose *r*-stroke found elsewhere.

L 3, *te* in *dhite* is quite clear, it must be due to an error, as the regular form of *tra* occurs several times in the inscription.

L 4 Is the side stroke in the *r* of *kharastisa* accidental, or does it possibly represent *h*? See p. 138 above. It occurs in the place, though not with the shape, of aspiration in other consonants.

L 5 No doubt *namdasi* should be read, on the analogy of the other names. But the lower stroke of the *akshara* is curtailed (being at the edge of the stone) in such a way as to produce the appearance of the cursive *da* in Buhler's Table, col. viii. After *sa* nothing can be clearly seen on the stone. The analogy of the other names would lead us to expect *sā*. On the *ta* in *mātā* see p. 137 above.

L 8 From what nominative form the instrumental *Hayuarānā* is to be derived is not obvious.

L 9, *a[n]teurēna* presents a case, rare in these inscriptions, of disappearance of a medial consonant. The only other cases are, (1) *satpā* for *śatvātā*, l. 13 (if that is the correct reading), (2) *h* in *nākravaassa* and *māhāsanghāna*, and (3) *kharaassa*. As in general the medial consonants are sharpened rather than weakened, this seems to show a mixture of dialects. On the word *hōrakā* see p. 140 above.

L 11, *meṃme* Buhler takes this as denoting a *stūpa*, and he quotes Professor Pischel's view that it is a Prākṛit form of *māhama*, used in the sense of 'high', hence = *stūpa*. The word is certainly a substantive and the name of a manufactured object, as appears from the phrase *meṃmō kārita niyātītō* in inscription J, but in point of etymology it may perhaps be related to the *meṣṣamamālaka* of the *Mahāvamsa*, c. xxxi. *rannō sarīram jhāpēsum yasmin meṣṣamamālaka*.

L 13 The last *akshara* is doubtful, and it is indeed possible to question whether any sign is intended after *vi*. Buhler's reading *bhāsati* is out of the question. We must apparently take *bhāśā* as a strange optative form.

L 12 The sign for *tō* is, owing to misplacement of the vowel stroke, that usually in these inscriptions denoting *ti*. I do not detect a sign for *r*.

L 6 Whether *mātā* or *mātrā* is inscribed I cannot determine.

L 7, *tra* is clear in *pitra*, and *tri* in *Pispassi*.

L 9. The second *akshara* resembles *ti* more than anything else, if it is really *tē* (which in any case must be meant), the sign for *tē* is added to the earlier form of *ti*.

L 13 Buhler's reading *mukhātāya*. The first *akshara* is certainly not *mu*, but might be *mra*, unless it is simply *ma*, and the third is far from being an ordinary *ra*, the expression *Buddhasya mukhātāya* does not present an orthodox appearance.

L 15, *tē* seems clear, compare *tē* in l. 10.

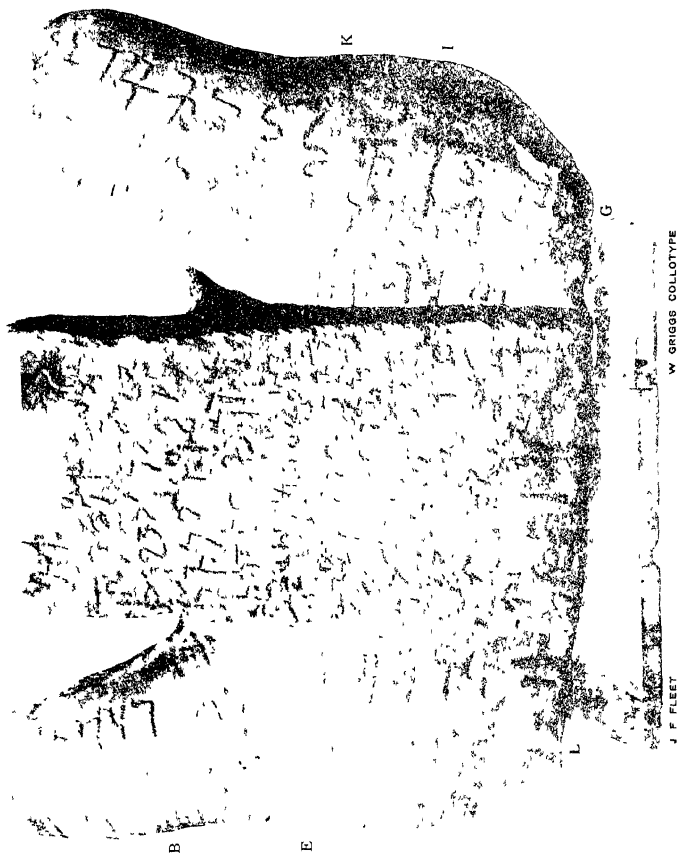
**Grammar and interpretation**—L 1, 4 in *Rājāla* is supported by the *Ranubala*, etc., of the coins.

L 2 It is doubtful whether *mahēshi Āyasa* or *mahēshā Yasi* is to be read. In the former case we have an omission (or postponement) of the sign of declension, as in *pīṭmahī*, l. 7. It would however not be entirely out of the question to take *pratiṣṭhātō* as an active participle with the subject *mātā* in the nominative and a false concord. Buhler observes (p. 535) that '*pratiṣṭhātō* is the neuter, as frequently in the Shāh-bāzgarhī version of the Rock-Edicts.' We may compare *ameh laṭavō* in Edict XI. Generally however in cases parallel to the present (e.g. in

Inscriptions on the Mathura lion-capital  
in the British Museum

Plate II

Back of the capital



W. GRIGGS COLLOTYPE

FROM GENERAL SIR ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM'S PHOTOGRAPHS

J. F. FLEET

SCALE ABOUT 22





re Māpikāla, Taxila, and Wardak inscriptions) the active construction (*pratiṣṭhāṇa*) is preferred

B<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Mahachha(chchha?)travasa [mahāchhatravassa]
- 2 vajulasya putra [Rājūlasya putra]
- 3 śudasa chatrave [Śudāsē chhatravē]

## TRANSLATION.

Śudāsa, son of the Great Satrap Rājūla, being Satrap

## NOTES.

L 1. A cross stroke, apparently intentional, on the *chha* may indicate duplication, as in the cases already noted<sup>1</sup>

L 2, *va* (*sic*)

L 3. As these inscriptions seem to present no other nominatives in -s, *Śudāsē* may best be regarded as a locative, in M it is plainly so

C<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Kalu a [Kālūi a-]
- 2 varajo(jho?) [-varajō]

## TRANSLATION

Kālūi, younger brother.

D.<sup>3</sup>

Nauludo [Naulūdō].

E.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 Khara(rha?)osto yuvaraya [Kharaōstō yuvarāyā]
- 2 khalamasa kumara [Khalamasa kumāra]
- 3 maja kanitha [Maja kanitha]
- 4 sa(sam?)manamota.

## TRANSLATION

Kharaōsta, Heir Apparent, Khalamasa, *kumāra*, Maja; youngest, . . .

## NOTES.

Bühler read *Jalamas*<sup>o</sup> in 1 2, but the *akshara* seems to be a *kha*. He also regarded *kumārā(i)maja* as a single word. The last line is uncertain, but I may perhaps suggest that the cross stroke in *mō* is accidental, in which case we may understand the words *samānā mātā* as indicating that the three sons named were *uterine* brothers. Bühler's reading *chha* is by no means borne out by inspection

E'<sup>5</sup>

Kamuo [Kāmūtō?]

## NOTE.

Apparently a proper name, like Kālūi

E''.<sup>6</sup>

kra ka(rva?)rita (yu?) [-kra kārta?]

<sup>1</sup> See Plate II

<sup>2</sup> In small letters at the place indicated in Plate III

<sup>3</sup> In smaller letters within E; see Plate II

<sup>4</sup> On the right cheek of the right lion; not shown in the photographs

<sup>5</sup> See Plate III

<sup>6</sup> See Plate II.

## NOTE.

The *ta*, if it is so to be read, has the earlier form

F.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Budhūlāsa nakraraasa [Buddhūlāssa Nākraraassa]
- 2 bhikkhūsa sarvastivātasa [bhikkhūssa Sarvāstivātassa]

G.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Mahachhatarasya kusūlāsa padikasa meva(na)kisa [mahāchhatarasya Kusūlāssa Pādikassa Mēvakissa]
- 2 miyikasa chhatarasa puyae [Miyikassa chhatarassa pūyāś]

J. (3)<sup>3</sup>

Sarvastivatana padī[ri<sup>2</sup>]grahe [Sarvāstivātāna padī(ri<sup>2</sup>)grahē]

## TRANSLATION.

F.—Of the Nāgara *bhikkhū* Buddha, a Sarvāstivādin.

G.—For the honour of the Great Satrap, the Kusūlaka Pādika, and the Satrap Mēvaki Miyika.

J.—For the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādins.

## NOTES.

These three inscriptions, written in *akṣharas* of about the same size, adjoin each other, and may form a single whole

**Readings.**—G. 1.—The *va* or *na* of *mēva(na)kisa* is a single straight stroke. *Mēvaki* is however more probable than *mēnaki* (*maundaki*), see above

J. (3).—The *di* in *padigrahē* (= *pratigrahē*) is identical with that in *Pādika*; nevertheless *parigrahē* is on the whole more probable in view of A 1 16. The *bhikkhū* Buddha may be, but need not be, identical with the Buddhādēva of the inscription K. He belongs to Nāgara, no doubt the famous city of Nāgarahāra (but see Watter's *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I. p. 184 ff., 201 and reff.) Concerning the remaining persons see the introductory remarks. There seems to be no ground for joining the inscription J. (3), as Bühler does, to the lines J. (1 and 2), on the opposite face (the front) of the stone

M.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 Chha(chohha)trave sūdise [chhataravā Sūdīsē]
- 2 imo padhravi [imō padhravi]
- 3 prateśo [pratēśō]

I.<sup>5</sup>

- 1 veyā aṭh (u<sup>?</sup>) dīrna (dīnam<sup>?</sup>) kadhavaro busapa
- 2 ro kadha
- 3 varo
- 4 viyaa

<sup>1</sup> See Plate II.

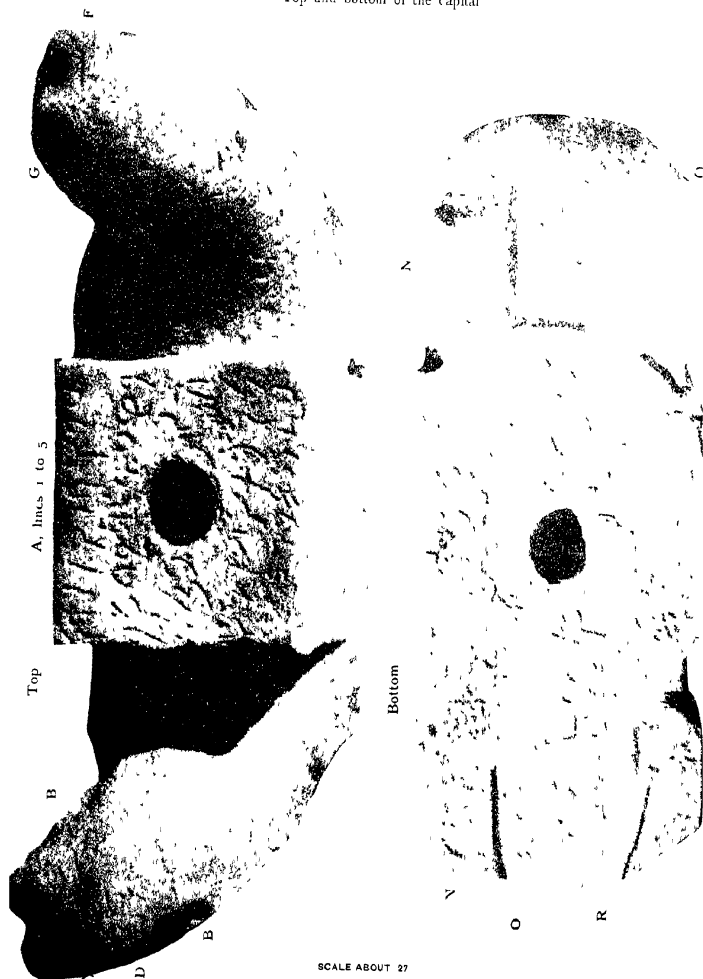
<sup>4</sup> See Plate I.

<sup>2</sup> *Idēd*

<sup>5</sup> *Idēd*

Inscriptions on the Mathura lion capital  
in the British Museum

Top and bottom of the capital



SCALE ABOUT 27

J. (1 and 2)<sup>1</sup>

- 1 *vya rva* . . . . . *pahshte* (PP) *na*  
 2 *nissimo karita nyatito* [*nissimo kārta myātītō*]

These three inscriptions present the most difficult problems of all those inscribed on the capital. They are written in *aksharas* of approximately the same size. As M has no verb (unless we here make use of the *-krakāritu* (P) of E<sup>2</sup>), we should naturally expect it to be in connection with one of the others. It certainly seems to join the *vēya*<sup>3</sup> of I 1. But here we enter upon a very obscure passage. Buhler with great ingenuity has elicited the reading *vēya-udīno kadhavaro busaparo kadhavaro=vēgōdīrno skandhāvārō busaparō skandhāvārō*, which he renders 'the army has started in haste, the army is intent on wealth'. But to this there are, apart from the inappropriateness of the sense, the following objections — (1) *skandhāvārā* does not mean 'an army,' but 'an encampment,' (2) the meaning 'riches' attached to *busa* is attested only by Wilson's Dictionary, (3) it is doubtful whether the third *akshara* is really *u*, it is unlike the other *u*'s of these inscriptions and rather resembles *am*, while the bottom curve may even be a part of the accidental indentation in the stone (see the Plate), (4) a weakening of *g* to *y* in *vēya* is contrary to the tendencies of the languages employed in these inscriptions. On the other hand, the *ro* of I 2 plainly follows the *pa* of I 1, and a reading *vēyaśāśndnam kadhavaro=vayajantīndm skandhāvārō* appears but little promising. The *vya* which precedes the large *rvā* in J 1 is in small characters and no doubt an independent addition. Can it possibly be an insertion to show that the large *rva*, which apparently joins on to nothing, is an error for *vya*=*mya*? The sign which Buhler renders by *shīś* (reproduced in his *Indian Palaeography*, Plate I col xii), is quite clearly inscribed, but its meaning is anything but clear. It is more like *rā*, which seems very unlikely. With the preceding *pāl* (Buhler *pul*) it composes no doubt a proper name. What came before *pāl*, occupying a space sufficient for 7 or 8 *aksharas*, is quite obscure owing to the stone having peeled away. We seem to have the remains of a *sa*, but what is to be done with the large *rva* commencing the line? Even adopting the suggestion that it is an error for *vya* we have no ground for proceeding further. The words *nissimō kārta myātītō*, 'a *stūpa* was caused to be made and presented,' are quite satisfactory. We have already noted the older form of *ta* in *kārta*. With these remarks I must be content so far as these inscriptions are concerned.

J'.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 *Khalasamu-*  
 2 *śo*

The *aksharas* are perfectly clear, though Buhler read *khalasāna śo*. We seem to have here a proper name.

K. & L.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 *Āyamaśa* [Āyāriassa]  
 2 *budhatevassa* [Buddhatēvassa]  
 3 *utāena āyimisa* [utāēna Āyimisa].

## TRANSLATION.

Through the elevation of the *āchārya* *Buddhadēva*, *Āyimisa*.

The exact meaning is not clear. We might take *Āyimisa* as a genitive with *dānaṃ* understood. But what then was the *dāna*? The last *akshara* of *Āyimisa*, which lacks the tail of the *sa*, was read by Buhler as *ta*.

<sup>1</sup> See Plate I.

<sup>2</sup> On the leg of the left lion, under his tail.

<sup>3</sup> Not shown in the Plates. Incised in very clear characters on the breast of the left lion between J and P. (See Plate II) plainly a single independent record.

H.<sup>1</sup>

Gubavihara [Gubāvihārē]

## TRANSLATION

In the cave *vihāra*.

Bühler would translate 'In the Guha-monastery,' and the matter cannot be considered certain, as we have a Hamsasāṅghārāma near Gaya (*Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol. I p. 18) and a (Jaina) *Mihuravihāra* mentioned in an inscription published by him in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II p. 212

H'.<sup>2</sup>

Dhamada(?)na(?) [dhammadānam]

## TRANSLATION

Religious donation

N.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Ayarasa budhulasa nakraraassa bhikkhu [āyārassa Buddhulassa Nākraraassa bhikkhu-]
- 2 sa sarvastivatasa pagra [-ssa Sarvastivātassa pāgrā-]
- 3 na mahasagghana pra [-nam Māhāsāṅghānam prā-]
- 4 ma(?)ñāvitave khalulasa [-māñāvitavē khalūlassa]

## TRANSLATION.

To the Sarvastivādin *ācārya* Buddhula, a *bhikkhu* of Nāgara, an exercise-ground in the knowledge of the nature of proof to the vanguard of the Māhāsāṅghikas.

L 1 Buddhula is, of course, the *bhikkhu* already mentioned in the inscription F. The rendering 'of Nāgara' (Bühler) seems to be the most satisfactory among the meanings of *Nāgaraka*, for which see the St Petersburg Dictionary. Concerning the place probably denoted see Watter's *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I pp. 184 ff., 201 and *reft*.

Ll 2-3 Of the *sa* which Bühler inserts after *gra*, in order to get the word *prakāśamā* I can see no trace.

L 4 The reading seems certain; the only difficulty is the word *khalula*. Halāyudha gives *khadūrstā* in the sense of 'a military exercise-ground,' and the Atharva-Vēda has *khadūra* with indeterminate sense. If the rendering given above does not seem quite acceptable, we may at least find in *khalula* some form from the root *khaṇ*, so common still in titles of controversial works. That the Māhāsāṅghikas were opposed to the Sarvastivādins Bühler has already observed. I conjecture that *pramāñāvitave* = *pramāṇyavitavē*.

O.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Sarvabudhana puya dhamasa [sarvabuddhānam pūyā dhamassa]
- 2 puya sagghasa puya [pūyā saṅghassa pūyā]

## TRANSLATION

Honour to all the Buddhas, Honour to the *Dharma*, Honour to the *Saṅgha*.

P.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Sarvasa sakrasta [sarvasa Sakrastā-]
- 2 nasa puyae [-nassa pūyāe].

<sup>1</sup> In small characters below the letter H in Plate I.

<sup>2</sup> In small characters, as H, below the letter H' in Plate I.

<sup>3</sup> See Plate III.

## TRANSLATION.

For the honour of all Sakastāna.

The objections raised by Dr Fleet (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1904, pp 703-9, 1905, pp 154-6) to this rendering of Bühler seem to me ineffective. As regards the presence of Sakas at Mathurā, see the introductory remarks, where it is also shown that the form of the word exactly represents the name of Sakastāna. Nor is there any difficulty in the expression of honour to the 'whole realm of the Sakas,' since we find in the Wardak inscription (and elsewhere, e.g. in the inscriptions of Sae Vihār, Anyor, and various Mathurā inscriptions, which have regard to the 'good and happiness of all living creatures,' *sarvasattvānām*) even more comprehensive expressions, nor again is there any difficulty in the use of *sarva* (uncompounded) with the meaning 'whole' (see the St Petersburg Dictionary). As regards *svaka*, 'one's own,' (a common word), and the Pāli *sakatthāna*, 'one's own place (home, etc),' it may be remarked that, while it is natural to say, as in the passages cited by Dr Fleet, 'he went to his own home,' etc., it seems less natural to inscribe on the stone 'honour to (somebody's) own home,' etc. [This inscription has been recently discussed by M Barth, *Comptes Rendues de l'Académie*, 1907, pp 384 ff, with his accustomed perspicacity. I am, however, unable to admit that the name of a donor is required here any more than in the inscriptions G and O. A *pūjā* addressed to a country is certainly unusual, but inscription G. contains a similar *pūjā* addressed to the chief representatives of the Saka dominion.]

Q.<sup>1</sup>

1 Khadaasa [Khadaassa]

2 chhatravasa [chhatravassa].

## TRANSLATION

Of the Satrap Khadaa.

R.<sup>2</sup>1 Ra(ta<sup>2</sup>)chhilasa [Ra<sup>2</sup>Ta<sup>2</sup>, chhilasa]2 kromi<sup>2</sup> ak<sup>2</sup> n<sup>2</sup> a<sup>2</sup> a<sup>2</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

Of Ra<sup>2</sup> bhil<sup>2</sup> (Ta<sup>2</sup> uhila<sup>2</sup>?) Kaundinya (?)

*Kaundinya* is a suggestion of Buhler, who also regards *Tachhilasa* as = *Takshasilasa*

## Additional Notes

1 A number of questions relating to, or connected with, the inscriptions on the Lion Capital—for instance the forms of the names Moga, Rājāla, and Kharaosta, and the date of Moga—have been discussed by Dr J F Fleet in an article entitled 'Moga, Maues, and Vonones,' published in the *J R A S.* for October 1907, pp 1013-40.

2 P 137, l 9 Insert after 'pp 526 ff' the words '(where *sapana* is perhaps = *sappana* = *sattvānām*, see Pischel's *Grammatik der Prakrit-sprachen* §300)'

3 P 137, l 38 Insert after 'detached stroke' the words 'to the left together with the same curve to the right that in *se* denotes *e*, see below'

4 P 139, l 44 Insert after the words 'defence of sovereignty' the words 'see the Iranian *Grundriss* II p 97'

<sup>1</sup> See Plate III and Plate I where R has been printed in error. The word *chhatravasa* is inverted on the stone

<sup>2</sup> See Plate III.

No 18 — MOUNT ABU VIMALA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION  
OF [VIKRAMA-] SÂMVAT 1378

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E., GÖTTINGEN.

In 1828 H. H. Wilson, in *As. Res.* Vol. XVI p. 284 ff., published an account of the inscriptions on the mountain Arbuda, the modern Mount Abū in the Sirohi State of Rājputāna, from copies presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Captain Speers, Political Agent at Sirohi. In that account Prof. Wilson gave full translations of one of the two large inscriptions at the temple of Nāminātha, the texts of which were first published in 1883 by Mr. A. V. Kāthavate, and which have now been edited, with facsimiles, by Prof. Lüders, above, Vol. VIII p. 200 ff., of the Guhila inscription in the neighbourhood of the temple of Achalésvara, edited by myself in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI p. 347 ff.<sup>1</sup> and of the Achalésvara temple inscription of which I have treated above, p. 79 ff.<sup>2</sup> Of other inscriptions only short abstracts of the contents were given, apparently based on an account in Hindi that had been drawn up by a native scholar.

For many years afterwards little<sup>3</sup> was done for the study of the Mount Abū inscriptions. But in the cold season of 1900-01 Mr. Cousens, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, while staying at Abū, had impressions (or, in a few cases, eye-copies) prepared of all inscriptions which are now found on the mountain, and by sending them to the Government Epigraphist he for the first time has placed at our disposal trustworthy materials for a critical examination of these records. Most of these inscriptions are very short, none of them go back beyond the middle of the 11th century A. D., and considering their great number, the data furnished by them for the political history of the country are disappointingly few. In other respects, some are of considerable interest and well deserve to be made more generally accessible, while a good many contain some name, or expression, or date, or perhaps only some mark or letter, which, unimportant as it may seem at first sight, may prove of use on a future occasion.

The number of the inscriptions in Mr. Cousens' collection, which has been sent to me by Prof. Hultzsch, is 298, of which 270 are ink-impressions and 28 eye-copies only. Of the total number, 148 are from the temple of Rishabha (Ādinātha) which was founded by Vimala,<sup>4</sup> 97 from the temple of Nāminātha, founded by Tejapāla,<sup>5</sup> 30 from the temple of Achalésvara, and 13 from other localities. Of the Vimala temple inscriptions 126 are dated, the earliest date being of the [Vikrama] year 1119 (about A. D. 1062), in a short inscription (No. 1780 of Mr. Cousens' list) of a minister of the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva I., and the latest (in No. 1874) of the [Vikrama] year 1785 (about A. D. 1728), between the two, the years which most

<sup>1</sup> A kind of facsimile of the inscription may be seen in *Bhāvnagar Insor.* Plate xxxvi.

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Wilson also gave a translation of the inscription of the Vikrama year 1266, published by Dr. Cartellieri in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI p. 221 ff., the original of which is now at the town of Sirohi; see *Progress Report of the Archaeol. Survey of India, W. Circle*, for 1905-1906, p. 47.

<sup>3</sup> For inscriptions that have been edited (in addition to those translated by Prof. Wilson) see my *Northern Ind.*, Nos. 261 and 265.

<sup>4</sup> In inscriptions the temple is called *Vimala-vasahikā*, *Vimalasya vasahikā*, *Vimala-vasahī*, and *Vimala-vasahikā-ārtha*, in literary works also *Vimala-vasatī*. Above, p. 81, I have already stated that the names 'Vimala Sāh' or 'Vimala Shih', recently written 'Vimala Śā', in my opinion owe their origin to a misunderstanding of the term *Vimala-vasahikā*, 'Vimala's temple'. Similarly, *Lānga vasahikā* has given rise to the name (for Tejapāla's brother) 'Lānga Sahikā', in *As. Res.* Vol. XVI p. 309.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. VIII p. 200, Prof. Lüders has shown that the ordinary name of the temple is *Lānasthā* (or *Lānasthā*)-*vasahikā* or *Lāpā vasahikā*. In inscriptions I also find *Lānga-vasahikā*, *Tējapāla-vasahikā* and *Tējāla-vasahī*, and in literary works *Lānga-vasatī*.



frequently occur are the Vikrama years 1245 (22 times) and 1378 (25 times). Of the inscriptions at Tejapāla's temple 77 are dated, and here the earliest dates are of the Vikrama year 1287 (about A D 1230), the very year in which the temple was founded, while the latest date (in No 1748) is one of the [Vikrama] year 1911 (about A D 1854), no less than 47 inscriptions are dated between the Vikrama years 1287 and 1297, and 9 between 1346 and 1389. Of the 30 inscriptions at the temple of Achalēśvara 22 are dated. Here the earliest inscription appears to be one (No 1950), unfortunately almost entirely effaced, of the [Vikrama] year 1186 (about A D 1129), and another (No 1941) seems to contain a date in the [Vikrama] year 1191. What I consider to be certain is, that No 1951 of Mr Cousens' List is dated in the [Vikrama] year 1207 (about A D 1150), in the reign of the [Paramāra] *Mahāmandalēśvara Yaśōdhavaladēva* (a feudatory of the Chaulukya Kumārapāla, an inscription of whom is dated in the same year)<sup>1</sup>. Two other inscriptions (Nos 1945 and 1946) are dated in the [Vikrama] years 122[5] and 122[8], the rest in 1377 and later years. Regarding the 13 remaining inscriptions, it will suffice to say that the Guhila inscription mentioned above (No 1953 of the List) is dated in the [Vikrama] year 1342, and that the dates which occur in others are of later years.

Of the inscriptions at the temple of Nēminātha, the two largest and most important, together with 30 shorter ones, have been edited from Mr Cousens' materials by Prof Luders, above, Vol. VIII p 200 ff. I now give the text of an inscription of the [Vikrama] year 1378, which is at the temple of Rishabha, and the chief point of interest in which is the statement that that temple was founded in the Vikrama year 1088 (about A D 1031) by a certain Vimala, who had been appointed *danḍapati* at Arbuda by [the Chaulukya] Bhīmadēva [I].

Before I proceed to describe the inscription, I may state that the date here given for the foundation of the temple is known to us also from other sources. In *Ind Ant* Vol XI p 248, the late Dr Klatt gave an extract from a *Paṭṭavālī* of the Kharatara-gachchha, according to which the minister Vimala, who belonged to the Pōravāda (Prāgvāta) family, and who broke the parasols of thirteen Sultāns and established the town of Chandravatī, caused a temple of Rishabhādēva to be built on the mountain Arbuda — a temple which even now is known by the name *Vimala-vasahī*,<sup>2</sup> and which, it is added, was consecrated by Vardhamānasūri in the year 1088. The same story, with the same date, is more fully given in the extracts in Prof Weber's *Catalogue of the Berlin MSS*, Vol II pp 1036 and 1037, where we are moreover told that, to obtain from the Brāhmins the ground on which he intended to build the temple, Vimala had to cover it with gold coins, and that he expended 18 crores and 53 lacs (185,300,000) in the building of the temple. And the date also occurs in an interesting extract from Jinaprabhasūri's *Tīrthakalpa*, in Prof Peterson's *Fourth Report*, p 92 f. There, again, the Vikrama year 1088 is given<sup>3</sup> for the foundation of the *Vimala-vasatī*, and 1288 for that of the *Lāṅga-vasatī*,<sup>3</sup> and it is also stated that, when the two temples had been demolished or damaged (*bhagna*) by the Mlēcchhas, they were repaired in the Śaka year 1243 (i.e. the Vikrama year 1378), the first by Lalla, the son of Mahanāsīmha, and the other by Pithada, the son of the merchant Chandasīmha. We shall see below that our inscription actually records the restoration, in 1378, of Vimala's temple by Lalla (Lāṅga), the son of Mahanāsīmha, and

<sup>1</sup> No 129 of my *Northern List*.

<sup>2</sup> So far as I can see, there is something wrong in the verses 39 and 40, as given by Prof Peterson, but regarding the date of the construction of the *Vimala-vasatī* there can be no doubt.

<sup>3</sup> According to the extracts, the *sūtradhāra*, who built the *Lāṅga-vasatī*, was Śōbhanadēva, who is mentioned in the same way (as *prādākaraka sūtradhāra*) in Mātunga's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, p 269. This builder's name actually occurs in No 1874 of Mr Cousens' List, an inscription of the Vikrama year 1288 — Jinaprabhasūri's account of the mountain Arbuda, from which the extracts are taken, seems to be based on inscriptions and to be quite trustworthy.

Vijada, the son of Dhanasimha, and the name of the person who repaired the temple of Tejapāśa (the *Lūnya-vasati*) is given as Pēthada in an inscription<sup>1</sup> at that temple, the full text of which is —

L 1 Ōm<sup>3</sup> || ²Ā-chamdrārkam namdatād-ēsha samghā-<sup>4</sup>dhisah srima-  
2 n Pēthadah samgha-yuktah | jīnnōddhāiam Vastupāśa  
3 sya chaityē<sup>4</sup> |<sup>4</sup> tēnē yēn-ēhāsbudādārau sva-sārah ||

The inscription with which we are more immediately concerned here<sup>5</sup> is on a black slab, built into the side wall of a shrine in the corridor of Vimala's temple. It contains 30 lines of writing which cover a space between 1' 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " and 1' 8" broad by 1' 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ " high, but of which only the first 22 lines extend over the full breadth of this space, lines 23-29 are only 1' 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ " long and line 30 (which contains merely a date) only 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The greater part of the writing is well preserved, but in line 16 about 10 *akṣaras* and in line 17 about 4 *akṣaras* are effaced, and in some places the writing is difficult to read, mainly, as it seems to me, because the letters have been formed carelessly and are so close to one another that they have not come out clearly in the ink-impression at my disposal.<sup>6</sup> The size of the letters is between  $\frac{1}{4}$ " and  $\frac{5}{8}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the words *om* || *śrī-Arṇudatīrīha-prasāstir-likhyate* || at the commencement, the words *aṭha rājāvali* || in line 9, and the date in line 30, the text is in verse, the number of verses being 42. In respect of orthography only few remarks are necessary. There are separate signs for the letters *b* and *v*, and the sign for the former has been wrongly employed also for *v* in *sarbaṅgā*, l. 16, and *sa nḥabāh*, l. 21. The palatal sibilant is used instead of the dental in *manadvā*, l. 4, *sāmha-* (for *simha-*), l. 6, and *sahasrē*, l. 8, and the dental instead of the palatal in *nvēstam*, l. 8, *pesala*, l. 18, and *śase*, l. 29. Instead of the vowel *ri* we have the syllable *ri* in *Rishabhā* ll 26 and 29, and in line 24 the author himself has written *śhaḍ-ṛitavah* instead of *śhaḍ-ritavah*, which would not have suited the metre.<sup>7</sup> What is more interesting is, that in line 4 we find *nripasa* for *nripasya*, and in line 21 *vādāyā* instead of *vādānyā*. The latter reminds us of the name *Nyānasakti* (instead of *Jānasakti*) in *Ind Ant* Vol. XIII, p. 93, l. 26, and shows that in Rājputāna as well as in the Kanarese country there could have been hardly any difference in pronunciation between *ṅā* and *nyā*, and *nripasa* recalls *tata* and similar genitive cases of far more ancient inscriptions,<sup>8</sup> without, of course, proving more than that the pronunciation of *s* must have been similar to that of the conjunct *sy*. In respect of grammar I need draw attention only to the word *vidadhāna*, in line 3, the reading of which is certain, and which the author undoubtedly has used as a 3rd person singular of the Perfect of *vi-dhā* (instead of *vidadhē*), probably misled by the participle *vidadhāna* which was more familiar to him than the proper verbal form.<sup>10</sup> Though the writer or engraver in some places has done his work carelessly, I believe that, with the exception of what has been entirely effaced

<sup>1</sup> No 1743 of Mr Cousens' List, "on pilaster near shrine doorway of the principal temple in Vastupāśa temple."

<sup>2</sup> Denoted by a symbol

<sup>3</sup> Metre Sālini

<sup>4</sup> These signs of punctuation are superfluous

<sup>5</sup> No 1790 of Mr Cousens' List

<sup>6</sup> When my text was finished, I was able to compare impressions kindly sent to me by Mr Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha and by the Government Epigraphist, which in one or two places where there had been some doubt confirmed the correctness of my readings.

<sup>7</sup> For curiosity's sake it may be stated that the Sanskrit *śasa*, German 'hase,' English 'hare,' seems to go back to an original *śasa*, compare Prof Wackernagel's *Altind Gramm* Vol I p 225

<sup>8</sup> Compare *śhadṛicha* and *śhadaraha* in the St. Petersburg Dictionary

<sup>9</sup> See Prof Rapson in *Journ Roy Asi Soc* 1900, p 104 f, and Prof Franke's *Pāli and Sanskrit*, p 97 f, and compare the genitive cases *terasa*, *sagata*, etc, in *Ep Zeylanica*, Vol I p 18 ff

<sup>10</sup> Proper Perfect forms which occur in the text are *bābhāva*, *bābhāvuh*, *chakāra*, *didāsa*, *prapīḥa* and *kārayām-dātuh*

and of perhaps the last words of verse 21, the original text may everywhere be restored with confidence

The object of the inscription is, to record that in the [Vikrama] year 1378 two persons, **Lalla (Lāṭiga)** and **Vijada**, for the spiritual welfare of their parents repaired the temple of **Rishabha (Ādinātha)** on the mountain **Arbuda**. And the inscription is divided into three parts. The first part (verses 1-13) is a *prasasti* or eulogy of the sacred **Arbuda**, but besides glorifying that locality and some mythical or divine beings (**Ambikā** and **Śrīmātā**) residing there, it also gives a few historical details connected with it, and especially records the foundation, in the **Vikrama** year 1088, of the temple of **Ādinātha** by **Vimala**. The second part (vv 14-23) contains a *rājavalī* of the chiefs who at the time of the restoration of the temple were in possession of the mountain. And the third part (vv 24-38) gives an account of the family of the men by whom the temple was repaired. The concluding verses (39-42) record the name and spiritual lineage of the priest or teacher who consecrated the restored building, and the exact date when he did so.

To omit what is of no historical interest, the first part begins with the well-known story how on the mountain **Arbuda** there sprang from the fire-pit (*anala-kunda*, *agni-kunda*) of the sage **Vasishtha** the hero **Paramāra**. In his lineage appeared the hero **Kāṇhadādeva**, and in his family there was a chief named **Dhandhu (Dhandhurāja)**, who was lord of the town of **Chandrāvati** and who, averse from rendering homage to the [Chaulukya] king **Bhīmadēva [I]** and to escape that king's anger, took refuge with king **Bhōja**, the lord of **Dhārā**. The author then, rather abruptly, tells us that in the **Prāgvāta** family there was a distinguished personage named **Vimala** in whom religion, immersed in darkness through the wickedness of the times, suddenly shone forth again in its splendour. He was appointed by king **Bhīma dandapati** (commander of the forces or governor) at **Arbuda**, and there one night was enjoined by the divine **Ambikā** to build on the mountain a beautiful dwelling for the **Yugādhartrī (Yugādhipa, Ādinātha)**. That **Vimala** obeyed the request the author intimates in the verse "I adore the holy **Ādinātha** who was placed on the top of **Arbuda** by the glorious **Vimala**, when one thousand and eighty-eight years had passed since (the time of) the glorious king **Vikramāditya**."

The chief **Dhandhu** or **Dhandhurāja**, spoken of in the preceding paragraph, apparently is the **Prāmāra** (or **Paramāra**) **Dhandhuka** mentioned above, p 11, whose son **Pūrnāpāla** ruled the **Arbuda** territory in the **Vikrama** years 1099 and 1102<sup>1</sup>. He would of course have been a contemporary of both the **Chaulukya Bhīmadēva I** and the **Paramāra Bhōjadēva** of **Mālava** — **Vimala's** name occurs in another inscription at his own temple, dated in the **Vikrama** year 1201. That inscription,<sup>2</sup> No 1767 of Mr Cousens' List, contains 10 lines of writing which covers a space about 2' 6" long by 5½" high, and contains 17 verses. In the ink-impression the first two lines of it cannot be read with any confidence, but so far as I can see, a man is spoken of in them who belonged to the **Śrīmāla kula** and was an ornament of the **Prāgvāta vamsa**. His son was **Lahadha**, who was somehow connected with the king **Mūla** (see the **Chaulukya Mūlarāja I**) and was also known by the name **Vira-mahattama**. **Lahadha** had two sons. The first of them was the minister **Nēdha**, and the second **Vimala**, who in verse 7 is described thus —

Dvītyakō-dvātamātāvalamvī(bī) damdādhipah śrī-Vimalō va(ba) bhūva |  
yēn-ēdam-nachchar-bhavasimdhunētukalpam vimirmāpitam-atra vēsma ||

<sup>1</sup> The name **Dhandhuka** also occurs in the genealogy of the **Paramāras** of **Chandrāvati**, above, Vol VIII p 201.

<sup>2</sup> According to Mr Cousens the inscription is over the doorway of cell No 10 in the corridor of **Vimala's** temple. It is referred to in *As Res* Vol XVI p 311, in the words. "One inscription bears date S 1201, but as nothing else is decipherable, it is of no further value."

Nēdha's son was Lāhga, his son was the minister Mahiduka,<sup>1</sup> and he again had two sons, Hama and Daśaratha. And the object of the inscription is, to record that Daśaratha at the temple of Rishabha set up an image of Nēmiṇśa (Nēmitrībhakara, *i.e.* Nēminātha), which was installed on Friday, the first *tithi* of Jyēṣṭha of the Vikrama year 1201, corresponding to Friday, the 5th May A.D. 1144. I may add that the genealogy here given is for the greater part corroborated by another inscription at Vimala's temple, No 1768 of Mr Cousens's List,<sup>2</sup> the full text of which is —

- L 1 Śrī-Śrīmālakulōdbhava |<sup>4</sup> Viramahāmamtri putra-[sa]nmamtri- | śrī-  
 2 Nēdha-putra-Lāhga-tatsuta-Mahiduka-<sup>5</sup>sutēn=ēdam || Nijapu-  
 3 trakalatra-samanvitēna |<sup>6</sup> sanmamtri-Daśarathēn=ēdam | śrī-Nēmi-  
 4 nātha-[b]imvam<sup>6</sup> |<sup>6</sup> mōkshārtham kāntam ramyam ||

For us the main point of interest is the date which the first of the two inscriptions furnishes for Daśaratha, for that date, being of the Vikrama year 1201, shows that Vimala, the younger brother of Daśaratha's great-grandfather Nēdha, may well have lived in the Vikrama year 1088, the traditional date for the foundation of his temple.

The contents of the second part of our inscription (verses 14-23) I have already given above, p. 81 f. This *rāyāvalī* in verse 14 commences with Āsarāja, who belonged to the Chāhuvāna (Chāhuvāna, Chāhamāna) family and was king of the town of Naddūla (Naddūla). After him came Samarasimha; and his son was Mahanasiṃhabhata (v. 15). Then came Pratsāpamalla, and to him was born Vijāda, the lord of the Marusthali *maṇḍala* (v. 16). He had three sons, the first of whom was the king Lūṅga (v. 17). Verse 18 then eulogizes Lūṅha 'who like a god of death devoured the host of adversaries', and verse 19 Lūmbha, of whom verse 20 records that he conquered the mountain Arbuda, and that, after having ruled the earth, he became the lord of heaven (*i.e.* died). Verse 21 then eulogizes Tējasimha, the son of Lūṅga, verse 22 wishes long life to Tihunāka, and the mutilated verse 23 appears to say that Lūmbhaka together with Tējasimha and Tihuna (*śrīmāl-Lūmbhaka-nāmā samantatas-Tējasimha-Tihunābhyaṃ*) in right manner carried on the government of the mountain Arbuda.

Regarding the first part of this *rāyāvalī*, as far as Vijāda, there can be no doubt, and I have nothing to add to what I have previously said about it. A difficulty arises concerning the sons of Vijāda. According to the inscription of Luntgādēva, above, p. 80, Vijāda, who is also called Daśasyandana (Daśaratha), had four sons — Lāvanyakarna, Lūṅha (Luntga), Lakshmana, and Lūnavarman, of whom Lāvanyakarna is distinctly called the eldest (*jyēṣṭha*). According to the present inscription Vijāda had three sons the first (*dāya*) of whom was Lūṅga. After Lūṅga the inscription mentions Lūṅha and Lūmbha, without saying that they were his younger brothers or in any way specifying their relationship. In my account of Luntgādēva's inscription I have identified Lūṅga with Lāvanyakarna, and have taken Lūṅha and Lūmbha to be the names of his brothers, identifying Lūṅha with Lūṅha (Luntga) and Lūmbha with Lūnavarman. Other inscriptions are sure to be discovered which will show whether I am right or wrong. In the meantime I feel bound to state that my friend Mr Ojha, than whom nobody is better acquainted with the history of his country, takes the three names Lūṅga, Lūṅha and Lūmbha (Lūmbhaka) to denote one and the same person, and to be all Sanskritized forms of Lūmbhā, denoting a chief 'commonly called राव लुभा,

<sup>1</sup> The metre shows that the name is correct here.

<sup>2</sup> The inscription is on the seat of an image in cell No. 10 in the corridor.

<sup>3</sup> Metre of the two verses. Āryā.

<sup>4</sup> These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

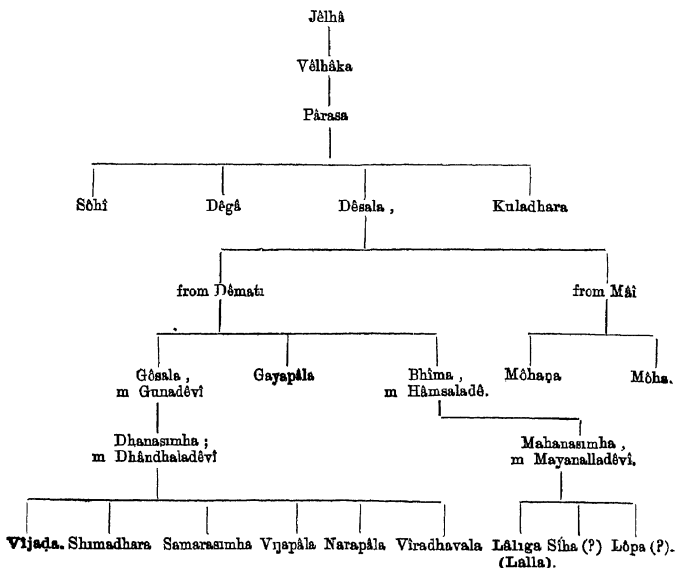
<sup>5</sup> The metre requires us to read *Mahiduka*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *-bimvam*.

the famous conqueror of Ābā.' If my learned friend should be right, the last lines of the genealogical Table published above, p 83, would of course have to be slightly altered. Mr Ojha agrees with me in considering Tihunāka (Tihuna) to be a younger brother of Tējasimha, but from his point of view places both, together with Tējasimha's son Kānhaḍadēva, under Luṭṭaga (Lundha, Lūnga, Lumbha). At the time when our inscription was composed, in the Vikrama year 1378, Lumbha was dead, and the government of Ābā must have been actually carried on by Tējasimha.

The account, which forms the third part of our inscription (verses 24-38), of the family of the two men (Lalla and Vijāda) who restored the temple, contains little more than a list of names which may be seen from the following Table —

Genealogical Table.



The individuals mentioned in this Table were devotedly attached to the Jaina faith. Jēlhā, the founder of the family, was a merchant, and his *guru* was Dharmasūtri.<sup>1</sup> His place of residence was given in the inscription, but the name has been effaced. Of Dēsala it is said that he made fourteen processions to the seven sacred places,<sup>2</sup> Śātrumjaya and the rest. The other members of the family are eulogized in general terms.

<sup>1</sup> See below, p 154.

<sup>2</sup> The seven *śrīhas* or *kāśātras* are frequently mentioned, but I have not yet found the names of the seven places.

There are at Vimala's temple several short inscriptions of members of this family, likewise dated in the [Vikrama] year 1378. And there is a longer inscription<sup>1</sup> of the same family, No. 1791 of Mr Cousens' List, which is dated, in words and figures, in the Vikrama year 1309. This inscription contains 25 lines of writing with 15 verses, and records the installation, by Ānandasūri, of an image of Nēmyūna (Nēmnātha) at Vimala's *vasaḥkṛā*. We learn from it that the family belonged to the Ūkā[śa] *vamśa*,<sup>2</sup> and that its founder, Jēhāka, as he is there called, was an inhabitant of Māṇḍavyapura (Mandor). After Kuladhara it mentions five sons of his, but as the text is partly effaced, I am not at present prepared to give their names from the ink-impression at my disposal.

The remaining verses (39-42) of our inscription record that Rishabha was installed (or rather re-installed) on the mountain Arbuda by the *guru* or *sūri* Jñānachandra, on a date in the [Vikrama] year 1378. Regarding the spiritual lineage of Jñānachandra, we learn that he was preceded by Amaraprabhasūri, and that the founder of the lineage was Dharmasūri, also called Dharmaghōsha-gaṇāryaman, *i.e.* Dharmaghōsha, 'the sun of the gana,' 'who defeated Vādicandra and Gunachandra, and caused the awakening of three kings'. Other inscriptions of the [Vikrama] year 1378 speak of Jñānachandra either as being in the *paṭṭa* of Dharmasūri<sup>3</sup> or as being in the *paṭṭa* of Dharmaghōshasūri,<sup>4</sup> and an undated inscription, No. 1796 of Mr Cousens' List, commences with the words *Śrīmad-Dharmaghōshasūri-paṭṭe śrī-Āna(n)ḍasūri-śrī-Amaraprabhasūri-paṭṭe śrī-Jñānachandrasūri*. The Ānandasūri of the last must be the Ānandasūri mentioned above with a date in the Vikrama year 1309, and the Ānandasūri and Amaraprabhasūri of the inscription apparently are the Ānandasūri and his disciple Amaraprabhasūri who, according to Prof Peterson's *Fifth Report*, p. 110, l. 1, are mentioned in a manuscript written by Amaraprabhasūri's advice in the [Vikrama] year 1344. Before Ānandasūri there is mentioned, *ibid* p. 109, Dharmasūri (a disciple of Śīlabhadrasūri of the Rāja-gachchha), who to the pride of conceited disputants was what the lion's roar is to an elephant, and who put an end to the intoxication of the king *Vigraha*. And the same person is mentioned, under the name Dharmaghōshasūri, in Prof Peterson's *Third Report*, App pp. 15 and 307, where he is represented as enlightening the king of Śākambhari; and *ibid* p. 262, where he is said to have defeated disputants in the presence of the king of the Sapādalaksha country. From all this there can be no doubt that, of the three kings who in our inscription are spoken of as having been awakened by Dharmasūri, one was a king *Vigraharāja* of Śākambhari (the capital of the Sapādalaksha country). In fact, I believe that that king is identical with *Visaladēva-Vigraharāja*, whose Delhi Siwālik pillar inscriptions (No. 144 of my *Northern List*) are dated in the Vikrama year 1220 (in A.D. 1164), and that Dharmaghōshasūri himself is a person of that name who in a short Vimala temple inscription (No. 1906 of Mr Cousens' List) is mentioned with a date in the [Vikrama] year 1226 (in A.D. 1170). Who the two other kings were I do not know, nor have I identified yet *Vādicandra*<sup>5</sup> and *Gunachandra* who were defeated by Dharmasūri.

The date given in verse 42 is Monday, the ninth *tithi* of the dark half (*śukla*) of Jyēṣṭha in the year made up of the *vasus* (8), the *munis* (7), the *gunas* (3) and the moon (1), *i.e.* the [Vikrama] year 1378. Here there is the difficulty that the word *śukla*, which I have translated by 'the dark half,' might equally well denote 'the bright half', and at first sight the latter interpretation might really seem to be preferable, because in line 30 of our text the date is repeated

<sup>1</sup> This is the inscription referred to in *As Res* Vol. XVI p. 311, in the words "Another (*viz.* inscription), in like manner, shows a date S. 1309, but nothing else."

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* the Ōśavāla tribe, compare *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> Nos. 1769, 1822 and 1852 of Mr Cousens' List.

<sup>4</sup> Nos. 1766, 1758A, 1764 and 1793 of Mr Cousens' List.

<sup>5</sup> There is a *Vādicandra* who composed the *Jñānasūryōdaya*, I do not know whether he is the man mentioned in our inscription.

in the words 1379 *Jyēshtha-sudī* 9 *Sōmē* But against this it has to be said that in four independent inscriptions (Nos 1771, 1821, 1829 and 1904 of Mr Cousens' List) we have *samvat* (or *saṁ*) 1378 *varshē Jyēshtha-vadī* 9 *Sōma-dinē* (or *Sōmē*), which evidently is the same date as the one given in our inscription. And besides, for the bright half of *Jyēshtha* the date would be quite incorrect for 1378 (as a *Chaitrādī* current or expired, or *Kārttikādī* expired year), whereas for the dark half of the *pūrṇmānta* *Jyēshtha* of the expired *Kārttikādī* Vikrama year 1378 it regularly corresponds to Monday, the 10th May A D 1322 For these reasons I regard my translation of the date to be correct and take Monday, the 10th May A D. 1322 to be its proper equivalent, and I consider the way in which the date has been repeated in line 30 (where '1379' under any circumstances would be suspicious) to be due to a mistake

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 || Ōm<sup>2</sup> || <sup>3</sup>Srī-Arbudatīrtha-prasastir-likhyatē || <sup>4</sup>Amgikrit-āchalapadō vṛishabhāstō=  
s<sub>1</sub> | <sup>6</sup>bhūtar-ganādhipatsēvita-pādapadmah | śāmbhū-yugādīpupushhō jagad-  
ēkanāthah punyāya pallavayatu<sup>6</sup> prati-vāsāam sa[h]<sup>7</sup> || 1 |
- 2 <sup>8</sup>Nibaddha-mūlah sapatī<sup>9</sup> di umair-naēmdīair-iva sēvyamānah |  
pādāgi ajāgrad-bahuvāhinikah śrī-Arbudō namdatu śaila-rājah || 2 Yasmin  
<sup>10</sup>Viśhātānalakumda-jannmā kshatikshatī-trānaparah pur-āstī | pratyashī-<sup>11</sup>
- 3 rthūsārthōnmathanā-kritāthī |<sup>12</sup> kshutāv-iha śrī-Paramāra-nāmā || 3 <sup>13</sup>Tad-anvayē  
Kānhadadēva-vīrah pur-āvir-āśiva<sup>14</sup> piabala-pratāpah | chiram nivāsam  
vidadhāna<sup>15</sup> yasya karāmbujē sarvajagaj-jayaśrīh || 4 <sup>16</sup>Tatkulakamala-
- 4 marālah kīla[h]<sup>17</sup> pratyarthi-mamdalīkānā[m\*] | Chamdrāvātipur-śāh samajanī  
vir-āgrani[r\*]=Dha[m\*]dhuh || 5 <sup>17</sup>Srī-Bhimadēvasya nṛpaśa(sya) sēvāma-  
amanya[m]ānah kīla Dhamdhurājah | narēśa-rōshāch=cha tatō manaśvī(svi)  
Dhārādhipam

<sup>1</sup> From an impression supplied by Mr Cousens, No 1790 of his List

<sup>2</sup> Denoted by a symbol

<sup>3</sup> Here, as often elsewhere, the vowel of *śrī* is left unchanged before the initial vowel of a proper name

<sup>4</sup> Metre Vasantatilakā

<sup>5</sup> This sign of punctuation, which is superfluous, may have been struck out in the original

<sup>6</sup> Originally *ḡamtu* was engraved

<sup>7</sup> Originally *śd* was engraved, but it seems to have been changed to *śah* — So far as I can see, the verse does not admit of a proper construction. In the three first Pādas the author addresses the Jaina Tirthamkara Rishabha, in terms which would be equally applicable to the god Śiva, and, as the text stands, he then in the fourth Pāda speaks of him in the third person, in words which would literally mean 'may he day by day put forth sprouts for (our) religious merit'. Instead of *pallavayatu* I should have expected *pallavaya*, followed by an accusative case and generally words to some such effect as 'cause our devotion to thee to sprout for our religious merit' (Compare *Śāstrinīyaya-māhātmya* XIV 33 *tādrīśānāṁ hī sādābhakti-vally-sēvām pallavayāsyatī*). In the first Pāda I take *vṛishabhāstō-s* to be equivalent to both *Vṛishabha*, *āstō-s*, and *vṛishabhāstō-s*, so that the Pāda would mean both 'O Vṛishabha (Rishabha)! having chosen this mountain for your residence, you are seated (here),' and 'you (O Śiva!), who have taken the name Achala, are seated on a bull'. I am aware that Rishabha has a bull for his cognizance, and that in representations of him this animal is figured beneath him, but I am not sure that he could be described as 'seated on a bull'. In the second Pāda *ganddhīpati* denotes both Pauṇḍrika, the leader of Rishabha's *gana*, and Gaṇēśa

<sup>8</sup> Metre of verses 2 and 3 Upajāti

<sup>9</sup> Read *sapatīra* — The word *phala* means both 'fruit' and 'the blade (of a sword),' etc; *patīra* 'leaves' and 'vehicles,' etc; and *edānē* 'rivers' and 'armies'

<sup>10</sup> Read *Vasūhīdā*, the same wrong reading we have below, in line 9 — With *anala-kunda* compare *agni-kunda* in *Ep Ind* Vol I p 234, v 5

<sup>11</sup> The *akshara* *sh* is a mistake for *rth*, and should be struck out because *rth* has been repeated at the commencement of line 3

<sup>12</sup> Read *kritāthah*

<sup>13</sup> Metre Upēndravajrā

<sup>14</sup> Read *-dastī*

<sup>15</sup> Wrong for *vidadhā*, which would not have suited the metre

<sup>16</sup> Metre Āryā

<sup>17</sup> Metre: Upajāti

- 5 Bhōjanripam prapēdē || 6 <sup>1</sup>Prāgvātavamś-ābharanam babbūva rānam  
pradhānam Thi(vi)mal-ābhidhāna | yas=tōjasā <sup>2</sup>dusamay-ādhakāra-magnōpi  
dharmanah sahas=āvir-āstīa<sup>3</sup> || 7 <sup>4</sup>Tava(ta)s=cha Bhīmēna narādhipēna<sup>sa</sup>  
pratāpa-bhūrmī(mi)r=Vima-
- 6 16 mahāmatah | kva(kr)tō-[r\*]budē damdapatih satām priyah priyamvadō  
namdatu Jaina-sāsanaē || 8 <sup>5</sup>śōkapat[t\*]rārūna-pānpallavā samullasatkēsa-  
sām(sim)ha-vāhanā [r\*] śūsudvayālamkrita-vigrahā sati<sup>5</sup> satām kri-  
7 yād=viḡna-ha-vināsam=Ambikā || 9 Ath=ānyadā tam msi damdanāyakam samādīdēa  
prayatā kil=Āmbikā [r\*] ih=āchi(cha)lē tvam kuru sadma sumdaram  
Yugādibharttur=nirapāya-samārayah || 10 <sup>6</sup>Śrī-Vikramādityanripād-vya-  
8 titē shtāsīti-yātē śaradām sahasrē(srē) | Śrī-Ādī[nā]tha[m]<sup>7</sup> śikharē-rbudēya  
mrvēsi(śi)tam śrī-[V]imalēna vamdē || 11 <sup>8</sup>Vighnādihvyādhu-hamtrī yā māt=śva  
pranāt-āngishu | Śrīpumjārāja-tanayā Śrīmātā bhavatām<sup>9</sup> śrī-  
9 yā || 12 <sup>10</sup>Achalēsa <sup>11</sup>Vīśhātānalatātini-Mamādīkinīvimalasālila- | punyāni yasya  
śrī[m]nū<sup>12</sup> jayamvi(tu) vīvidhāni tīrthāni || 13 Atha rājāvalī || <sup>13</sup>Vairivargga-  
dalanē gata-tamdras=Chāhuvāmakulakarava-chamdras<sup>14</sup> | yō Nadūla-na-  
10 garasya narēsa Āsarāja ita vīravarō śbhūt || 14 <sup>15</sup>Prabalavarīdāvānala-  
vārdah Samarasī[m\*]ha ita prathitas=tatah | Mahanasimhabhatah subhat-  
āgranīh prithu-yasā ajamishā tad-āngajah || 15 <sup>16</sup>Pratāpamallas-tad-ann pratā-  
11 pī babbūva bhūpāla-sadassa mānyah [r\*] vir-āvatamaō-jani<sup>17</sup> Vijadō-sya  
Marusthalimamdala-bhūtmibhartī || 16 Āsan<sup>18</sup> trayas=tat-tanayā nay-ādhya  
mūrttāh pum-arthā iva bhāgabho(bhā)jah | ādyō dharitripati-rakshapālāh  
khyātah kshītō(tau) Lāniga-  
12 nāmādhyah || 17 <sup>19</sup>Nyāyamārgga-śikharī madhumāsah<sup>20</sup> kālavaksha(t=ka)valayann=  
ari-vrajam | mamdālīka-paha(da)vīm-apālāh(ya)l=Lumdhā ity-abhūdhayā  
dhiyām mduh || 18 <sup>21</sup>Vipakshanārī-nayanāmbupūras=chakāra yah kīrti-

<sup>1</sup> Metre Indravajrī<sup>2</sup> Read -dāt<sup>3</sup> Read dusamay(or dūshamag) āndhakāra-<sup>4</sup> Metre of verses 8-10 Vamāsastha.<sup>5</sup> Here a sign of punctuation was originally engraved — Ambikā is similarly described in the inscription of the Vikrama year 1201, mentioned above, p 151 f, in a verse the correct reading of which I take to be *Vikata-kutīlādamahtīrā-bhīshandryam tatāh cha dhutajabalasūtālā-bhāsuram tungamuchohash | eahat sutam=uddrath yānka samstham sad=ava mryagapatis=madhīrādhā s=Āmbikā vō=stu tusthyā ||* Compare the representation of Kushmāndul in *Ind Ant* Vol XXXII p 463, Plate iv<sup>6</sup> Metre Upajāti<sup>7</sup> It is difficult to say whether we should read *Ādīndītham* or *Ādīdēam* The *akshara* which follows upon *dāt* originally was *dē*, but seems to have been altered, and the next *akshara* looks more like *thā* than *va*, but it might be said that *th* has been wrongly engraved instead of *v* also in *Tāmalā* for *Vimalā*, in line 5 On the whole I think that the reading *Ādīndītham* is preferable<sup>8</sup> Metre Ślōka (Anuśtubh)<sup>9</sup> The sign for *d* in this word is clearly struck out in the original, and it seems probable that the engraver intended to alter *bhacātām* to *bhacatu* — In the above I have purposely given *Śrīmātā*, not *śrī Mātā*, because in other inscriptions *śrī* appears clearly to be part of the name, not an honorific prefix I may mention that in No 1774 of Mr Cousens' List we have *Śrīmāddēvī* as one word, not *Śrīmātrīdēvī*, and that in the account given of this mythical being and her father in *Mērutunga's Prabandhachintāmanī*, p 282 ff, the base of the word is both *Śrīmātā* and *Śrīmātī*. In the same account the father's name is *Śrīpūṇya*<sup>10</sup> Metre Āryā<sup>11</sup> Read *Parīśhīd*; compare above, line 2<sup>12</sup> Read *śringā* — Since at the commencement of the verse the mountain is addressed in the vocative case, one would have expected *tava śringā*, but this would not have suited the metre<sup>13</sup> Metre Svāgatā<sup>14</sup> *Chāhuvāma* probably is a mistake for either *Chāhuvēna* or *Chāhuvēna-*<sup>15</sup> Metre Drutavilambita.<sup>16</sup> Metre Upajāti.<sup>17</sup> After the *ō* of *lamed* another vertical stroke was originally engraved, but has been struck out.<sup>18</sup> Metre Indravajrī — Read *Asama-troyas-*<sup>19</sup> Metre Rathōddhatī.<sup>20</sup> Read, probably, *madhuvrajah*<sup>21</sup> Metre . Upajāti



- 13 latām sapat[t\*]rām | babbhūva bhūmipati-labdhāmānō **Lumbh-ābhūdhānō jagad-  
ākavirāḥ** || 19 <sup>1</sup>Samhṛitya śāstrūn prabalanu<sup>2</sup> balēna śrī-A[r\*]budam prāpya  
nagādhurājam | <sup>3</sup>[bh]nktvā sa [bh]ūma[m\*]dana-rā[jyam=uchchaib] || <sup>4</sup>svarlō-
- 14 ka-lōkādhīpatir=babbhūva || 20 <sup>5</sup>Lūngasya tanujō jagē[ja]jyī Tējasimha itī  
tējasām midhiḥ | yat-pratāpadavapāvakaś-chiram vaimarvarga-vipadam  
nabhatisma<sup>6</sup> || 21 <sup>7</sup>Karāgia[jā]grā[t\*]karavā-
- 15 ladamda-khamdikrt-āśēshavirōdhivarggah | prithyām<sup>8</sup> prasiddhas-Tihunāka-nāmā  
vīr-āvatamsah sa chirāyur-astu || 21 (22) <sup>9</sup>Śrīmal-Lumbhaka-nāmā sama[nv]itas=  
Tējasimha-Tigu(hu)nābhyām | A[r\*]buda[g]nīśa-
- 16 rājyam nyāyani[dh]p[?] <sup>10</sup> . . . [(23\*) . . . <sup>11</sup>urapura-vāsi  
suguru-śrī Dharmmasūi-padabhaktah [i\*] Sarbañjanāsēna-ratah<sup>12</sup> sa jayati  
Jēh-ābhūdhah śrēṣṭhī(śhthī) || 24 Tat-tanayah su-nayō-bhūti<sup>13</sup> Vē-
- 17 [hā]kah sakala-bhūta<sup>14</sup> . . . [i] tat-putrah su-chañtra[h] punya-midhiḥ  
Pārashah sādhuḥ || 25 Sōhi-Dēgā-Dēsala-Kuladhara-nāmū tad-amgaḥ jātāḥ |  
chatvārāḥ kulamamdura-sudridhastambh-ābhūrāmā [yē ||]
- 18 26 <sup>15</sup>Śrī-Dēsalah sukri[tapēsa]la-vittakō[tis=<sup>16</sup>chamcha]chohaturdaśajaga-janitā-  
vad[āta]h<sup>17</sup> | Śāstrumjayapramukha-vīrutasaptatī[rtha]-<sup>18</sup>yātrās=cha[tu]rdaśa chakāra  
mahāmāhēna || 27 <sup>19</sup>Dē[ma]h-Māi-
- 19 nāmni sādhu-śrī-Dēsālaya bhāryō dvē | nirmalaśilagun-ā[dhy]ā dayā-kṣha[mē]  
Jana-dharmasya || 28 Dēmahakūsh-prabhavā Gōsa[ra]-Gayapāla-Bhī[ma]-  
nāmānah | Māi-kukshēr-jātan Mōha-
- 20 na-Mōh-ābhūdhau putrau || 29 Jinasāsanakamala-raviḥ sādhuḥ śrī-Gōsalō-  
vi[dat]<sup>20</sup> kīrtum | gunaratnarōhanadhārā<sup>21</sup> Gunadēvi priyatamā tasya || 30  
<sup>22</sup>Saddharmakarmm-akaniba-
- 21 dhabuddhis=<sup>23</sup>tad-amgaḥ śrī-Dhanasimha-sādhuḥ | bhāryā tadyā sadayā  
vadāñjā(nyā) mānyā satām Dhāmdhaladēvi-samjñā || 31 <sup>24</sup>Sādhi[r\*]=Bhīmasya  
sūtō Hāmsaladēkukshī-sambhāba(va)h śrīmān | ma-<sup>25</sup>
- 22 hīmā-midhur-mahaujā mahāmātur-Māhanasimh-ākhyā[h] || 32 <sup>26</sup>Mayanalladēvi-  
varakukshīsukti-muktās=trayas=tat-tanayā jayanti | jēshtō<sup>27</sup> jagadvyāpi-  
yasahprakāśah sādhu-agrapī[r\*]=Lāgha-

<sup>1</sup> Metre Indravajrā<sup>2</sup> Read *prabālan*<sup>3</sup> Up to the end of the line the *akṣharas* in brackets are more or less conjectural, they are carelessly written in the original For *bhāmamdana* read *bhāmamala*-<sup>4</sup> His sign of punctuation is superfluous<sup>5</sup> Metre Rathōddhatā<sup>6</sup> The four *akṣharas nabhatisma* are quite clear in the original, but offend against the metre and yield no proper meaning The only alteration which I could suggest would be *dahatv=ita*<sup>7</sup> Metre Upajāti.<sup>8</sup> Read *prithivyām*<sup>9</sup> Metre of verses 23 26 Āryā<sup>10</sup> Here about 10 *akṣharas* are effaced<sup>11</sup> In No 1791 of Mr Cousens' List (see above, p 154) Jēhāka is described as an inhabitant of Māndavyapura<sup>12</sup> Read *Sarvajñādsana ratah*<sup>13</sup> Read *bhūd=*<sup>14</sup> Here about 4 *akṣharas* are effaced<sup>15</sup> Metre Vasantilakā<sup>16</sup> Read *ptāla vittakōti=*<sup>17</sup> Read, perhaps, *ōdnah*<sup>18</sup> Originally *īrīhō*, with a sign of punctuation after it, was engraved<sup>19</sup> Metre of verses 28 30 Āryā<sup>20</sup> The reading is conjectural The original has *vi [t?] dē kīrtim*<sup>21</sup> Compare *gunaratnarōhanagiri* in my *Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS*, Bombay, 1881, p 43, line 1<sup>22</sup> Metre Upajāti<sup>23</sup> After the *akṣhara dāhi* a sign of punctuation was originally engraved, but has been struck out<sup>24</sup> Metre Āryā<sup>25</sup> Here originally *mē* was engraved, but the sign for *ś* seems to have been struck out, the two *akṣharas hīmā* at the commencement of the next line are quite clear The author has used the feminine *māhīm* instead of the masculine *māhīman*<sup>26</sup> Metre Indravajrā — The two *akṣharas mayā* at the commencement of the verse were apparently read as one syllable (*may*)<sup>27</sup> Read *jyēshtō*

- 23 sādhanurājah || 33 <sup>1</sup>Āśvinēyā[*v*]=iva śrēsth[*au*] kamisthan guna-sālinan [*i*]<sup>2</sup>  
Siha-Lōp-ābhudhan<sup>2</sup> dharmmadhyāna-pravanamānasau || 34 Shat sutā  
Dhanasimhasya mūrtā
- 24 iva shad=artavah<sup>3</sup> | visvaviśv-ōpakārāy=āvatirnnā[*h*] pritha(ṭhi)-vi-talē || 35  
<sup>4</sup>Tēshām=ādyah sādhu[*r*\*]=Vijada ita vimalama(ṭa)ra-yasāhprasarah | guṇa-  
sāgarah Śhimadharah saṅga(ja)na-
- 25 mānyah Samarasi[*m*]bah || 36 <sup>5</sup>Rājasamāja-śrēsthbō vikhyātō(tah) sādhu-  
Vijapālāh [*i*]\* | nipuna-matū-Narapālāh sukṛita-ratō Viradhaval-ākhyah | (||)  
37 <sup>6</sup>Svapitri śrēyasē
- 26 jūnnōddhāram<sup>7</sup> Rishabha-mamdirē | kārayām-āsatur=Lalala-Vijadau sādhu-  
sattamō(mau) (||) 38 <sup>8</sup>Vādīohendra Gunachandra-vijētā bhāpatitraya-vibōdha-  
vidhātā | Dharmasātri-
- 27 r=iti nāma pur=āsta<sup>9</sup> visvaviśva-viditō muni-rāja[*h*\*] | (||) 39 <sup>10</sup>Mūlapatta-  
kāmē tasya Dharmaghoṣha-gaṇāryamā<sup>11</sup> [*i*]\* | babhūvuh śama-sampūrṇāh<sup>12</sup>  
Amaraprabhasūrayah || 40
- 28 <sup>13</sup>Tatpatta-bhūṣhanam=adūṣhanadharmaśīla-<sup>14</sup>sīdya(ddhām)tasamdhuparīśīlana-Vishnulīlāh  
| śrī-Jñānachandra ita namdatu sūri-rājah punyōpadésaviddhi-bōdhitasa-
- 29 tsamājah | (||) 41 <sup>15</sup>Vasu-muni-tu(gu)na-śasi(śi)-varsha | Jēshatē<sup>16</sup> sitinara(va)mī-  
Sōma-yuta-divasē | śrī-Jñānachandra-gurunā pra[t]iśhta(shṭhi)tō=[*r*bu]da-g[*i*]rau  
Ri[*h*]sha[*h*] || 42
- 30 1379 Jēsta-sudi<sup>18</sup> 9 Sōmē ||

## POSTSCRIPT.

## On the Chāhamānas of Naddūla.

As I have referred in the preceding to the Genealogical Table of the Chāhamānas of Naddūla published above, p 83, I take the opportunity to state that Mr Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha has recently sent me rubbings of four inscriptions, two of which furnish a date in the [Vikrama] year 1147 for the chief Jōjala (Yōjaka), here called Jōjala, while the two others are of the reign of Rāyapāla of Naddūla, whose name does not occur in the Table, and for whom they furnish dates in the [Vikrama] years 1198 and 1200. The rubbings do not enable me to edit the full texts of these inscriptions, but the initial lines, which contain the dates and the names of the chiefs, may be given with confidence.

1 — This inscription is at Sādrī (about 13 miles south of Nadol) in the Gōdwār district of the Jōdhpur State. It contains 11 lines of writing and commences —

- L 1 Ōm<sup>19</sup> samvat 1147 Vaisākha-śudi 2 Budha-vāsarē mahā-  
2 rāja-śrī-Jōladēvēna śrī-Lakshmanasvāmī-prabhriti-  
3 samastadēvānām yātrākāla-vyavahārō lēkhitah ||

<sup>1</sup> Metre of verses 34 and 35 Ślōka (Anushtubh)

<sup>2</sup> I am doubtful about the correctness of the two names, the four *aksharas* at the beginning of the Pāda might be read also *sthāldāpā*

<sup>3</sup> Wrong for *shad=artavah*, which would not have suited the metre

<sup>4</sup> Metre Āryā.

<sup>5</sup> Metre Upagiti

<sup>6</sup> Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh)

<sup>7</sup> Read *śama=Rishabha*

<sup>8</sup> Metre Svagatā

<sup>9</sup> Read *śatē*

<sup>10</sup> Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh)

<sup>11</sup> Read *gandryamnah*

<sup>12</sup> Read *sampūrṇā*

<sup>13</sup> Metre Vasantahakā — With the commencement of the verse compare e.g. Prof Peterson's *Epikh Report*, p 207, v 5 *tatpatta bhūṣhanamanir=ata-dūṣhanab=bbāt*

<sup>14</sup> Probably the intended reading was *śīlāh*

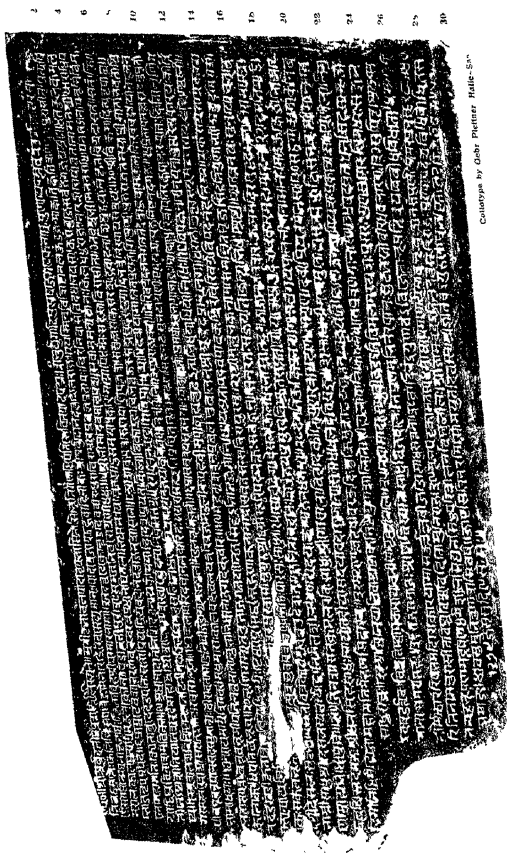
<sup>15</sup> Metre Āryā

<sup>16</sup> Read *varshē Jyēshthē* (or *Jyāshthē*)

<sup>17</sup> Read *gūṣa=Rishabha*

<sup>18</sup> Read *Jyēsthā* (or *Jyāshthā*) *- sudi*; and see above, p. 155

<sup>19</sup> Denoted by a symbol.



Colorotype by Gahr. Picturas. Nalke-Sa.



2 — This inscription is at Nadol. It contains 13 lines of writing and commences —

- L 1 Ōm<sup>1</sup> samvat 1147 Vaisākha-sudi 2 Vu(bu)dha-vāsa-  
 2 ré mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Jōjaladēvaḥ sama-  
 3 sta-dēvanām śrī-Lakshmanasvāmī-prabhritinām yātrā-vya-  
 4 vahāram lēkhayati yathā || . . . .

The date of these two inscriptions regularly corresponds, for the expired *Kārttikādi* Vikrama year 1147, to Wednesday, the 23rd April A.D. 1091, when the 2nd *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h 26 m after mean sunrise

3 — This also is at Nadol. It contains 39 lines of writing and commences. —

- L 1 Ōm<sup>1</sup> samvat 1198 Śrāvana-vadi 8 Ravāv-ady-ēsha [ma]-  
 2 hārājādhirāja-śrī-Rāyapālādēvaḥ<sup>2</sup> kalyāṇa-vijaya[ya]-  
 3 rājyē ēvam kālē pravarttamānē .

The date corresponds either, for the *pūrnimānta* Śrāvana of the expired *Chaitrādi* Vikrama year 1198, to Sunday, the 29th June A.D. 1141, when the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 3 h 11 m after mean sunrise, or, for the *amānta* Śrāvana of the expired *Kārttikādi* Vikrama year 1198, to Sunday, the 16th August A.D. 1142, when the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 20 m after mean sunrise. As the date of the following inscription is correct only for the *amānta* month, I here, too, take Sunday, the 16th August A.D. 1142, to be the true equivalent of the date

4 — This also is at Nadol. It contains 8 lines of writing and commences —

- L 1 Ōm<sup>1</sup> || Samvat 1200 Bhādrapada-vadi 8 Budha-vārē ady-ēsha śrī-  
 2 Na[ḍū]ḥ<sup>3</sup> samastarājavalīsamalāmkṛta-pūjya-mahārājādhi-  
 3 rāja-paramésvara-śrī-Rāyapālādēva-vijayarājyē ē-  
 4 vam kālē pravarttamānē .

The date, for the *amānta* Bhādrapada of the expired *Kārttikādi* Vikrama year 1200, corresponds to Wednesday, the 23rd August A.D. 1144, when the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 16 h 52 m after mean sunrise

In the Table Rāyapāla (A.D. 1142 and 1144) would have to be placed between Jōjalla (A.D. 1091) and Ālhana (A.D. 1153-1161), and it is probable that he was the immediate predecessor of the latter, but how he was related to either of them it is impossible to say at present

I may add that Mr Ojha has also been good enough to send me some notes on the identification of Kāsahrada and Naddūlāi, spoken of by me above, pp 73 and 67. On the former, which I suspected to be somewhere near Nadol, he writes —

“I would identify Kāsahrada with Kāyadrām (also called Kāsadrām) at the foot of Mount Ābū, about 3 miles from the Bhimānā station of the R. M. Railway. It is a place of considerable antiquity with several old temples. An inscription of the time of the Paramāra prince Dhārāvansha was discovered there by me some years ago.”

And respecting Naddūlāi, which I had taken to be a different place from Naddūla, he says —

“As you think, it is quite different from Naddūla. It is now called Nāralāi, and is situated in the Gōdwar district of the Jōdhpur State. An inscription from the place is published in *Bhāvnagar Inscr.* p. 140 (where the date given is incorrect).”

<sup>1</sup> Denoted by a symbol.

<sup>2</sup> Read *“dēva kalyāṇa-”*

<sup>3</sup> See my *Northern List*, No 306 — On the map of the Rājputāna Agency ‘Narlas’ is seven miles south-east of ‘Nadol.’

## No 19 — INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE BASTAR STATE.

By HIRA LAL, B.A., M.R.A.S., NAGPUR.

Mr Cousens in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1903-04 (p. 54) opens his report on the conservation of antiquarian remains in the Central Provinces with the remarks that 'the Central Provinces and Berâr cannot be said to be rich in antiquarian remains,' but 'possibly there exists many an old relic of considerable interest lying hidden away in some of the extensive jungles and little known tracts in the province, that has not come under the notice of any one capable of estimating its value' Exactly from such a place do I draw the materials for the subject I propose to notice on

Bastar is a feudatory state in the extreme south of the province situated between 17° 46' and 20° 14' north latitude and 80° 15' and 82° 15' east longitude, touching the Gôdâvarî and comprising an area of 13,000 square miles, all covered with dense forests and populated by the wild tribes, some of whom did not till very recently know the use of clothes This extensive jungle has been made to yield no less than 22 inscriptions<sup>1</sup> through the strenuous efforts of my friend Mr Bajjnath, B.A., Superintendent of the Bastar State Three of these inscriptions were noticed by Colonel Glasford, Deputy Commissioner of the then Upper Gôdâvarî District, about the year 1862 A.D.<sup>2</sup> So far as is known, only one of them has been published, viz., the so-called Nagpur Museum inscription of Sômêśvara<sup>3</sup> On the authority of the information supplied by the Curator of the Nagpur Museum it is there stated that the stone was brought from a village Kowtah, near Sironcha, which is incorrect as will presently be shown It belonged to Bârsâr of the Bastar State, and is an important record of the predecessors of the present line of Râjas

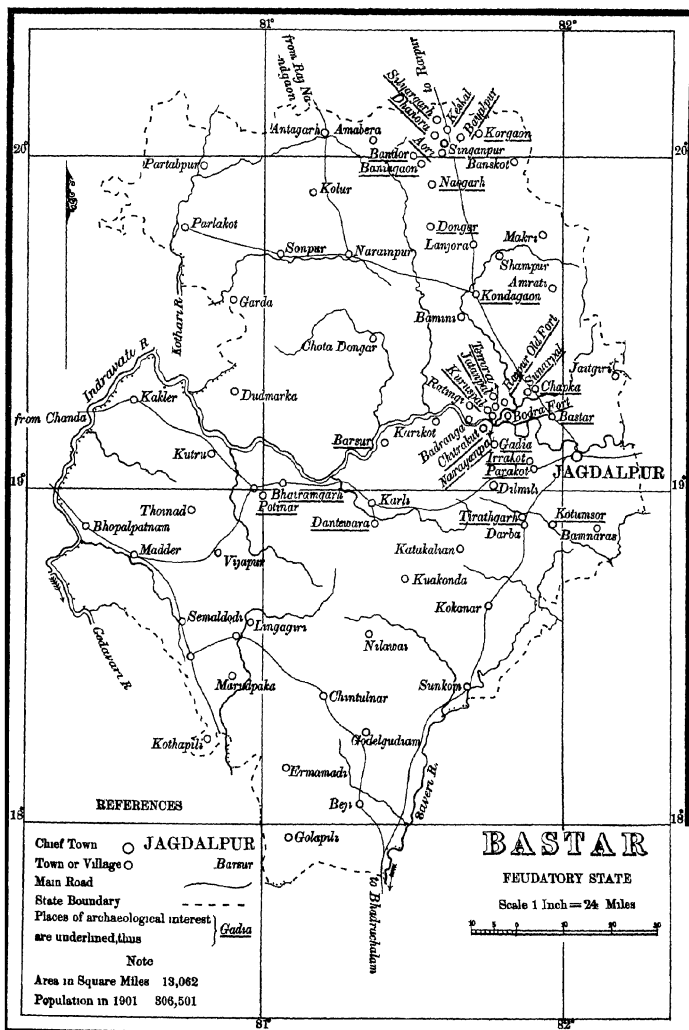
In order that the references to places in the Bastar inscriptions may be easily understood I append a map of the State showing their positions as also some other places possessing archaeological remains As most of the latter have never been noticed before, a brief mention of at least some of the important ones may not be out of place here These places are Bârsâr, Dantêwârâ, Gadia, Bhairamgarh, Narâyanpâl, Sunarpâl, Kuruspâl, Tirathgarh, Pohnâr, Chajkâ and Dôngar

Bârsâr is a place of very great interest It is 55 miles west of Jagdalpur, the present capital of Bastar It contains ruins of many temples, the most important of which is a Śiva temple with two sanctuaries having a common *mandapa* supported on 32 pillars in four rows. In each of the sanctuaries there is a *linga* and a Nandi, and old people remember that an inscription was removed from this place about half a century ago Another Śiva temple has a *mandapa* with 12 pillars in three rows, and the third is called *Mâmâ bhâṣṭrâ-kâ mandar* and is distinguished by carvings on the inside walls in the shape of bells suspended from chains Outside the Gaṇêśa temple there is a huge figure of Gaṇêśa, 17' in circumference and about 7' or 8' high Numerous images are lying about or collected together under huts, of which the most noticeable is one of Vishnu, 4' high, and showing good workmanship There are also some images of Mahishâsuramardini, one of which is inscribed All the temples are of medieval Brâhmanic style, most of them built of stone without lime — Dantêwârâ is about 20 miles south of Bârsâr, and in the intervening villages there are sculptured stones lying about, some of them being five-hooded cobras or intercoiled snakes Dantêwârâ contains the shrine of Dantêśvarî, the tutelary goddess of the present ruling family The temple is built at the junction of two rivers

<sup>1</sup> Since I wrote this Mr Bajjnath has made further discoveries which will be described in another paper

<sup>2</sup> See *Selections from the Records of the Government of India in the Foreign Department*, No. XXXIX p. 82 et seq

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. III p. 314



Prepared specially for the Govt. Epigraphist for India  
 from an original supplied by him





called Sankhīni and Dankīni, and is notorious as a place where human sacrifices were formerly annually offered. At least a place was pointed out to me in the innermost sanctum, close to the goddess, where they said the victims used to be decapitated. The goddess has eight arms and is represented in the act of killing the buffalo demon. She is in reality Mahishāsuramardini, locally known as Dantésvari. There are various other images such as those of Vishnu, Kārttikēya, Ganēśa, etc., some of which were brought away from the ruins of Bārsār. There are five inscriptions here, three inside the Dantésvari temple, one just outside it, and another near a mud hut called Bhairamgudi. There are remains of several other temples buried in ruins. For the support of the Dantésvari temple, an estate consisting of several villages is attached—Bhairamgarh is about 70 miles west of Jagdalpur and has three or four temples, together with remains of a fort and a ditch and several tanks. There is an inscription on a pillar, and at Potinār, a village near Bhairamgarh, there is a slab<sup>1</sup> inscribed on four sides—Gadia is 20 miles west of Jagdalpur and has a stone temple with no idol, but built in the same style as those of Bārsār. About 400 yards away there is a big inscription, and a *linga* was found buried in a brick mound.—Nārāyanpāl and Kuruspāl are quite close to each other, the former being situated on the river Indravatī. Near these villages are the forts of Rājapur and Bōdrā, and not far away the beautiful falls of the Indravatī at Chitrakūt present a magnificent appearance—Nārāyanpāl is only 6 miles from Gadia and has an old temple, an image of Vishnu, and an inscription—Sunārpāl and Chapkā are within 12 miles from Nārāyanpāl. Chapkā has a number of *satī* pillars, several of which are inscribed—Tīrathgarh also contains some temples and relics—Dōngar is a place where according to custom the present Rājas go to be crowned. Here one of the queens, whose finger was chopped off by royal order and who ventured to inform her father, writing the letter with the blood so wantonly spilt, was buried alive. The pit, which is still pointed out, was once disturbed by a greedy Rāja of the same family, who also brought down the temple of Nārāyanpāl and some others in search of supposed buried treasure.

I now proceed to give a short notice of each inscription of which I possess impressions, with very brief remarks where necessary, reserving a fuller account for other papers. The Bastar inscriptions may be roughly divided into three classes, viz., those of the (1) Nāgavamśī kings, (2) the Kākatiyas, and (3) miscellaneous. Of 27 yet discovered, ten belong to the 1st class, five to the 2nd, and the rest to the 3rd.

### THE NĀGAVAMŚĪ INSCRIPTIONS.

#### I—Nārāyanpāl Stone inscription of Queen Gunda-mahādēvi, the mother of Sōmēśvaradēva.

Nārāyanpāl is a village 23 miles west of Jagdalpur. The inscription is on a stone slab and is in Nāgarī characters, and the language is Sanskrit. It records the grant of the village Nārāyanapura to the god Nārāyana and some land near the Khajjuri tank to the god Lōkēśvara, and it is dated in the Śaka year 1033 on Wednesday, the full moon-day of the Kārttika month in the Khara samvatsara (*Śaka-nripa-kālātītēśaśa-śata traya[s\*]-trims-ādāhikē Khara-samvatsarē Kārttika-purnimādyām Buddhavārē*) corresponding to 18th October 1111 A.D., and issued by Gunda-mahādēvi, the chief queen of Mahārāja Dhāravarsha, the mother of Sōmēśvaradēva and the grandmother of Kanharadēva, who was then ruling on the death of his father (Mahārāja-Sōmēśvara-dēvasya *svar(svar)gatē tāshān putrasya dām naptuh . . . śrīmad-vīra-Kanharadēvasya kalyāna-vyaya-rāyē*). The dynasty claims to belong to the Nāgavamśa and the Kātyapa gōtra, to have a tiger with a calf as their crest and to be the lords of Bhōgavati the best of the cities (*Nāgavamśōdbhava Bhōgavati-pura-var-śvara savatsa-vyāghra-lāmcchhana Kāśīyapa-gōtra*). At the end of the inscription the sun and moon, a cow and a calf, and a

<sup>1</sup> This has now been removed to a roadside place called Jānglā, six miles north of Potinār, for easy access

dagger and shield with a *linga* in its socket, exactly of the shape in which the *Langâyats* wear them, are engraved. There is a postscript to this inscription in which it is stated that the land was given by *Dhârana-mahâdêvi*, who was probably the widow of *Sômêśvara*, as will appear further on. There can be no doubt that *Narâyanpâl* is the *Nârâyanapura* of the inscription. A temple of *Nârâyana* is still standing there. The image of *Vishnu*, about 2' high, canopied by a hooded snake, is exquisitely executed.

## II.—Bârsûr inscription of Ganga-mahâdêvi, wife of Sômêśvaradêva.

This inscription is now in the *Nâgpur Museum*, and, as stated above, it has already been published.<sup>1</sup> It is a slab 9' 2" long, 14" broad and 3½" thick, broken into two pieces, the bigger one measuring 6½' and the smaller one 2' 11". It is inscribed on three sides. The inscribed portion of each flat side is about 4½', thus leaving half of the pillar buried underground. As the whole of the inscription could not be completed within the allotted space, the remaining portion has been inscribed on the third side, on which the writing runs to the length of 31". The stone is stated to have been brought from *Kowtah* near *Sironcha*, but the *Tahsildar* of *Sironcha* informs me that it was never sent from that place.<sup>2</sup>

The stone is indisputably from *Bârsûr*. Happily *Col Glasford* has given a facsimile in his report on the *Dependency of Bastar*. Speaking of the *Bârsûr* temples he says<sup>3</sup> — "In front of this temple I found a slab with an ancient Sanskrit and Telugu inscription on both sides, part of it had been broken off and was nowhere to be found. After offering a reward and causing search to be made I had the satisfaction of obtaining it. As the Telugu is of an antiquated character, I regret to say I have not succeeded in obtaining an accurate translation of the inscription. A facsimile is appended. From what I can ascertain it would appear that the temple of *Mahâdêva* where the slab was found was built by a *Râjâ Sômêśvaradêva*, a *Nagavamsî Kshatriya*, in the year 1130."

The inscription is in the Telugu character, and the language is also Telugu prose, the *virudhavalî* or titles of the king being in Sanskrit and corresponding with those in the *Narâyanpâl* Sanskrit inscription. It records that *Ganga-mahâdêvi*, the chief queen of *Sômêśvaradêva* gave a village named *Kêramaruka* or *Kêramarka* to two temples of *Śiva* (both of which she had built) on Sunday, the 12th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Phâlguna* in the *Śaka* year 1130. The two temples referred to here still exist, having one common *mandapa*, and from local enquiry it appears that it was from this place that *Col Glasford* removed the slab. Although the names of the temples *Virasômêśvara* and *Gangâdharêśvara* given after the royal couple as recorded in the grant, are forgotten, a tank still remains which is called *Gangâśâgar* and retains the memory of the charitable queen *Ganga-mahâdêvi*. If the *Sômêśvara* of this inscription is identical with that of *Narâyanpâl*, there has apparently been a mistake in engraving the date which should be 1030 and not 1130, and that is perhaps the reason why the week day does not correspond with the *tithi* given there, viz., the 12th of the bright fortnight of *Phâlguna*, on a Sunday. According to *Mr. Dikshit's* calculations, *Phâlguna Śukla 12* of *Śaka-Samvat 1130* ended on Wednesday. So it was concluded that the year meant was *Śaka 1131* expired, in which year the *tithi* given in the inscription fell on a Sunday. But on calculating the week day for the same *tithi* in *Śaka 1030* expired I find that

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. III p. 814.

<sup>2</sup> A similar error seems to have been committed in relegating the Buddhist stone inscription of *Bhavadêva* (republished in *J. R. A. S.* 1905, p. 617, by *Dr. Kielhorn*) to *Batapur*, whereas from my enquiry *in situ* I found that the inscription was really brought from *Bhândaka*, and this is confirmed by *General Cunningham's Reports*, Vol. IX, p. 127.

<sup>3</sup> Report on the *Dependency of Bastar*, 1862, p. 62.

it also fell on Sunday.<sup>1</sup> In the Narāyanpāl inscription it is stated that the grant of Nārāyanapura was made in Śaka 1033, in the reign of Kanharadēva, who had succeeded his father Sōmēśvaradēva on his death. And as there is nothing to show at present that there were two Sōmēśvaras,<sup>2</sup> the date 1030 fits in very well. It, however, seems somewhat extraordinary that such a palpable mistake should have been allowed to remain when it could be corrected by joining together with a curved line the two ends of the Telugu 1 which is like an egg half-cut (at least it is so in the inscription) thus transforming easily the second 1 of 1130 into a zero. I am very reluctant to suppose that the engraver committed a mistake, but that he did is patent enough in this case whether we read 1030 or 1130. The village Kēramaguka may be identified with Kōdmalnār, which is situated quite close to Bārsūr and is said to have been *mu'afi* or exempt from the payment of taxes for a long time.

### III.—Kuruspāl inscription of Dhārana-mahādēvi, second queen(?) of Sōmēśvara.

Kuruspāl is a village about a mile off from Narāyanpāl. The inscription was found built upside down into the steps of a small tank, which shows that it did not belong to the tank itself, but was brought away from some ruins, possibly the temple built in the centre of the tank, and was ntised without regard to what was engraved on it. It is in the Nāgarī character, the language being Sanskrit with very bad spellings. The object of the inscription is to record a grant of land situated near Kalamba by Dhārana-mahādēvi, who seems to have been the second queen of Sōmēśvaradēva. The inscription belongs to the victorious reign of Mahārājādhirāja Sōmēśvaradēva (*Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Sōmēśvaradēva-pādānu kalyāna-vijaya-rājyā śrīmat-sā(mach-ohhā)sana-mahādēvi devīya Dhārana-mahādēvi tay-āchamya Kalambva-samāpasthā bhūmī dattam(ā)*). The same long *virūdas* as in the Narāyanpāl and Bārsūr inscriptions are attached to Sōmēśvaradēva's name. The inscription also mentions the name of Nārāyanapura. It is dated in the Śaunya saivatsara.

### IV.—Sunārpāl stone inscription of Mahādēvi, queen of Jayasimhadēva.

Sunārpāl is about 10 miles from Narāyanpāl. The stone is partially broken, and a part of the inscription is gone. It is undated. It records the grant of land, or, more properly, an imprecation against the resumption of granted land, and gives the names of witnesses before whom the gift was made, but it is not stated where. The gift was apparently made by Mahādēvi, the chief queen of Jayasimhadēva of the Nāga race, the supreme lord of Bhōgavati, having the tiger with a calf as his crest. He is called Rājādhirāja Mahārāja Śrī Jayasimhadēva.

### V.—The Dantēśvari gudi inscription<sup>3</sup> of Narasimhadēva.

This is another stone inscription in Telugu character found in the temple of the goddess Dantēśvari at Dantēwārā. It is dated in the dark fortnight of the month Jyēsthā in the Śaka year 1140 (expired). In this year there was an eclipse of the sun, and the month of Jyēsthā was intercalary. At that time Mahārāja Narasimhadēva, the ornament of the race of the best of serpents, was ruling (*Śrī-bhujaga-vāra-bhūshana-Mahārājula-ana Śrīman-Narasimhadēva-Mahārājula rājyamu*). The inscription is only a fragment

<sup>1</sup> Since I wrote the above, Prof. Kielhorn has kindly calculated the date for me and finds that Śaka 1030 Phālguna Sudi 13 Sunday regularly corresponds to Sunday, 14th Feb. A.D. 1109.

<sup>2</sup> I do not think that much importance can be attached to the different *virūdas* used in the Bārsūr and Narāyanpāl inscriptions. The Sōmēśvara of the former has the title *yagadēkābhāshana-mahārāja*, which does not occur in the latter. But then the *virūdas* used in the Bastar inscriptions are not always the same.

<sup>3</sup> For reading this I am indebted to Mr. Sitaramayya, one of the Superintendents in the Comptroller's office, Central Provinces.

Of the remaining five Nāgavamśi inscriptions it has not yet been possible to obtain good impressions. They are all in Telugu. The Potinār slab seems to refer to Naraśimhadēva and the Dantēwārā stone lying outside the Dantēśvari temple to Jayasimhadēva. The Bhairamgarh inscription contains *brūdas* similar to those found in the Barsūr one, and the king is stated in both to be the worshipper of Mānkyadēvi (*Śrī-Mānkyadēvi-dvaya-śrīpāda-padm-ārādha*), which is an older name of Dantēśvari, so named by the successors of the Nāgavamśis, the Kākatiyas, although the latter claim that Dantēśvari came with them from Warangal, where she was called Mānkyēśvari.<sup>1</sup> This inscription is incomplete and it appears that it was never completed. The Bhairamgudi inscription at Dantēwārā appears to be the oldest of all, as its date appears to be Śaka 984.<sup>2</sup> The Gadia inscription, apparently of Somēśvaradēva's time, contains the usual figures of the cow and calf, Sun and Moon, Śiva, etc., the peculiar signs of the Nāgavamśi kings, although they do not seem to refer to their family crests. They are all picture imprecations. The sun and moon represent that the grant is to last as long as these luminaries endure. Śiva is the protector against violation of the grant on the spiritual side, and the dagger and shield of the king on the temporal. The cow and calf depict the grave sin which the transgressor would commit, exactly equal to taking away the cow from the calf. This interpretation is supported by the fact that the Kuruspāl inscription has a representation of an ass associating with a pig, the imprecation being explained in the text thus, *Jā (yā) anyathā karōti tasya pītā gardabhah śūkarī mātā* (he who acts otherwise has for his father an ass and for his mother a pig.)

From these inscriptions it would appear that Bastar, which has been held to have always been the home of wild animals, with almost wilder tribes, was once ruled by a people whose civilization is sufficiently evidenced by the remains of temples, some of which are of great architectural beauty. These inscriptions carry the history of Bastar back to the eleventh century A.D., when at least the central portion of the State was ruled by the Nāgavamśi kings. They apparently belonged to the Sinda family of Yelburga, whose titles are strikingly identical with those of the Bastar Nāgavamśi kings. Dr Fleet states<sup>3</sup> that there appear to have been more branches than one of this family. One of these was that of Bastar, which has been hitherto unknown. These inscriptions disclose the names of five or six different kings, viz., Dhārāvarsha, his son Sōmēśvaradēva, and his grandson Kanharadēva, Jayasimhadēva, Naraśimhadēva, and a possible Sōmēśvara II. In view of the fact that half the inscriptions relating to these kings have not yet been deciphered owing to their incompleteness or want of proper impressions, I reserve a fuller discussion of the history of these kings for another occasion.

## II.—THE KĀKATĪYA INSCRIPTIONS.

All these are modern ones, the oldest being those of the Dantēśvari temple at Dantēwārā written by the *rājaguru* of the present family, who was a Maithila Pandit. One of these is in Sanskrit and the other is a Maithili rendering of the same with some additions. Col Glasford has given a very defective transcript of both in his report. They are dated in the Vikrama Samvat 1760, or 1703 A.D. on the 3rd day of Baisākh, dark fortnight. They record the pilgrimage of Rāja Dīpālādēva to the Dantēśvari shrine when 'so many thousands of buffaloes and goats were sacrificed that the waters of the Sankhūi river became red like *kusuma* flowers and remained so for five days.' The Kākatiyas are stated to be Sōmavamśis,<sup>4</sup> born of the

<sup>1</sup> Elliot's *Report on the Bastar and Kharonde Dependencies*, 1861, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> As read by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya.

<sup>3</sup> *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 572.

<sup>4</sup> In the Ekāmranātha inscription of Gaṇapati (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI, p. 200) they are stated to belong to the solar race to which 'Sagara, Bhagiratha, Baghu and Rāma' belonged. This apparent contradiction is, however, capable of being explained. The Kākatiya king Gaṇapati had no male issue. He had a daughter named Rudrāmbā, who succeeded him on the throne. Apparently she also had no male issue and had therefore to adopt her daughter's

**Pāndava Arjuna** The genealogy begins with Kākati Pratāparudra, who was king of Warangal. His brother Annamrāja was the first to come to Bastar, and the genealogy is continued to Dikpālādēva, nine successors being mentioned. The present Bastar family is the representative of the old Warangal family, who, having been defeated by Musalmāns, fled to Bastar. Combining the information hitherto available, the following list of Kākatiya kings may be made up

1—Predecessors of Annamdēva, from Professor Kielhorn's *Southern List*, above, Vol VIII, Appendix, p 18

- 1 Duryaya
- 2 Bēta (Betmarāja) Tribhuvanamalla, son of 1
- 3 Prōla (Prōlārāja, Prōdārāja) Jagannēsarīn, son of 2, made the Western Chālukya Tailapa-dēva prisoner, defeated Govindarāja and Gunda of Mantakūta, conquered but reinstated Chōdōdāya, put to flight Jagaddēva
- 4 The *Mahāmāṇḍalēśvara* Rudradēva, son of 3, subdued Dōmma, conquered Mailigidēva, burnt the city of Chōdōdāya A D 1163-[and 1186]
- 5 Mahādēva (Mādhava), brother of 4
- 6 Ganapati (Ganapa) Chhalamattiganda, son of 5, defeated the Dēvagiri Yādava Singhana, the kings of Chōla, etc. A D [1199-1200 to 1260-61]
- 7 the *Mahāmāṇḍalāchakravartin* Pratāparudra of Ēkaśilānagarī, i.e. Warangal. His general Muppidi entered Kāñchi and installed Mānavira as governor A D 1316

2—Successors of Annamdēva down to Dikpālādēva according to the Dantēwārā inscriptions.

- 1 Annamrāja, brother of Pratāparudra.
- 2 Hāmradēva
- 3 Bhairava (Bhai Rāj) dēva
- 4 Purushōttamadēva
- 5 Jayasimhadēva
- 6 Narasimhadēva, his queen Lachhamī-dēī dug many tanks and planted gardens
- 7 Jagadīśārāyadēva
- 8 Viranārāyanadēva
- 9 Virasimhadēva, married Vadanakumārī, a Chandēlla princess
- 10 Dikpālādēva, married Ajabakumārī, of the Chandēllas, visited the Dantēwārī temple in Samvat 1760, A D 1703

son Pratāparudra. It is possible that Pratāparudra's father may have belonged to the lunar race, and, while Pratāparudra became by adoption a Kākatiya of the solar race, his brother Annamdēva, the founder of the Bastar family, must have remained what his father was, that is, of the lunar race. Strictly speaking Pratāparudra himself does not seem to have a very strong claim to be a solar Kākatiya. He was adopted by his grandmother, whereby he became a member of her (his husband's) race, but it can be urged in his favour that he succeeded to the Kākatiya throne, and that adoption of females was valid in ancient times (see *Dattakamīndra* VII § 30—38 as quoted by Mayne, *Hindu Law and Usage*, sixth edition, p. 180), whereby Ganapati's daughter, whom her father had called his 'son' and had given a male name of 'Rudra' (on which account she was called Rudrāmbā, see *Ind. Ant.* XXI p. 199) became incorporated with her parental race of solar Kākatiyas. The commentator of the *Pratāparudriya*, who was no less a personage than the great Mallinātha's son, explains the word thus—*Kākatir ndma Durgā Śaktir Ēkaśilānagarīvarāndm kuladēvatā rā Śaktir bhaganty-dēy ēv Kākatiyah*. It is in this sense alone that the Bastar family could be classed as Kākatiya. This would not affect their true lineage, etc., the lunar race. All this however would apply if Annamdēva was a brother of the Pratāparudra of our list I. But list II with 10 kings for a period of about 400 years postulates the existence of another Pratāparudra, who probably ruled a hundred years later and 'lost his kingdom and his life in the battle with Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī' in 1424 A.D. This Pratāparudra was also probably engrafted from another family like his predecessor, in all likelihood from the lunar race to which his brother Annamdēva as a matter of natural course continued to belong.

3 —Successors of Dīkpalādēva down to the present ruling chief, according to records kept in the Rāja's family

- 1 Rajpālādēva
- 2 Dalpatādēva
- 3 Daryādēva, his brother Ajmēr Singh rebelled against him in Samvat 1836, A.D. 1779
- 4 Mahipalādēva
- 5 Bhūpālādēva
- 6 Bhairamadēva.
- 7 Rndrapratāpadēva, the present chief

The family records place another Pratāparājadēva between Narasimhadēva and Jagadīśarājadēva, Nos 6 and 7 of List 2. Pratāparudradēva, the brother of Annamrāja, is stated to have had three eyes, his army was composed of nine lac archers,<sup>1</sup> and during his time golden rain fell. Pratāparudra I. was a great patron of learning, and Vidyānātha wrote a work on Alankāra, which he called after him *Pratāparudrayasōbhāṣana* or *Pratāparudrīya*.<sup>2</sup>

The other three inscriptions are at Dōngar; they are written in Hindī. Two of them are dated in Samvat 1836, or A.D. 1783, and refer to a visit of Rāja Daryādēva in order to quell a local rebellion. The third is dated in Samvat 1928, or A.D. 1871, and records the *patī-bhishēku* ceremony of Bhairamadēva, the father of the present ruler.

### III — MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS

All these are unimportant and give no historical data. Six belong to Chapkā and are engraved on *satī* memorial stones and, with one exception, in Nāgarī characters. Most of these have the usual marks of the sun, the moon and the outstretched hand with figures of husband and wife. Some have got temples engraved, with the couple in the act of worshipping the *lunja* represented there. One is found at Bārsūr on the pedestal of a goddess and is fragmentary.

### No 20 — KANKER COPPER PLATES OF PAMPARAJADEVA

[KALACHURI] SAMVAT 965 AND 966.

By HIRA LAL, B.A., NAGPUR.

These are two copper plates which were found in an old well in the Village *Tahankāpār*, 18 miles from Kanker, the capital of the state of the same name in the Chhattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces. They are now in the possession of the chief of that state and were sent to me by his Dīvān Pāndit Durgaprasād. Ink impressions were kindly taken for me at Nāgpur by Mr. T. G. Green, Superintendent of the Government Press, and they are reproduced in the accompanying plate.

There are two different records issued at an interval of a year. Both the plates are  $7\frac{7}{8}$ " long, but they differ in height and weight, one measuring  $3\frac{1}{2}$ " and the other  $3\frac{1}{4}$ ", the bigger one

<sup>1</sup> This may be true in the sense that he ruled over so big a population, who, as subjects, could at any time be called out for military service. In Bastar and adjoining tracts almost every man knows the use of the bow and arrow, with which they even kill tigers. The probability, however, is that 'nine lac' was a conventional term for the highest number. In the Hotāir inscription (*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 433) the Chālukya king Satyāśraya is stated to have put to flight a Chōla king who had collected a force numbering nine lacs, indirectly insinuating that he defeated the biggest army that could be brought in the field. Similarly it has become idiomatic to speak of *Bhūvangark* (52 forts), 700 *chēlas* (disciples), 108 *śrīs*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.* xii, p. 193, and Duff's *Chronology of India*, p. 213.

weighing 6 oz and the smaller 6 oz 10 drs. The former has an oblong hole at the top, measuring  $\frac{1}{8}'' \times \frac{1}{16}''$ , apparently for stringing it with other plates. It is uniformly and sufficiently thick, and is in a good state of preservation. The smaller one is thick in the middle but very thin at the ends, so thin indeed that the commencement *Om svasti* has cut through the plate leaving holes in the engraved portion, and, similarly, at the diagonally opposite end, a portion is exceedingly worn-out leaving irregular holes there. The corners of this plate were rounded off. It has at the end an ornamental figure representing the moon. This was probably the family crest.

The average size of the letters in the bigger plate is  $\frac{3}{16}''$  and in the smaller  $\frac{1}{8}''$ . The former appears to be a palimpsest. Both the sides contain minute scratches of letters of almost double the size, which are altogether illegible.

The characters in both the plates, which were written at an interval of a year only, are Nāgarī, and the language in both is corrupt Sanskrit prose. Both the plates were engraved by Sāthi or Sāo Kēśava, who apparently lived at Pādi (town).

There is very little to note about orthographical peculiarities. The letters *dha*, *ra*, *na*, *ksha*, *bha*, *jña*, and the figures 9 and 5 appear in a somewhat antiquated form, and the usual indifference to the use of *s* for *ś* is conspicuous. Spelling mistakes there are many, they have been noticed in the footnotes under the text.

The bigger plate, which is the older of the two and was issued from the Kākara residence, is a state document conferring a village with a fixed revenue on the village priest Lakshmidharasārman. This refers to Jarpārā village, but Chikhali is also incidentally mentioned. The smaller plate records the gift of two villages, Kōgarā and Āndali, to the same person on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun. These transactions were made by the *Mahāmāṇḍalikā* Pamparājādēva of the Sōmavamsa (lunar race) in the presence of his queen Lakshmidēvi, prince Vōpadēva and eight Government officials including the minister. In the village document these officials appear as witnesses. The recipient of the villages was himself one of them.

The village document is business-like and contains abbreviations which were no doubt very well understood at that time, but are now difficult to make out. It does not indulge in genealogies. In the gift, however, we are told that Pamparājādēva meditated on the feet of Sōmarājādēva, who meditated on the feet of Vōpadēva. I take this Vōpadēva to be identical with that of the Kanker stone inscription of the Śaka year 1242 (see above, page 124). I shall discuss this question in another paper on the Sihāwā inscription, which also gives a genealogy of this family.

The bigger plate is dated in Sāmvat 965, in the Bhādrapada month, in the Mṛiga lunar mansion, on Monday, the 10th of the dark fortnight, and the smaller one in the Jyēshtha-sāmvatsara, in the month of Kārttika, in the Chitrā lunar mansion, on Sunday, at the solar eclipse, the year being given in figures at the end as 966. It is not stated to what era these dates belong, but Professor Kielhorn, who has kindly calculated them for me, has conclusively proved that they refer to the Kalachuri era. The reader is referred to the postscript added by him at the end of my article on the Kanker stone inscription (see above, pp 128 and ff), where he has fully discussed the question. The English equivalents of these dates, as calculated by him, are Monday, the 12th August A.D. 1213, and Sunday, the 5th October A.D. 1214, respectively.

The towns and villages mentioned in the plates are Kākara, Pādi, Kōgarā, Āndali, Jarpārā, Chikhali and Vanikōṭṭa. Kākara is the modern Kanker, where the present chief of the state resides. It is 88 miles from Raipur, the headquarters of the Chhattīsgarh Division, in which the Kanker state is included. Kōgarā has now been corrupted into Kōngērā. There are two villages of this name in the state, and for distinction one is called Dēo Kōngērā (8 miles

south-east of Kanker), and the other Hāt Kōngērā (6 miles north of Kanker). The former is associated with gods, and the latter with a market, which is held there. In the inscription Kōgarā is said to be close to the shrine of Prāṅkēśvara, which has now disappeared, but has apparently left its reminiscence in the suggestive adjunct *Dēo* which Kōngērā now bears. I therefore identify our Kōgarā with Dēo Kōngērā. Jaiparā is the modern Jēprā (Indian Atlas, quarter sheet 92, N W., Long 81° 31', Lat 20° 28'), a village 15 miles north of Kanker and Chikhali is about 21 miles in the same direction just on the borders of the state. It is now included in the Dhamtarī tahsil, which formerly formed part of the Kanker state. Āndali is probably represented by the present Āndni (Ānṇi), 10 miles east of Kanker. Pādi cannot be identified. The same is the case with Vanikōṭṭa about which it is doubtful whether it is the name of a village at all.

## Plate I.

## TEXT.

- 1 Svasta Kākara-samāvasē rājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramamāhēśva(śva)ra-Sō-
- 2 ma-vams(ś)-ānvaya-prasūta-Kātyā[ya\*]nī-vara-lavdha-paṇcha-savd<sup>1</sup>-ābhinamdita-mṇa-bhṛṇ-  
ōpārjita-
- 3 mahāman[d\*]alika-simāt<sup>2</sup>Pamparājadēva-vijaya-rājyē tat-sammhita-rājñī Lakshmi-
- 4 dēvi kumara<sup>3</sup> Vōpadēva pradhāna Bhōga rārā | vapātha | asū<sup>4</sup> śtē mā-
- 5 vāpāram kurvām ti-
- 5 aśthā(a)mti Jaiparā Vanikōṭṭa maryaḍi-kṇtya grāma-patrō-yañ ga tā-
- Lakshmidharāyam(ya) pradattam
- 6 prathama sarāha gaja bhāma śoḥhu 130 vijaya-rāja<sup>5</sup> ttamka 140 halar-
- ārdha-pattam-
- 7 tarē | tathā Chikhali-grāma-patrē vijaya-rāj[ya\*]a-ttamka 150 pralavā-pau-
- 8 ṇa-pattamtarē | Asmim arthē śākshupaḥ bhattarā[ṇaka\*] (|) Gōvinda gai(n, t)
- Lakshmidhara | ga[tā\*] Ma-
- 9 hēśvara<sup>6</sup> | nā[yaṇka\*] | Chhamtū | nā[yaṇka\*] | Dāmōdara | sā[o\*] | Pālātū |  
samvat (|) 965 Bhādrapada vadī 1[0]
- 10 mṇga-rikshā<sup>7</sup> sōdma dinā<sup>8</sup> | pam | Vishnuśarmmaṇā lkhitam sēthi Kōśavēna  
utkirnam Pādi-
- 11 patanā [|\*] subham<sup>9</sup> bhavatu ||

## TRANSLATION.

Hal! At the Kākara residence, in the victorious reign of the illustrious Mahāmanḍaliya Pamparājadēva, the king of kings, the supreme lord, the great worshipper of Śiva, (who is) born in the lineage of the family of the Moon, who is hailed as having obtained the 5 sounds as a boon from Kātyāyani, who has acquired (his country) by (the force of) his own arms, with him the queen Lakshmidēvi and Prince Vōpadēva (sitting) by his side, and while the eight<sup>10</sup> officials

<sup>1</sup> Read 'lavdha-paṇcha-savd'.<sup>2</sup> Read *irmat-*.<sup>3</sup> Read *kumara*.<sup>4</sup> Probably *aśta*.<sup>5</sup> Read *rāja*.<sup>6</sup> Read *Mahēśvara*.<sup>7</sup> Read *mṇgarikshā*.<sup>8</sup> Read *sōmadin*.<sup>9</sup> Read *subham*.

<sup>10</sup> These eight officials seem to have included the minister, the village priest, who in the present case is a party to the transaction, the Rāj Pandit, who wrote out this document, and five others, whose office is probably expressed by five letters *Rā, Rā, Vā, Pā* and *Tha*, which perhaps stand for *Rājaka* (chief counsellor), *Rājavallabha* (court favourite), *Vārika* (chamberlain), *Pārika* (aide-de-camp), and *Thakkura* (lord-in waiting). See *Jour. de Soc. Bengal*, 1905, Vol I p 10, Vol XVII, 1878, pp. 405 and 408, *Ind. Ant* Vol XI, pp 244 and 287. In the last, which is a Chaulukya grant of A D 1207, the following occurs *śāva-ashādhūr gōkthikash* ... *śāva-karāṇyā*, this place of worship has to be taken care of by the following eight trustees. Our inscription was written only six years after the one referred to above, and it would seem that at that time eight was considered an adequate number of persons as witnesses or trustees, etc., in connection with transactions of at least landed property.







(headed by) the minister Bhôga (?) are present on duty, this document of the village, making Jaiparâ Vanikôṭṭa the limit,<sup>1</sup> is given to Gairâ<sup>2</sup> Lākshmidhara First<sup>3</sup> (the revenue was payable) at 130 (in former coins, now) 140 coins of (our) victorious reign (mint) for half the Halbâ<sup>4</sup> patṭi (share) Similarly in the document of Chikhalī village, 150 coins of (our) victorious reign (mint) for the ½ Pralavâ (Halbâ) patṭi (share) The witnesses for this purpose (are) Bhāttarānaka Gôvinda, Gairâ Lakshmidhara, Gairâ Mahêśvara, Nāyaka Chbantū, Nāyaka Dāmôdara, Bāo Pātātū Samvat 935, Bhādrapada (month), in the Mriga lunar mansion (*raksha*), on Monday, the 10th of the dark fortnight Written by Pandit Vishnuśarman and engraved by Sethi Késava in the Pādi town Let good fortune attend

## Plate II

## TEXT

- 1 Om<sup>5</sup> Svasti Pādi-samāvāśe samasta-rū-jāvali-manālamukṛita<sup>6</sup>-sōmavam[sānvaya-<sup>7</sup>  
prasū]ta-mahā-
- 2 man[d\*]alika-srimad-Vôpādêva-pād-ānudyāta-parama-bhattāraka-mahaman[d\*]alik a<sup>8</sup> -  
[śi]maī-Sōmarā-

<sup>1</sup> This is another ambiguous phrase capable of various interpretations. It is possible that the executors meant to convey that the boundaries of Jaiparâ Vanikôṭṭa were duly marked out on the spot before the document was given to Lākshmidhara. Vanikôṭṭa is another troublesome word. It may have been the name of a village in the vicinity of Jaiparâ and may have been used as an adjunct to distinguish it from other villages of the same name. Similarly people talk of Dēori Nāharman, meaning that Dēori which is near the village Nāharman, to distinguish it from another Dēori. There is a village in Kanker called Pharasakōṭ, which is probably a corruption of Parasakôṭṭa, and on this analogy, it may fairly be asserted that there is nothing extraordinary in the name Vanikôṭṭa as denoting a village. It is, however, equally probable that it was no village, and that Jaiparâ had this adjunct because there existed in that village a *canik kotta*, or "traders' fortress," that is, a fortified place probably made by Banjārās for storing grain purchased for transport. In older times the Banjārās are known to have carried even guns for protecting themselves from plunder. Jaiparâ may have been one of their central depôts, which they fortified, and the village therefore came to be called Jaiparâ Vanikōṭṭa. It is not necessary that the Banjārās alone should have done this. There may have been other traders who might have built a fortified place, but as this part of the country has been and is a favourite resort of these wandering traders, it is more likely that they should have built such a depôt. Numerous examples of such adjuncts may be cited. Thus, there is a village *Barā* in the Saugor district. It has got Hindu tombs called *Suras* and hence people call it Barā Suragaon. In fact the adjunct has gained such prominence that the real name Barā is almost elbowed out, and only Suragaon is regularly used. Similarly, Hirdnagar-Garhākōṭ, well known as Garhākōṭ, derives its name from the construction of a fort and rampart, the original principal village being Hirdnagar, which a Bundelā chief Hirdē-Shāh founded in his own name.

<sup>2</sup> The village priest is still called *Gairâ* in Kanker and Bastar States.

<sup>3</sup> Lines 4 and 5 are so obscure as to make their translation extremely doubtful. There can be little doubt, however, that they relate to the fixation of revenue of the villages mentioned, in the coins of the reigning prince. Whether the old revenue in respect to the village to which the transaction refers, was 130 *tankas*, and on revision on the present occasion, was enhanced to 140 *tankas*, or the old 130 *tankas* were equal to 140 new coins is not clear. While executing the present document opportunity was taken to revise the revenue of another village, Chikhalī, for which another *grāmapatṛa* or document existed, and the revenue was fixed at 150 new *tankas*. It appears that the Chikhalī document was not near at hand, and that seems to be the reason why blank space enough to fill up 3 figures was left out between the words *Chikhalī-grāmapatṛa* and *Viśaya-rāyātanka* to be filled up afterwards. But once omitted nobody cared to fill it in, the matter not being of great importance, as the old rental was superseded by the revised amount which was thenceforth payable to the State. The fact that this record is a palm-leaf seems to show that the fresh transaction was a matter on revision under the new régime of Pamparajadeva, and apparently the old record, which had become useless, was beaten out and the new one was inscribed instead. The words *sardha goja bhāma doḥhu* appear to be some local technical term, which was used in fiscal matters and was well understood at the time, but so far as my enquiry from local sources goes, it has not survived and it is not now used in State transactions. The matter, however, is not of great importance and does not affect the historical information inferable from the record.

<sup>4</sup> *Patṭi* are plots of land in a village and the Halbâ or Halbâ patṭi was apparently one cultivated by the Halbâs, an aboriginal tribe chiefly found in Kanker (see above note 5, page 124).

<sup>5</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>6</sup> Read *many alankṛita*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *vamādvaya*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *mahamāyālikā*.

place occurs as Karial on the Indian Atlas sheet 92 N E, Lat 82° 50' and 20° 17' The plates have now been deposited in the Nāgpur Museum

There are three copper plates, each measuring  $5\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{8}$ " The first is inscribed on one side only Traces on the other side show that the plate has formerly been used for another inscription The plates are quite smooth, and their edges have neither been fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims They are in an excellent state of preservation About 1" from the middle of the proper right margin, each plate has a hole, about  $\frac{1}{8}$ " in diameter, for the ring on which the plates are strung This ring is oval,  $3\frac{3}{8}$ " long and  $2\frac{1}{8}$ " broad It had not been cut when the plates were sent to me

The ends of the ring are secured in a circular seal, about  $3\frac{1}{8}$ " in diameter It is identical with that described by Dr Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p 196 Its upper part shows a representation of a standing Lakshmi facing full front, on each side of her an elephant is standing on a waterlily, with its trunk raised above her head In the proper right corner there is an expanded waterlily, in the proper left corner a *śaṅkha*

The seal has been subjected to fire, and the legend could not be made out when I received the plates It has, however, proved possible to clean it, so that it can now be read with certainty It therefore also makes it possible to decide what the legend must have been on the corresponding seal published by Dr Fleet, which is quite illegible

The weight of the three plates is 1 lb  $2\frac{3}{4}$  oz, and of the ring and seal 1 lb 2 oz, total 2 lb  $4\frac{1}{4}$  oz

The size of the letters is about  $\frac{1}{4}$ " The character is the same box-headed variety of the Central Indian alphabet as in the copper plates of the same king published by Dr Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp 196 and ff The long variety of *i* is denoted by a dot in the middle of the base of the circle denoting *e*, and usually not in the centre of it as in the Āraṅg plates of Mahā-Jayaśā, nor in the right side of it as in the Raipur plates of Mahā-Sudēva<sup>1</sup> The separate sign of the cerebral *d* occurs in *chādāmān*, l 1, and the final form of *t* in *dadyāt*, l 18, and *vasēt*, l 19 Note also the use of one and the same sign to denote a stop in l 5 and the visarga in l 4, etc The compound *ng* occurs in *Drōnasinghēna*, l 23, and *ñch* in *kāñchanam*, l 17, *mahimatāñchchhrēśha*, l 21, and, falsely, in *dānāñch=chhrēyō*, l 22

The numerical symbols for 2, 20, and 9 occur in l 22

The language is Sanskrit The legend on the seal and the usual imprecatory stanzas, here attributed to Vyāsa, are in verse the remainder of the inscription is in prose

As regards orthography we have to note the doubling of *k* before *r* in *vikrama*, l 1, the similar doubling of *dh* before *y* in *anuddhyātā*, l 3, the doubling of a consonant after *r* in *svargē*, l 18, *visarjyātō*, l 8, *svarmnañ*, l 16; *dharmañēshu* and *dharma*, l 13, *śrīya*, l 16, *sarva*, l 8, *hētuv=vasu*, l 3; *bhūr=vasaśnavi*, l 16, *bahubhuv=vasasudhā*, l 19, the form *savatsara*, i e *sāvatsara*, l 22, the use of the *phvāmāliya* in *yah=kāñchanam*, l 17 (but *-rājah keshū*, l 4), of the *upadhmaniya* in *-pradañ parama*, l 3, *Śāmbilakayōñ pratvāsa*, l 5, etc The visarga is usually replaced by *s* before hard dentals Before the stop, however, we find *bhāmāñ tasya*, l 20, *-srishah tē*, l 10 A superfluous anusvāra has been added in *bhāmapān*, l 12 *Tri* and *tri* have been interchanged in *pitri*, l 3, and *tridasa*, l 6 Note finally the forms *tāmbi-a*, ll 10 and 23, *Drōnasinghēna*, l 23, and the use of the genitive in *Vishnuvāminas*, l 10

The inscription is one of the Rāja Mahā-Sudēva, and it is dated in the second year of his reign on the 29th day of Śrāvana The engraver was Drōnasingha, who also occurs in

<sup>1</sup> *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp 191 and ff

<sup>2</sup> *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp 196 and ff

Mahā-Sudēva's Raipur plates<sup>1</sup> Like this latter inscription and the Āraṅg copper plates of Mahā-Jayarāja,<sup>2</sup> our inscription was issued from Śarabhapura, and it states that the illustrious Mahā-Sudēvarāja, whose two feet are washed by the water which is the flowing forth of the lustre of the crest jewels in the turas of the *sāmāntas* who have been subjugated by his prowess, who is the cause for the removal of the parting of the hair of the women of his enemies, who is the giver of riches, of land, and of cows, who is a devout worshipper of Bhagavat, who meditates on the feet of his mother and father, issues the following order to the householders living in Navannaka and the neighbouring Śāmbilaka, in the Kṣhitimandā āhāra. Be it known to you that these two villages, which assure the happiness of the abode of the king of gods, have been bestowed by a copper charter on the Vajisaneyin Viṣṇusvāmin, of the Kauśika gōtra, for as long a time as the world endures, having the terrible darkness dispelled by the rays of sun, moon, and the stars, together with their treasures and deposits, not to be entered by district officers<sup>3</sup> and soldiers, free from all taxes, for the purpose of increasing the spiritual merit of our parents and ourselves.

The date of our inscription cannot as yet be settled. Mahā-Sudēva is the same who has issued the grant published by Rājendralāla Mitra<sup>4</sup> and Dr. Fleet.<sup>5</sup> According to the legend of the seal he was the son of a certain Mānamātra, who in his turn had risen from the Prasanna-dāna, i. e. who was descended from Prasanna, probably his son.

Neither Mānamātra nor Prasanna are elsewhere known. Mānamātra can perhaps be identified with Mānānka, "the ornament of the Rashtrakūtas," who is mentioned in the copper plates of Abhimanyu of Mānapura edited by Professor Hultzsch.<sup>6</sup> This Mānānka had a son, Dēvarāja, who might be identical with Sudēvarāja. In support of this hypothesis it may be mentioned that *mātrā* and *anka* are both stated by lexicographers to mean ornament. On the other hand, the alphabets of the two inscriptions differ, and this, in addition to the difference in the names, makes the identification very doubtful.

Of the geographical names occurring in the inscription Śarabhapura also recurs in the two other grants by Mahā-Sudēva and in the Āraṅg plates of Mahā-Jayarāja. Navannaka may be the present Nahnā, the Nahnā<sup>7</sup> of the maps, three miles south of Khariā. We do not know anything about the location of the remaining geographical names of our inscription, Kṣhitimandā and Śāmbilaka. They should be looked for in the neighbourhood of Khariā.

### TEXT<sup>8</sup>

#### First Plate

- 1 Svasti [\*] Śarabhapurād=vikkiām-ōpanata-sāmānta-makuta-chūdāmani-
- 2 prabhā-prasāk-āmbu-dhōta<sup>9</sup>-pāda-yugalō upa-vilāsmi-simant-ōddharana-
- 3 hētur=vvasu-vasudhā-gō-pradah-paramabhāgavato mātā-pitri<sup>10</sup>-pād-ānuddhyā-
- 4 taś-śrī-Mahā-Sudēva-rājah Kṣhitimand-āhāriya-Navannaka-śtat-pravēṣya-
- 5 Śāmbilakayōh=pratavāsi-kutumbinas-samājñāpayati || Viditam= astu

<sup>1</sup> Gupta Inscriptions, pp 196 and ff

<sup>2</sup> Ibid pp 191 and ff

<sup>3</sup> For the meaning of *dhōta* compare Dr. Vogel in *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1902*.  
OS, p 247

<sup>4</sup> *J. Beng. A. S.*, Vol xxxv, Part 1, 1887, pp 195 and ff

<sup>5</sup> Gupta Inscriptions, pp 196 and ff

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol viii, p 168, compare Fleet, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol xxx, p 509

<sup>7</sup> The Commissioner of Raipur now informs me that the plates were actually found in Nahnā, and that the local authorities are inclined to identify Śāmbilaka with the present San Doil or Sandohal, a village adjoining Nahnā.

<sup>8</sup> From the original plates.

<sup>9</sup> Read *dhōta*

<sup>10</sup> Read *prati*

၁ ညီညီအစ်ကိုများနှင့်အတူအသက်အရွယ်အတူတူအသက်အရွယ်အတူတူ  
 ၂ ညီညီအစ်ကိုများနှင့်အတူအသက်အရွယ်အတူတူအသက်အရွယ်အတူတူ  
 ၃ ညီညီအစ်ကိုများနှင့်အတူအသက်အရွယ်အတူတူအသက်အရွယ်အတူတူ  
 ၄ ညီညီအစ်ကိုများနှင့်အတူအသက်အရွယ်အတူတူအသက်အရွယ်အတူတူ

22 a

၆ ညီညီအစ်ကိုများနှင့်အတူအသက်အရွယ်အတူတူအသက်အရွယ်အတူတူ  
 ၇ ညီညီအစ်ကိုများနှင့်အတူအသက်အရွယ်အတူတူအသက်အရွယ်အတူတူ  
 ၈ ညီညီအစ်ကိုများနှင့်အတူအသက်အရွယ်အတူတူအသက်အရွယ်အတူတူ  
 ၉ ညီညီအစ်ကိုများနှင့်အတူအသက်အရွယ်အတူတူအသက်အရွယ်အတူတူ  
 ၁၀ ညီညီအစ်ကိုများနှင့်အတူအသက်အရွယ်အတူတူအသက်အရွယ်အတူတူ

22 b

၁၁ ညီညီအစ်ကိုများနှင့်အတူအသက်အရွယ်အတူတူအသက်အရွယ်အတူတူ  
 ၁၂ ညီညီအစ်ကိုများနှင့်အတူအသက်အရွယ်အတူတူအသက်အရွယ်အတူတူ  
 ၁၃ ညီညီအစ်ကိုများနှင့်အတူအသက်အရွယ်အတူတူအသက်အရွယ်အတူတူ  
 ၁၄ ညီညီအစ်ကိုများနှင့်အတူအသက်အရွယ်အတူတူအသက်အရွယ်အတူတူ

16

၎င်းတို့သည် သူတို့၏ နာမည်ကို နှစ်သက်သော  
သူတို့၏ နာမည်ကို နှစ်သက်သော သူတို့၏  
နာမည်ကို နှစ်သက်သော သူတို့၏  
နာမည်ကို နှစ်သက်သော သူတို့၏  
နာမည်ကို နှစ်သက်သော သူတို့၏  
နာမည်ကို နှစ်သက်သော သူတို့၏  
နာမည်ကို နှစ်သက်သော သူတို့၏  
နာမည်ကို နှစ်သက်သော သူတို့၏

16

18

18

20

20

10 b

22

၎င်းတို့သည် သူတို့၏ နာမည်ကို နှစ်သက်သော  
သူတို့၏ နာမည်ကို နှစ်သက်သော သူတို့၏  
နာမည်ကို နှစ်သက်သော သူတို့၏  
နာမည်ကို နှစ်သက်သော သူတို့၏  
နာမည်ကို နှစ်သက်သော သူတို့၏  
နာမည်ကို နှစ်သက်သော သူတို့၏  
နာမည်ကို နှစ်သက်သော သူတို့၏  
နာမည်ကို နှစ်သက်သော သူတို့၏

22

*Second Plate, First Side.*

- 6 vo yathāsmabhur=ctad<sup>1</sup>=grāma dvayam tridaśa<sup>2</sup>-patī-sadana sukha-piatisāhākāro  
yava-  
7 d-ravi sasi tārā-kīnani-pratihata-ghōr-āndhakānam jagad=avatishtatē tavad=upa-  
8 bhogya-saundhya=sopamādhū=achata-bhata-prāvṛṣya-saiva-kāra-viśuṣṭi-  
9 to matāpitrō=ātmanas=cha pany-ābhivriddhayē Vājasaneyā-Kōśika<sup>3</sup>-sagōtra  
10 Viśnusvāminas-tāmbraśāsana=ātsrīstah [\*] Tē yūyam=evam=upalabhy=asya

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 11 jñā-sīavana-vidhēyā bhutvā yathōcchitam bhōga-bhāgam=upanayantas=sukham piati-  
12 vatsyatha [\*] Bhaviṣhyatas=cha bhūnūpāmn<sup>4</sup>=anudaisayati [!]\* dānād=visistitam=anupā-  
13 lana-jan<sup>5</sup> pūṣa<sup>6</sup> dharmamēshu nischita-dhuyah=pravādanti dharmma[\*]  
|| (j) tasma[d\*] divja-  
14 ya suvīnuddha-kula-sūtaya dattām bhuvam bhavata vo matu=va  
goptu[m\*] ||  
15 Tad=bhavadbhū=apy=esha dattir=anupālayitavyā [\*] Vyāsa gitam=ch=atīa  
slokan=n-

*Third Plate, First Side*

- 16 dāharanti || Agnēr<sup>7</sup>=apatya[m\*] prathamam suvarnam bhūi=vvasishnavi  
sūrya-  
17 sūtās=cha gāvah [\*] dattās=trayas=tēna bhavanti lōkī yah=kāñchanam gim  
cha mahim cha da-  
18 dyāt [!]\* Shashtī<sup>8</sup>-varsha-sahasāni svarggē mōdati bhūmidah [\*] āchchhōttā  
19 ch=anumantā cha tāny=ēva narake vaset [!]\* Bahubhū=vvasudhā datta  
rajah-  
20 s=Sagar-ādibhūh [\*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmih tasya tasya tadā phalam ||

*Third Plate, Second Side*

- 21 Svadattam<sup>9</sup> paradattām vā yatnād=raksha Yudhishtira [\*] mahim=mahimatañ=chchhrēshtha  
22 dānā(ñ)ch=chhrēyō=nupālanam=iti [!]\* svamukhājāyā savvatsara<sup>10</sup> 2 Śrāvana  
di 20 9  
23 utkīrnam tāmbraśāsanam Drōnasinghēna.

Seal.

Prasann-ārnava-sambhūta-Mānamātr-ēndu-janmana[h\*] Śrīma[t-Sudē]varājasya sthīram  
jagati [śāsanam].

<sup>1</sup> The engraver originally wrote =*asmābhir=aya*, but corrected it to =*asmābhir=ēta*. The gender in the following is wrong

<sup>2</sup> Read *tri*

<sup>3</sup> Read -*kaushika*

<sup>4</sup> Read *bhūnūpāmn*

<sup>5</sup> The *sa* in *anupālana* has been added below the line

<sup>6</sup> Metre Ślōka.

<sup>7</sup> Metre Ślōka

<sup>8</sup> Metre Vasantatilaka

<sup>9</sup> Metre Indravajrā

<sup>10</sup> Read *savvatsara*



## No 22 — NOTE ON BHUJABALA MAHARAYA

By R SEWELL, ICS (Retired)

In Vol VIII 122 ff Mr H Krishna Śāstri, B A, publishes an inscription of the Kalāṣa chief Bharrava II at Kārkala in the South Canara district of the Madras Presidency, and in the course of his discussion<sup>1</sup> on the history of the family quotes Mr Rice's Mūdgere Taluq inscription of A D 1516 (Mg 41). His comment on this is as follows—"This inscription supplies the interesting information that, during the reign of the great Kṛṣṇarāya of Vijayanagara, Bhujabala-Mahārāya led a campaign against the Tulu-rajya, and was encamped at the *bhuvana-sāle* in Mangalūru. . . . Bhujabala-Mahārāya, who led the campaign, must be identical with Kṛṣṇarāya's elder brother 'Busbalrao' mentioned on p 110 of Mr Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, etc . . . ."

There seems to be a mistake here. Firstly, I note that Mr Rice does not consider the word *Bhujabala* in the passage in question to be a proper name. The passage<sup>2</sup> runs—*Vijayanagara bhujabala mahārāyaṁ Tulu rājyāṁ m-ḷe dandu bandu*, and is translated by Mr Rice—"The mighty (*bhujabala*) Mahārāya of Vijayanagara having come against the Tulu kingdom with an army." Here there is no ruler or leader named "Bhujabala Mahārāya." Secondly, the leader of the army could only have been Nuniz's "Busbahao," elder brother of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, if the date of this expedition to the Tulu country were referred to a period at least seven years earlier than the date of the inscription, because "Busbalrao" had died when Kṛṣṇadēva was placed on the throne in A D 1509. It is possible that the expedition did take place before Kṛṣṇadēva's accession, and it is equally possible that it may allude to Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's own exploit shortly after he came to the throne, when he, or his generals, reduced the Ganga Rāja of Ummatū in Mysore. The mention in "Mg 41" of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's supreme sovereignty over the Kalāṣa country during the chieftainship of Immaḍi-Bhararsa-Odeyar gives us no clue to the date of the Vijayanagara army's march to Mangalore, for this may have taken place at any period before the date of that chief's grant, viz, Sunday, July 13, A D 1516. But what is quite certain is that the leader of the army referred to could not have been Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's elder brother, whom Nuniz called "Busbalrao," during, as stated by Mr Krishna Śāstri, the reign of Kṛṣṇarāya, for it was "Busbalrao's" death, according to Nuniz, that placed Kṛṣṇadēva on the throne.

At the date of the grant Kṛṣṇadēva was conducting his decisive campaign in the east, and had captured Kondavidu three weeks earlier, viz, on June 23rd, A D 1516.

## No 23.—RAJAPURA COPPER PLATES OF MADHURANTAKADEVA.

[ŚAKA] SAMVAT 987

By HIRA LAL, B A, NAGPUR

The discovery of this first copper plate inscription in the wild Bastar State of the Central Provinces is the result of the zeal with which Rai Bahadur Baiyath, B A, the Superintendent

<sup>1</sup> Page 127, note 2. Will some one tell us whether the name should be spelt *Kalāṣa* or *Kalasa*. It appears to be spelt either way in the original inscriptions. Thus in Mr 40 (the inscription preceding the one in question), the Kanarese text has *Kalasa* in line 11, and *Kalasa* in line 12. On p 68 of his translation Mr Rice gives us three times *Kalāṣa* and five times *Kalasa*, on p 69 we have four times *Kalasa* (not *Kalāṣa*) and three times *Kalasa*. This last form is certainly wrong, for the second akṣhara is always *la* in the original. The variation is only in the third syllable. Mr Krishna Śāstri, in the *Epigraphia* spells the word consistently *Kalāṣa*.

<sup>2</sup> See *Ep. Carn* VI 155-202, lines 1-2.

of the State, set himself to make a search for the antiquarian remains in that little known and remote quarter, at my request Mr Bajnath has been richly rewarded for his efforts, for, in addition to the present copper plates, he has discovered more than twenty new inscriptions in Sanskrit and Telugu characters, of most of which he has sent me ink estampages and tracings. I have deciphered several of them and they will in due course appear in this Journal. I begin with the copper plates, as this is perhaps the most ancient Sanskrit inscription yet found in Bastar. Mr Bajnath found the plates in the possession of a Brāhman named Gangādhara Pārihi of Kawadgaon close to Rājapura. Gangādhara received them from his sister-in-law, who found them buried in a field at Nāharni, sixteen miles from Rājapura.

There are three copper plates, held together by a ring, soldered into what was apparently the lower portion of a seal, which had been broken off. Each plate is about  $10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$  and they weigh  $29\frac{1}{2}$ , 30 and 35 *tolas*, respectively the weight of the ring being 26 *tolas*. The plates are smooth, sufficiently thick, and in an excellent state of preservation. They are inscribed on both sides, except the first one, which is inscribed on one side only. Mr T. G. Green, Superintendent of the Secretariat Press, Nāgpur, kindly took for me impressions, which are reproduced in the accompanying plate. The plates are numbered 1, 2, 3, on the margin, which was apparently left to prevent the ring holes from coming in between the written lines. The word *śi* has been engraved in the upper margin of the first plate, over the figure 1.

The second side of the third plate is inscribed with benedictive and imprecatory figures viz., 12 hands in a row at the top, beneath which there is to the proper left a cow with a bell attached to her neck, and a dagger and a shield beside her feet, a floated *linga* in the form of a *navātila* in the middle, and a woman pursued by a donkey to the proper right, with the figure of the sun and the moon over it. My interpretation of these figures is as follows.—The hands are uplifted, apparently as an expression of benediction on the donor, and they are twelve, probably because there were 12 *pāthas* or dones referred to in the inscription. The cow is apparently drawn to remind us that whosoever appropriates the gifted land, will have to reap the same consequences which a cow's curse can produce, or will fall into the same calamity as a cow is in when deprived of her calf. Śiva is shown as the protector against aggression on the spiritual side, and the ruling king's dagger and shield on the temporal. The sun and the moon indicate that the grant is to last as long as these luminaries endure. Lastly the obscene figure of an ass associating with a woman is a vulgar imprecation implying that the transgressor of a gift should be so low-born.<sup>1</sup>

The inscription is in the Nāgarī character. The average size of the letters is  $\frac{7}{8}''$ . They are well formed and clearly written.

The language is corrupt Sanskrit, and except the benedictive and imprecatory verses, which are inserted in a somewhat disconnected manner, the remainder of the inscription is prose. In fact the whole composition is disjointed, and there are several grammatical slips and spelling mistakes.

The most noteworthy orthographical peculiarities are the representation of the initial *ā* with two dots and a stroke underneath, resembling the Nāgarī figure 2 (ll 13, 16, 23 and 30). The anusvara is put at the side of the letter and is represented by a dot with a *hala* underneath (ll 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26 and 27), but in several instances it is also represented in the ordinary way by a dot on the top of the letter (ll 1, 3, 4, 7, 10, 12, 14, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 28, 30, 31 and 32). One top stroke representative of the *mātrā*,

<sup>1</sup> Compare my remarks, above, p 164

of *ē*, *ai*, *ō* and *au* is exhibited by a vertical stroke placed before the letter to which it is attached—a practice which is still followed in the Bengali and Oriyā writing, but exceptions may be found side by side, where it is placed on the top of the letter according to the practice now followed in writing. Thus, in line 12, the *ḍ* of *Madhurāntakadēva* has a top, while the very next *ḍ* of *Kanheradēva* has a vertical stroke preceding the letter *da*. The latter form, however, predominates, the exceptions being found as regards *ē* in ll 2, 4, 10, 11, 12, 21, 26, 29 and 31 and of *ō* in ll 1, 19, 31, and 32. *ai* has been used only once, in line 8, and *au* twice, in lines 11 and 26, and in each case one of the top *mātrās* has been represented by a vertical stroke preceding the letter to which it is attached. The letters *bha*, *dha*, *ra* and *ksha*, invariably appear in their antiquated forms. The letter *v* is used throughout for *b*, and *s* for *ś*, except in the solitary instances of *daśa* in l 3 and of *śrī* in ll 12 and 29. *Ja* is used for *ya* (ll 20, 24, and 27), *ri* is used for the vowel *ri* in l 8, and *na* for *na* in l 6. In line 8 *hanvala*<sup>1</sup> for *kamala* is a spelling which occurs in other inscriptions. It represents the actual pronunciation of the vernacular word—a pronunciation still kept up in the Chhattisgarh division, of which Bastar forms part.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of Rājapura village, situated in the Bhramarakōṭya *mandala*, to one Mēḍipōta or a Chhurikāra Mēḍipōta and his descendants, together with 70 *gadyāṇaka*<sup>2</sup> gold. The grant was made by the king Madhurāntakadēva, who belonged to the Chhindaka family of the Nāga (Cobra) race. The inscription is dated in the [Śaka] year 987, in the Parābhava samvatsara, on Wednesday of the bright fortnight of Kārttika month. Although the *tithi* has not been given, there is a most minute description of the moment of the grant, the *nakshatra* being stated to be Anurādhā, the *yōga* to be Saubhāgya and the *karana* to be Gara. From these data the exact date has been kindly calculated for me by Professor Kielheim who says—

"The date for Śaka 987 expired corresponds to Wednesday, the 5th October A D 1065. On this day the third *tithi* of the bright half of Kārttika ended 9 hours 17 minutes after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* was Anurādhā and the *yōga* Saubhāgya. The second half of the *tithi* was the *karana* Gara. But the Jupiter's year is not quite correct. By the southern system it should have been Visvavasu and by the northern luni-solar system Plavanga and by the northern mean sign system Kīlaka. The mistake is the same as in the first Kanke<sup>3</sup> plates."

The purpose for which the grant was made is somewhat obscure. I take it to be a compensation for supplying a victim for human sacrifice. Before proceeding to show how I arrive at this conclusion, it may be stated that in Bastar and the adjoining tracts human sacrifices were rampant about seventy years ago. It is notorious that human victims were offered to the goddess Dantēśvari, enshrined at Dantewārā in the Bastar State. Colonel Macpherson of the Madras Army, who was appointed agent for the suppression of Meriah sacrifices and female infanticide in the hill tracts of Orissa, which Bastar adjoins, says<sup>4</sup>—"In the worship of Tanu Pennu or Earth Goddess the chief rite is human sacrifice. It is celebrated as a public oblation by tribes both at social festivals held periodically and when occasions demand extraordinary propitiation, such as the occurrence of an extraordinary number of deaths by disease or by tigers, or should very many die in child-birth, or should the flocks or herds suffer largely from disease or from wild beasts, or should the greater crops threaten to fail, or the occurrence of any marked calamity to the families of the tribal chiefs. Victims are called Meriah and are acceptable only when they have been acquired by purchase or were born as such, that is, of a victim father. Victims are generally supplied to the Khonds by men of the two races called Panwā and Gahingā, who are attached in small numbers to almost every Khond village for the discharge of this and other peculiar offices. The Panwās purchase the victims without difficulty or kidnap

<sup>1</sup> Compare Dr Grierson in *J R A S* 1907, p 1057.

<sup>2</sup> *Gadyāṇaka* is a weight = 32 *gūṇja*. See Yājñavalkya iii 258.

<sup>3</sup> Above p 129.

<sup>4</sup> *J R A S*, Vol XIII (1852), p 243 et seq.

them from the poorer classes of Hindûs, procuring them either to the order of the Khonds or on speculation, and they moreover constantly sell as victims their own children and children of whom as relatives they are the guardians. Khonds when in distress, as in times of famine, also frequently sell their children for victims, considering the beatification of their souls certain and their death for the benefit of mankind, the most honourable possible. The Meriah grove, a clump of deep and shadowy forest trees, usually stands at a short distance from the village by a rivulet which is called the Meriah stream. It is kept sacred from the axe and is avoided by the Khonds as *haunted ground*. Bearing these remarks in mind, I now proceed to examine in how far they can throw light on our inscription. The italics in the above extract are mine, and they should be borne especially in mind, while considering what follows. In ll 26 to 28 it is stated that "no body enters the *chhuriprabandha*. There is no place for the preceptor of *yôginis*. For this purpose this village is taken with a view to do good to all living beings." From this it is plain that the grant was not made for any spiritual purpose such as the increasing of the religious merit of the king and his ancestors, but with a practical earthly aim, *viz*, in order to secure the welfare of the general public including cattle and other animals. The grant was not made to a Brâhmana, but to a Mèdipôta (ll 12 to 14) who is styled "Pâtra 12," and to whom 70 *gadyânaka* gold were given in addition to the village, with the mutual consent<sup>1</sup> of the king, the queen, the prince and officers of State as stated in the grant, evidently in order to make the transaction an out-and-out purchase. Had the donee been a Brâhmana, we should have expected a mention of his parentage, *gôtra* and caste, but no such information is forthcoming in this grant. In l 25 Mèdipôta is called *chhurikâra*, which is probably used in a technical sense having reference to the *chhuriprabandha* referred to above, and not in the ordinary sense of a knife-maker (blacksmith). I am unable to say what *chhuriprabandha*<sup>2</sup> really means, but from the context it appears to stand for something like *narabala*prabandha, apparently on account of the great importance of the *chhurs* or knife in the sacrifice.

With regard to the epithet "12 pâtra" I am inclined to believe that Mèdipôta, whether this word is a proper name or the name of an office, was the head of the 12 persons employed in the work of procuring victims. So late as 1834 A.D., when an investigation was made in Bastar in connection with kidnapping persons for sacrifice, it was believed that there were 12 villages given rent-free to kidnappers of 12 families, with whom the stipulation was that in case they could not procure victims from elsewhere, they must supply them from their own family in consideration of the free grant they enjoyed. Of course the existence of a grant for such a purpose could not be proved, as the sacrifices had been stopped long before the institution of the investigation. But the tradition of 12 families of *melliahs* or kidnappers of victims is significant and points to a practice which evidently existed in the days of these sacrifices<sup>3</sup>. I am further inclined to think that Mèdipôta was an office, *Mèdi* being the same as *Mêli* or *Melli*, vulgo *Melliah* or *Malva*,<sup>4</sup> the word *pôta*, which in Telugu means a sacrificial victim, being dropped for

<sup>1</sup> The *Kâlîkâ Purâna* says —

If a human sacrifice is performed without the consent of the prince, the performer incurs sin (see *Buddhârâdhya* in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol V p 383)

<sup>2</sup> [The text has *chhuriprabandham*, which might perhaps be translated "killing with a *chhur*."—S K.]

<sup>3</sup> [The passage in question (l 14) can also be translated,—“Receivers 12 *Mèdipôtas*, in their hand property was received.” The *Chhurikâra* of l 25 would then be a special Mèdipôta.—S K.]

<sup>4</sup> Capt MacVicar says —

“The Meriah offering, whether so called Toki Poojah or Noroboli (Narabali), is essentially the same in object as the *boli* (bali) of the Doorga Poojah, and to this day the ritual of the Khond is annually celebrated by the Borisoolo or *Maliah Pater* (Pâtra) at Pooramar, the capital of Chinna Kinedi, on the conclusion of the Dasserah festival—a goat now being substituted for the more precious victim.” Mark the italics, which are mine. (See Report by Capt MacVicar, 1851, in the *History of operations for the suppression of human sacrifice in the hill tracts of Orissa*, 1854.) It would appear that Melliah (the procurer) and Meriah (the victim) were identical terms, the procurers being regarded in

the sake of brevity. It will now appear that the grant gives sufficient indications pointing to the procuring of a human victim. The village is secured as the residence of the preceptor of the *yōgis*, who of course dwell in a haunted place, which is naturally avoided by others. The victim is obtained by purchase, with the mutual consent of the king and his subjects, the grant is made to non-Brāhmanas, the likely persons to take part in such a ceremony, and all this is done for the purposes of *dayā* and *dharma* to all living creatures. Having referred to these main points, I pass over the minor ones which lead to the same conclusion, that this grant was made in favour of procurers of victims for human sacrifices. If therefore the purpose of the grant is really what it appears to be, then I fancy this is a unique record and no similar inscription has hitherto been discovered.

Some remarks about the dynasty of the king mentioned in this grant will be found above on pp. 161 and ff, where I have dealt with the inscriptions of the Nāgavamśi kings found in Bastar, most of which are not yet published and which I propose to edit in due course as intimated before. The dynasty is clearly related to the Śinda family of Yeilburga. Though styled "Lord of Bhōgavati, the best of cities," Madhurāntakadēva appears to have been a *Maṇḍalika* (feudatory chief), as the verse in ll 24-25 shows that his *rāj* was limited to Bhāmārakōṭya, which is described as a *mandala* in l 15. He belonged to the Ohhindaka family, one of the 36 Agnikulas<sup>1</sup> mentioned by Chand Bardai, the court poet of Pīṭhvirāja.

With regard to the localities mentioned in the record, Rājapura is identical with the present village of the same name, 22 miles north-west of Jagdalpur (the capital of Bastar), on the bank of the Indravati river. There are ruins of a fort there, and it is believed that it was once a royal capital. The present Rāja family also dwelt there for some time. Chakrakōṭya is, I feel little doubt, the town mentioned by the Kashmirian poet Bilhana in his *Vikramānukadēvacharita*, in which he records that Vikrama as *yuvārāja* set out on a series of warlike expeditions, with the permission of his father. He repeatedly defeated the Chōlas and plundered Kāñchī. He assisted the king of Mālavā in regaining his kingdom and carried his arms as far north as Gauda and Kāmarūpa. He attacked also the king of Sindhala or Ceylon, destroyed the sandal wood forests of Malaya Hills and slew the lord of Kērala. He finally conquered Gāngakūṇḍa (IV. 21) Vēṅgī (IV. 29) and Chakrakōṭa (IV. 30). After having accomplished these brilliant exploits Vikrama turned homewards, and, on coming as far as the Kṛishnā, he was suddenly disquieted by the news of his father's death. Dr Buhler<sup>2</sup> remarks that "Bilhana's rhapsodic treatment of this portion of Vikrama's career makes it impossible to determine the chronological order of these wars. Only so much may be considered certain that his last exploits were performed in the south as he came on his homeward march to the Kṛishnā." There can be no doubt about these exploits of Vikrama. They were, as related above, the conquest of Gāngakūṇḍa, Vēṅgī and Chakrakōṭa, and at least these seem to have been conquered in the order in which they have been mentioned. Gāngakūṇḍa was the Chōla capital, situated in the north-east corner of the Trichinopoly district,<sup>3</sup> whence Vikrama proceeded north to Vēṅgī, the country between the Kṛishnā

the same light as the victims, as they had themselves to become victims in the absence of a procured one. The sacrificers paid the Mellahs, who thus became purchased victims, and they did not care whence the victim was procured so long as one was supplied to them when wanted. Thus to the sacrificers, the procurer and the victim would mean the same thing, but the terms came to be differentiated when a class of procurers grew up and the real victim happened to be a substitute for themselves. A parallel instance of such differentiation in the same word may be found in Kōṭwāl and Kōṭwār in the Saugor district, where in spite of the officials regarding them as identical, a social distinction is made out. The Kōṭwāl is generally of a higher caste than the Kōṭwār and considers himself the proper village watchman, other menial duties being taken as the proper function of the Kōṭwār.

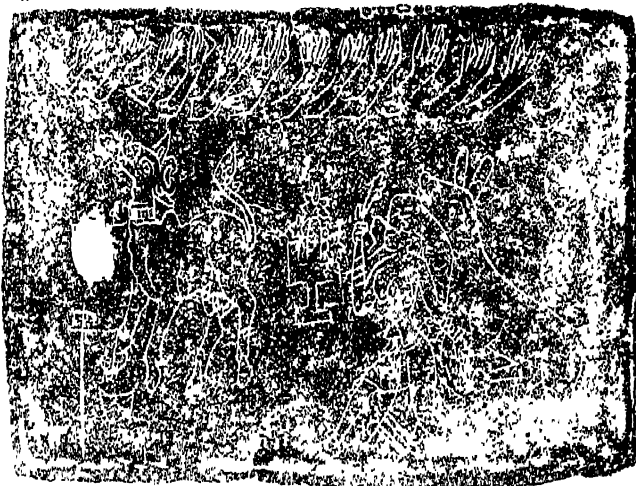
<sup>1</sup> *Prithvirāja Rāsō*, Canto I, page 54 (Nāgarī Prachārini Granthamālā series)

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V p. 319 footnote

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX p. 389

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

श्रीमद्गौरी तंद्यावर्मनवैजयंत्युपकाशार्थहृत्तां वक्रको  
 समुल्लसन्मद्योक्तिसयकृत्प्राप्तान्मृतः सुवर्णलीनाग  
 हृत्प्राक्तनपादविश्रान्तिसिद्धिं काययुक्तान्कनः ३० ति  
 नमः ३१ मन्त्रोक्त्या जपेन दत्तवोत्तमः यथा देवः पाद  
 मभिनयप्रसादान्मन्त्राणां वीक्षणं दत्तवैभवं तज्जोषं  
 ति॥



and the Gôdâvarî. He apparently crossed the latter and raided the country of Chakrakôta and then wended his way homewards. This occurred just a few years after the present grant was made (1065 A D), in as much as Vikrama became king in 1076 A D. Many a southern king<sup>1</sup> likewise raided this somewhat weak power, which must accordingly have been situated near to their kingdoms. Therefore Chakrakôta was not near Dhârâ, as some scholars have supposed, but was contiguous to Vēngî, being situated in the present Bastar state. I think the confusion with Dhârâ is due to the fact that Chakrakôtya had a king named Dhârâvarsha (which has been apparently wrongly interpreted to mean 'king of Dhârâ'<sup>2</sup>). In an unpublished inscription found at Kuruspâl, a place close to Râjapura, there occurs *Chakrahâtîdihîsvaranâm kulam-alani karishnuh . . . samabhadra Dhârâvarshanâmô narâśvara*. The Nârâyanapâla inscription also mentions Dhârâvarsha, whose widow Gunda-mahâdêvî gave away the Nârâyanapura village in her grandson's reign in the year 1111 A D<sup>3</sup>. The name Chakrakôtya probably survives in the present Chitrakûta or Chitrakôta, 8 miles from Râjapura. Bhramarakôtya was possibly an alternative name of Chakrakôtya, which seems to survive in Ghumara, a name given to the fall of the Indrâvatî at Chitrakôta.

## TEXT

## First Plate

- 1 Ôm<sup>4</sup> svastî [1\*] Sahasra phanâmani-kirana-nikarâvabhâsura-<sup>5</sup>Nâgavams-o-
- 2 dbhava-Bhôgâvati-pura-vai-śvara<sup>6</sup> visada-jaya-patu-pataha-gâm-
- 3 bhâ(bhî)rya-dhvanî-lamkânta<sup>7</sup>. (1) dâsa-dis-âmtarâldhanu<sup>8</sup>. (1) vyâghra-lâm-
- 4 ohhana- (1) Chhimdaka-kula-talaka-kamala-bhâskara (1) mahâ-mahô-
- 5 svara(svara)-chaana-kamala-sêvi-kunjalka-pumja-pi[m\*]janta-bhira-
- 6 marâyamâna(na) (1) surapati-vinirpta-dumdubhi-tûrya-ray-o[t\*]tâ-
- 7 sit-âri-chakra chirâ lavdha-jôtya<sup>9</sup> (1) ôrâvat-ôpari-lavdha-lamva<sup>10</sup>.
- 8 kamvala-kadâlâ(1)-dhvaja<sup>11</sup> samkh-aka-savd-âbhinamdita | svastî nri-<sup>12</sup>
- 9 pa kâl-âtita-sa[m\*]vat 987 nava sata-satâsi-sapta-<sup>13</sup>

## Second Plate, First Side

- 10 varshasa<sup>14</sup> parâbhava-samvatam-abhyamtarah-kârtika-mâsa-sukla-pakshê<sup>15</sup> vudha-
- 11 dinê nakvatra anurâvê<sup>16</sup> saubhâgya-jôgê<sup>17</sup> | karana gajê<sup>18</sup> | sarvâ<sup>19</sup> mahû-

<sup>1</sup> The first raid so far as is known appears to have been made by Vijayaditya III of the Eastern Chalukya line, who ruled between 844 and 888 A D. He burnt Chakrakôta (above, Vol IV p 226). Then the Chôla Râjendra Chôla I (A D 1011-33) took Sakkarâ kôttam (*South Ind Insor* Vol II p 108), while one of his successors, king Virarajendra I, claims to have crossed the Gôdâvarî, passed through Kalinga, and advanced against Chakrakôta (ibid Vol III p 70). Next the Chôla Ling Kulôttunga, while yet a youth, won his first laurels in battle by storming Chakrakôta. This happened prior to 1070 A D and is mentioned in the Tamil poem *Kalingattu Parani* (X 24), and also in inscriptions (see e.g. *Ind Ant* Vol XXI p 286). Vikrama was probably the fifth raider, the sixth being Vishnuvardhana Hoysala in the 12th century (Kielhorn's *Southern List*, No 396).

<sup>2</sup> I would therefore, instead of 'Râjâksharvarman (i.e. Kulôttunga Chôla I) conquered the king of Dhârâ at Chakrakôta' read 'Râjâksharvarman conquered king Dhârâ(varsha) at Chakrakôta' (see Kielhorn's *Southern List*, No 756).

<sup>3</sup> See above, page 161.

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>5</sup> Read -*lanê ôdâhava*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *śvara visada*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *śamkârta*.

<sup>8</sup> Read -*dis âmtarâld dhanur*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *labdha jay-ôptâ*.

<sup>10</sup> Read *avdâat ôpari labdha-lamba kamala*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *śamkh-aka-kadê*.

<sup>12</sup> Read *saka-nri*.

<sup>13</sup> Read -*sata-sapt dâti*.

<sup>14</sup> Read *varshasya*.

<sup>15</sup> Read *samvatsar-âbhyamtarâ kârtika mâsa sukla-pakshê ôdâha*.

<sup>16</sup> Read *anurâdhâ-nakshatrat*.

<sup>17</sup> Read *gôgê*.

<sup>18</sup> Read *gajâ-karanê*.

<sup>19</sup> Read *sarva muhûrtîkshu*.



- 12 tram śrī-Madhurāntakadēva || kumara<sup>1</sup> Kanharadēvaḥ rājñī Nāgala-mahā-  
 13 dēvi | kumara<sup>2</sup> Nāikah nāyaka Sūdrakah<sup>3</sup> kumāra Tumgarājah srē-<sup>4</sup>  
 14 shthi Pulhama || ēkānmatī<sup>5</sup> -bhūtvā pātra 12 mēdipōta hastē dravyam  
 15 grhītam suvarṇa-gadyāśaka 70 Bhramarakōtya-mandala-madhyē  
 16 Rājapura-grāmam pāda prakshāla[y\*]itvā hastē dhārām pradatā(ttam) ||  
 ā-chandra-  
 17 tāra-ka-prabhriti siva-nirmālyam<sup>6</sup> vaditam kāla-kāl-āntarē grihñā-<sup>7</sup>  
 18 mañ vadat || Vānāsyām sahasra-linga bhagnē | sahasra-tatāga<sup>8</sup> bhagnē

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 19 sahasra vrāhmaṇa<sup>9</sup> | gō sahasra-ghātam kritvā | tasyasyōpi<sup>10</sup> phalam bhavati ||  
 sva-  
 20 da[t\*]t[ā\*]m paradat[tā\*]m vā jō(yō) harēd(rēta) vasumdhārām [t\*] shaastir<sup>11</sup>.  
 varshaha-sahasrāni  
 21 viśthāyām jāyātē krimi[h\*] || sāmānyō=yam dharma-sētum(tur)=nripānām  
 kālō kâ-  
 22 lē (yō) pālaniyam(-yō) bhavadbhūh [t\*] sarvān=yōpētām<sup>12</sup> bhāginah  
 pārthavēndro bhū-  
 23 yō yāchatē Rāmachandrah [t\*] Ākās-ōtpati<sup>13</sup> nidhi gaja da[t\*]tam iti  
 grāmya  
 24 vāhyam rāja-dravyam || <sup>14</sup>jāva chadras=cha sūryas=cha jāva tishthati mēdini ||  
 (i) jāva-  
 25 tu Bhramakōtya rājavyama tāvatu || ohhūri-kāra mēdipōtasya putra-  
 26 pautrē sāsanam<sup>15</sup> pālaniyam || grāma-mēdhyā<sup>16</sup> ohhūri-pravadham<sup>17</sup> kō=pi na  
 pravi-  
 27 sat<sup>18</sup> || kulāyani<sup>19</sup>.jōgini-āchāryasya(h) sthālam n=āsti || ētad=arthē

*Third Plate, First Side*

- 28 grāmam grhītam dayā-dharma-sarva jantu-(i)upakār-ārtha-hētum || Chakrakō  
 29 tyā-mandala-madhyē sākshi nāyaka śrī-Dhārēsvarah(ēvarah) Mudhasēli Nāga-  
 30 hasti | karana Dārā | Likhitam kāyastha-Dhānūkēna(h) iti  
 31 lekha[ni] dhritam kumara<sup>20</sup> Tumgarāja Dhāmadēva Gōvardhanah  
 Danārdanah<sup>21</sup> pātra  
 32 Gāgrā sādhu Sāhāranga(-su ?) | Manavridhi<sup>22</sup> svahastō-yam matam=ārōpayā-  
 33 ti ||

<sup>1</sup> Read *kumara*

<sup>2</sup> Read *kumara Nāyaka*

<sup>3</sup> Read *Sūdrakah*

<sup>4</sup> Read *śrēsthā*

<sup>5</sup> Read *ēkānmatī*, cf *ēkānmatībhūtvā* in || 29, 30, and 33 of the Siyadoni inscription (above, Vol I p 177)

<sup>6</sup> Read *siva nirmālyam=uditam*

<sup>7</sup> Read *grihñam=tmam*

<sup>8</sup> Read *-tatāga*

<sup>9</sup> Read *brāhmaṇa*

<sup>10</sup> Read *tasy-āy=api*

<sup>11</sup> Read *shaastir varsha sahasrāni*

<sup>12</sup> Read *sarcān=ēvarā bhāvanah pārthivēndrān bhāgyō bhā*

<sup>13</sup> Read *ākās-ōtpati*

<sup>14</sup> Read *yāvat=chandraś=cha sūryas=cha yāvat=tiśthati mēdini yāvat=tu Bhramarakōtyō rāja-varshē=pi tāvatu*

<sup>15</sup> Read *sāsanam*

<sup>16</sup> Read *-mēdhyē*

<sup>17</sup> Read *-pravadham*

<sup>18</sup> Read *sat*

<sup>19</sup> Read *kulāyini-jōgini*

<sup>20</sup> Read *kumara*

<sup>21</sup> Read *Danārdana* In Bastar and the adjoining Ōryā country this name is commonly pronounced *Danārdana*, and I have found a Talsildar of Kālāhandi who actually writes his name so. All these names should properly be in the instrumental

<sup>22</sup> Read *Manavridhi*

## TRANSLATION

Om ! Hail ! (In the reign of the king) born of the race of the Nāga (Cobra), which is resplendent with the mass of rays (proceeding from) the jewels in (its) thousand hoods, who is lord of Bhāgavati, the best of cities, while the space between the ten quarters is resounding with the deep sound from the shrill drums (proclaiming his) brilliant victories, whose crest is a bow and a tiger, who is (as it were) the sun to the lotus (-like) crest jewel of the Chhindaka family, who resembles a bee which is rendered yellow by the mass of the pollen served to the lotus feet of the great Mahēsvara, whose circle of enemies is terrified by the sound of the *duṇḍubhi* (drum) and *tūya* (musical horn) won from Indra, who is endued with victories gained since a long time, whose banner is the lotus and plantain (leaf) supported on (the back) of Airāvata (white elephant), and who is hailed by the sound of conches only, in the year of the (Śaka) king 987 expired, in the month of Kārttika, during the currency of the Parābhava-samvatsara, in the bright fortnight, on Wednesday, in the Anurādhā lunar mansion, in the Saubhāgya yōga and Gara karana, in all these auspicious moments, the illustrious Madhurāntakadēva, Prince Kanharadēva, Queen Nāgala Mahādēvi, Prince Nāyaka, Nayaka Śūdraka, Prince Tungarāja and Śrēṣṭha Pulama, having unanimously agreed, the village Rājapura (situated) in the Bhramarakōṭya *mandala* is granted, after washing the feet and (accompanied) with pouring streams (of water), (and) 70 *gaḍyānaka* gold are received in the hand of (by) Mēdipōta, (who is the head) of the twelve *pātras* (persons worthy of receiving gifts) The gift is declared as *Śvanirmālya* (as sacred as a gift offered to Śiva and therefore inviolable), as long as the moon, the stars, etc., endure. If any one from time to time says "I take it," the result for him also (will be the same as in the case of) breaking a thousand *lingas* in Bānāras, breaking a thousand tanks, and killing a thousand Brahmins and a thousand cows

"He who resumes land given by himself or given by another becomes a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years"

"Common is this religious bridge to princes, and it should be guarded by you from age to age Thus does Rāmachandra again and again conjure all future lords of the earth"

The produce from the heavens, deposits (in the earth) and (wild) elephants<sup>1</sup> are given, but other things outside the village are the State property So long as the sun and the moon and the earth and the royal race of Bhramarakōṭya endure, so long (must this charter be observed). This charter is to be respected in the case of Chhurikāra Mēdipōta's sons and grandsons

Nobody enters the *chhūraprabandha* at the village sacrifice There is no place for the preceptor of the resident (local) *jōgīs* For this purpose this village is taken, for the benefit of all creatures, for the purpose of (showing) kindness and (performing) virtue. In the Chakrakōṭya *mandala* the witnesses are —Nāyaka Śrī Dhārēśvara, Mudhasēli, Nāgahasti, (and) Karana Dārā Written by Dhānūka Kāyastha

The pen (engraving stylus) (was) touched by Kumāra Tungarāja, Dhāmadēva, Gōvardhana, Danārdana, Pātra Gāgārā (and) Sādhū Sāhāranga (Sāhārasu ?) This is in Manavī-dhri's hand(writing) (which) sets up (expresses) the (general) opinion.

<sup>1</sup> In Blochman's *Am i-Akbari*, Vol I page 122, the following occurs.—

"Elephants are chiefly found in the Subah of Agra, in the forests of Bayāwān and Narwar as far as Berār, in the Subah of Allahābād, in the confines of Pattaḥ and Ghoragūṭ and Ratanpur, Nandanpur, Sargachh and Bastar"

## No 24—SIHAWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF KARNARAJA

THE ŚAKA YEAR 1114

BY HIRA LAL, B.A., NAGPUR

This inscription is on a slab built into the wall of the Karnēśvar, *vulgo* Kanēsar, temple at Sihawā, the principal village of the tract of that name in the Dhamtarī tahsil of the Raipur District in the Central Provinces. It was first noticed in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV p 500, and it is referred to by General Cunningham in his *Reports*, Vol VII p 145. The place does not seem to have been visited by any archæologist. The inscription was brought to notice by the District officials, who thought it sufficient to ascertain the date, and the full contents of the record have hitherto remained unknown. I therefore edit it from an ink impression supplied by Mr Gokul Prasād Śivardās, Tahsildār of Dhamtarī, from which a reduced facsimile is reproduced in the accompanying plate.

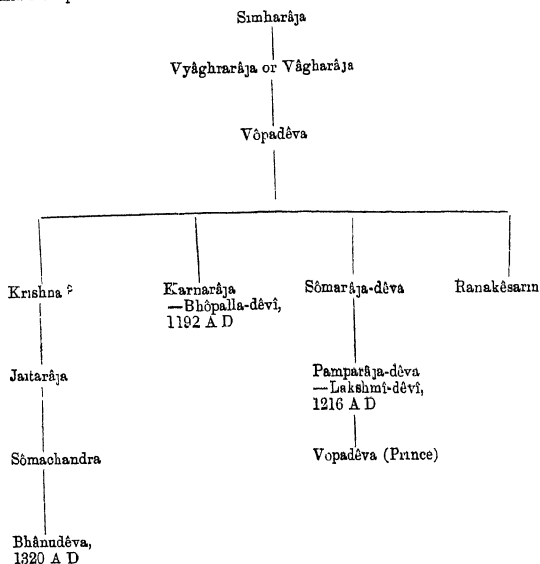
The inscription contains 16 lines covering a space 22" × 13½". The letters are bold and well formed. They are all intact excepting one which is broken off in line 2. Their average size is about ½". The script is Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. The whole of the inscription is written in verse, except the invocation in the beginning, *Om namah Śivāya*, and the name of the *sūtradhāra* at the end. There are altogether 13 verses, 4 in the *Vasantatilaka* metre, 8 *A nushubh*s and one *Upajāti*.

The following are the principal orthographical peculiarities.—*s* is almost invariably used for *ś*. The sign of the *avagraha* is not used at all (see lines 3, 4 and 15). Letters following an *anusvāra* changed from a nasal are doubled (lines 2, 10, and 13). Letters with a *rēpha* are sometimes doubled and sometimes not. Instances of doubling may be seen in lines 1 and 15, and of non-doubling in lines 2, 3, 4, 5 and 11, while lines 8, 9, 10 and 14 afford instances of both. In conjunct letters *ṇ* has been used instead of the proper nasal as in *pañcakam* and *ṇyatakā* in lines 12 and 15. *Śinḥa* is spelt throughout as *sinḥa*, following the usual vulgar pronunciation, and, finally, in line 1 the vowel *ṛ* is used instead of the *rī*, *trī* being written as *tritaya*.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of five temples, two in his parents' name, two in his own, and one in his issueless brother's, by king Karnarāja of Kākara, and of one by his wife, queen Bhōpalla-dēvī. These were all built at the sacred place Dēvahrada. The date of the inscription is given in the last verse as Śaka 1114, without any other details as to the day or month, etc. The inscription was accordingly written in the year A.D. 1191-92, apparently after the completion of the whole group of temples, and it was put up in one of the king's own temples, in which Śiva was enshrined. The other one of those which he had built for himself was dedicated to Kēśava, who apparently occupied a secondary place in his estimation. The temple in which the slab is found, is still called Kanēsar or Karnēśvara, after the king's own name. The writer was the *sūtradhāra* Sūpā, and the composer of the *prastāva* Nṛsimha.

The inscription opens with an invocation of the three-eyed Śiva, and in the second verse the moon, as the progenitor of the dynasty, is praised. Then begins the genealogy of the king, commencing with Sumharāja, whose son was Vāgharāja, from whom was born Vōpadēva, the father of Karnarāja, who married Bhōpalla-dēvī, and who, having conquered all the neighbouring

princes, assumed the title of a paramount sovereign. Combining the information from the other two Kākara inscriptions<sup>1</sup> of these Sōmavamsī kings we get the following genealogical tree.—



It would appear that Vopadēva had four sons, but the probability is that he had only three, the doubtful Krishna of the Kanker *prasasti* being probably identical with Karṇa of our inscription. Evidently the three brothers were all ruling chiefs, who appear to have divided the state between them and selected their residences in different places, though always keeping in touch with the ancestral capital at Kākara and recognising one amongst themselves as over-lord. Karṇa seems to have had a predilection for a site near the older capital, viz., Sihāwā, and was probably living in Dhanōrā, now in the Bastar State, at a distance of about 28 miles from Sihāwā. In this village my friend Rai Bahādur Pandā Bajnāth, B A, Administrator of the Bastar State, has recently discovered ancient remains, there being about 20 tanks and 25 mounds, one of which he excavated and found in it a huge Śiva *linga* with beautiful carvings. Dhanōrā is enclosed by hills on three sides, and is a likely place selected by a Rāja for his residence. There is a local tradition that a Rāja Karṇa ruled there, although the people of that place do not even now know of the existence of any inscription mentioning his name. Sōmarāja and his son Pamparāja favoured Pādi-pattana, which I cannot identify. It was possibly somewhere towards Dhamtari side. Ranakēsarin was useless, as our inscription informs us, and he was probably wholly dependent on his brother Karṇarāja, as we find the latter building a temple in his name to perpetuate his memory—a thing which he would perhaps have done himself had he been his own master. If he was ruling as a chief subordinate to his brother, we have no information as to

where he had selected his residence. There can be little doubt that all these branches of the Kākara family owed allegiance to some other power, which was very probably represented by the Haihaya kings of South Kōśala, as the use of the Kalachuri era by Pampariyādēva would indicate. Kārṇarāja was apparently more ambitious than the rest. He subdued the neighbouring princes, as our inscription relates, and probably set himself up as an independent ruler in the out-of-the-way jungles, that is perhaps the reason why he used the Śaka era in his inscription instead of the Kalachuri era, thus intimating that he did not acknowledge the Haihaya domination, unless it was customary to use the Kalachuri reckoning in official documents involving disposal of property, etc., while the older Śaka era was used for other religious and general purposes.

The earliest date of this line of kings is that which we get from the present inscription, viz., 1192 A.D., and the latest is that of Bhānūdēva, 1320 A.D., there being thus a difference of 128 years between Kārṇarāja and Bhānūdēva. Kārṇarāja stood in the same relationship to Bhānūdēva as did the first ancestor Simharāja to Kārṇarāja. Simha was great-grandfather of Kārṇarāja, the latter being great-grandfather (or great-granduncle) of Bhānūdēva, and if a similar interval is allowed between Simha and Kārṇarāja, Simha's time would be about 107½ A.D. According to this calculation the generations would be very long-lived, about 42 years each on an average, which is hardly probable, though in sporadic cases there would be nothing extraordinary about it. The present Rāja family, according to its traditions, believes its first ancestor to have come from Orissa about Vikrama Samvat 1150 or 1093 A.D., and this curiously fits in well with the evidence afforded by the inscriptions under consideration. Apparently, then, Simharāja was the first emigrant, and he came about the end of the eleventh century or the beginning of the twelfth. The Rāja family story<sup>2</sup> as related before (above, page 124) is to the effect that a Puri king, having become a leper, quitted that place and came to Sihāwā, which was merely a dense jungle, where he found a spring of water in which he took a bath which removed his leprosy. He was then installed king of that place, and it is possible that the locality was named after him, being called *Simha + awah = Simhūwah* (the comfort of Simha) which finally was corrupted into Sihāwā. From our inscription it appears that it was also known as *Dēvahrada tīrtha* or the holy lake of the gods, and there was certainly ample reason for calling it so. In fact a large portion of the Sihāwā tract seems to have been regarded as a piece of holy land. Local tradition avers that it was the hermitage of the *rishi* Śringin who is still worshipped there. Five miles from this place is the village Ratāwā where Angāra (Angaras) *rishi* used to live, and Muchukunda had his *āśrama* in the village Mechakā 22 miles from Sihāwā. About 10 miles west of Sihāwā there is *Dēvakūta* (the hillock of the gods), which also

<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps more than a coincidence that a king Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra, who must have held sway in the same neighbourhood, is mentioned as early as the fourth century in the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta, see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 6 ff.

<sup>2</sup> A variant of the same story is that a Puri king having appointed an illegitimate son of his as his successor, the others took offence and quitted the place. They came over to the wilds of Chhatisgarh and became the leaders of the local tribes, who installed them as their kings. That there is some truth in this story is evident from the fact that the installation of most of these chiefs is considered complete when it is confirmed by a particular tribe, by way of expression of gratitude on the part of the Rāja family. Thus the Kanher family seems indebted to the Halbis, the Kālāhandi family to the Kandhs, the Rairākol to the Butkā Sndhs, the Bāmā to the Bhuysas, and so on.

<sup>3</sup> Besides the healing power of the spring, which in itself is sufficient to cause the place to become a *tīrtha*, Sihāwā is the source of the Mahānadi or Chitāpālā, of which it is said —

*Suvarṇābhyaṁ puri punyaṁ punyā Māyārakṣārti, Kōśalayām trayah punyah punya Chitrōtpalā nadi*  
Suvarṇapuri is the present Sōnpur, capital of the state of the same name, and Māyārakṣārti is another name of Narasimhanāth in Boraśāmbhar Zamindārī of the Sambalpur District. A visit to that place is held to wipe out all sins. *En passant* it may be noted that the apparent mistake of a sculptor in carving out a cat-lion instead of a man-lion has metamorphosed the statue of the latter kept in the Narasimhanāth cave, into a new incarnation of the God, to account for which there has been no lack of imagination on the part of the local Brāhmins.

contains ruins of old temples<sup>1</sup> At Sihāwā there are two old temples close together in a pretty fair state of preservation One of them, in which our inscription was found, is dedicated to Mahādēva, and it is certainly identical with one of the two mentioned in line 12 The other is dedicated to Rāmachandra, but the people say that it was also formerly a Śiva temple and that the present statues of Rāma and others in it were brought from the ruined temple (about 300 yards away) near the Amṛita Kund, a bath in which is reputed to have cured the leprosy of the first Kanker king One of these must be the temple dedicated to Kēśava There are three other temples close by, which may possibly be those constructed by Karnarāja in his parents' and brother's name In the village Bhitarrās, which means 'the interior' and which probably formed the interior of the Sihāwā town in its days of glory, there is another old temple containing idols not easily distinguishable but stated by the people to represent Rāmachandra, etc., and this may possibly be the temple which Bhōpalla-dēvi built. It cannot, however, be confidently identified, the probability for such a conjecture being based on another supposition, viz., that Bhōpalla-dēvi was a Vaiṣṇavī, while her lord was a Śaiva It appears that it was in deference to her that Karnarāja dedicated one of his temples to Kēśava. And as one temple erected in her name was thus built on the holy spring, it seems reasonable to suppose that she should have selected a site for another which she built independently, in the interior of the town

## TEXT.

- 1 श्री नमः शिवाय ॥ <sup>2</sup>तत्पातु <sup>3</sup>वस्तुतयमीश्वरलोचनामग्न्यर्कसोममयमूर्ति-  
घर स-
- 2 मन्तात् । <sup>4</sup>यंलोकदुःखदहनप्रतिभासनादि[स्त्रा]प्यायनानि कृपयानुदिनं करोति ॥१॥  
<sup>5</sup>कन्दर्पवा-
- 3 गणसाणसिलामनोन्नदिक्कमिनीवदनदर्पणमण्डलसीः<sup>6</sup> । देवः ससी<sup>7</sup> विजय  
तेजि-
- 4 तपः पयोधिसु[क्ताफलं] हरसिरोमुकुटकरत्र<sup>8</sup> ॥२॥ <sup>9</sup>पुरुवरःप्रभृतिभिः नृक्षैर्घो-  
वहधन्वयः । त-
- 5 स्य तस्मिन्नभूद्वपुः <sup>10</sup>[सिं]वराजो नृपाग्रणीः ॥३॥ <sup>11</sup>तस्मादजायत महोपतिमौ-  
लिसंघर्षवृष्ट-<sup>12</sup>
- 6 चरणः किल वाघराजः । <sup>13</sup>राजन्यतो समभवज्जगती समन्ताद्येन प्रजासपि  
ढतां भजता नृपेण ॥
- 7 ॥४॥ <sup>14</sup>वोपदेवोभवत्तस्मात्सिंहः<sup>15</sup> सिंघादिवापरः । येन विचासिता जग्मु-  
द्विसः<sup>16</sup> सञ्जुनृपद्विपाः ॥५॥

<sup>1</sup> Mr Gokul Prasad visited these temples lately (November 1907) and has sent me a copy of a small inscription found in one of them, in which I read the name of Śrī Vāgharaja. Thus the Devakūta temples appear to be older than those of Sihāwā, having been built in the times of Karnarāja's grandfather

<sup>2</sup> Metre Vasantatilaka

<sup>3</sup> Read वस्तुतयमीश्वर

<sup>4</sup> Read यंलोक

<sup>5</sup> Metre Vasantatilaka

<sup>6</sup> Read कन्दर्पवाणगणसाणसिलामनोन्न

<sup>7</sup> Read ससी

<sup>8</sup> Read त्रयी I am indebted to Pandit Hirananda Śāstri, M A., for pointing out that the moon is Atri's son who comes out of the Ocean in the form of his penance

<sup>9</sup> Metre Anushubh

<sup>10</sup> Read भिर्नृपैर्घो वपुः नय

<sup>11</sup> Read त्रिरो

<sup>12</sup> Metre Vasantatilaka

<sup>13</sup> Read संघसप्त

<sup>14</sup> Read राजन्वतो

<sup>15</sup> Metre Anushubh

<sup>16</sup> Read सिंह, सिंह

<sup>17</sup> Read द्विस, द्वि

- 8 <sup>1</sup>तन्माहभूतपतिमण्डलमण्डनघ्नीः स्त्रीकर्षराजनृपतिर्विदितप्रतापः । <sup>2</sup>यन्मायवर्त-  
नकपाणभ-  
9 यागवेष्टुं <sup>3</sup>काकैरदेसममल न कलिः समर्थः ॥६॥ <sup>4</sup>तस्य भोपल्लदेवीति  
महिषी वरवर्णिनी । <sup>5</sup>वभूवः  
10 मेने याज्ञीको लक्ष्मीं क्षितिगतामिव ॥७॥ <sup>6</sup>स्ववाहुवीर्येण विजित्य सर्वातु-  
पान्तदेशाधिपतीन्सम-  
11 न्तात् । सेवाकरोपायनदानसीक्षांश्चकार<sup>7</sup> साम्राज्यपदं दधानः ॥८॥ <sup>8</sup>तीर्थं  
देवद्वदे तेन कृतं प्रासा-  
12 दपञ्चकं<sup>9</sup> । स्त्रीयं तत्र हयं जातं यत्र शकरकेसवी<sup>10</sup> ॥९॥ <sup>11</sup>पितृभ्यां प्रददौ  
चान्यत्स्वरयित्वा<sup>12</sup> हयं नृपः ।  
13 सदनं देवदेवस्य मनोहारि त्रिसूदनः(शूलिनः) ॥१०॥ <sup>13</sup>रथकेसरिणे प्रादांनृपायैकं<sup>14</sup>  
सुरालयं । <sup>15</sup>तद्वसन्तीष-  
14 तां ज्ञात्वा भ्रातृस्त्रेहिन कर्षराट् ॥११॥ <sup>16</sup>भोपल्लदेव्या तत्रैव प्रासादः कारितः  
सुभः<sup>17</sup> । भर्तुः सञ्ज्ञेयः<sup>18</sup>  
15 मिदृश्या देहतः <sup>19</sup>पुन्यतस्तथा ॥१२॥ चतुर्हसीत्तरं<sup>20</sup> सेयमेकादशे सते  
सके । वर्धतां सर्वतो नित्यं  
16 नृसिंघे<sup>21</sup> क्षतिना कृता ॥१३॥ सूत्रघा[रः\*] स्या

## TRANSLATION.

Om<sup>1</sup> Salutation to Śiva

(Verse 1.) Let that triad of eyes of Śiva, consisting of fire, sun and moon, protect you on all sides—that triad which out of kindness burns the miseries of this world (and) illuminates and pleases it daily

(V 2) May the god moon be victorious—the (moon) who is a good whetstone for sharpening the arrows of Cupid, who is (the embodiment of) the splendour on the orb of the mirror (—like) faces of the maidens of the (various) quarters of the sky, who is a pearl from the ocean (emanating in the form of) Atri's penance, and (who is) the only jewel on the crest of Śiva's head.

(V 3.) In that (moon's) family which prospered through Purūrvas and other kings there was a king Simharāja who was the leader of (other) kings

<sup>1</sup> Metre Vasantatīlaka Read तन्माह<sup>०</sup> ऋः श्री<sup>०</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Read ०द्वयं

<sup>4</sup> Metre Anuṣṭubh

<sup>6</sup> Metre Upajāti. Read स्ववाहु<sup>०</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Metre Anuṣṭubh.

<sup>9</sup> Read पञ्चक

<sup>11</sup> Metre Anuṣṭubh

<sup>12</sup> Read ०स्कारयित्वा

<sup>14</sup> Read प्रादा<sup>०</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Read तद्वस<sup>०</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Read सुभः.

<sup>18</sup> Read सञ्ज्ञेय<sup>०</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Metre: Anuṣṭubh Read चतुर्हसीत्तरं सेयमेकादशे सते सके

<sup>2</sup> Read यन्माय<sup>०</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Read वभूव

<sup>7</sup> Read ०श्रीका<sup>०</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Read ०केसरौ.

<sup>13</sup> Metre Anuṣṭubh

<sup>16</sup> Metre Anuṣṭubh

<sup>19</sup> Read पुन्यत<sup>०</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Read नृसिंघं.

(V 4) From him was born Vāgharāja, whose feet were indeed scratched by the friction of diadems (adorning the heads) of (other) kings (prostrating themselves before him) By (this) king, who was devoted to his subjects like a father, the world came to be well-ruled on all sides

(V 5) From this lion as it were was born Vōpadēva, another lion, frightened by whom the elephant like hostile kings went (as it retired) to the (various) cardinal points (of the compass)

(V 6) From him was born the illustrious Karnadēva (who was) the splendour (adorning) the assembly of kings, whose glory was (well) known, and through fear of whose sword in the form of dispensation of justice the Kali (age) was unable to enter the spotless Kākara country.

(V 7) His queen was the beautiful Bhōpalladēvi, whom the people considered as if she were Lakshmi (goddess of wealth) come to this earth

(V 8) Having completely conquered the lords of all the neighbouring countries by the force of his arm and having secured paramount sovereignty (over them), (he) caused them to become devoted to his service, to pay tribute and presents and to become charitable

(V 9) In the holy place Dēvahrada five edifices were built by him Two of them were his own, where Śankara and Kṛṣṇa (are enshrined)

(V 10) The king, having caused two other temples of the god of gods, the holder of the trident,<sup>1</sup> to be built bestowed them on (as dedicated them in the name of) his parents.

(V 11) One temple Karnarāja gave to (as dedicated in the name of) king Banākēśarin, through fraternal affection, knowing that his lineage was to become extinct

(V 12) There, an auspicious temple was also caused to be built by Bhōpalla-dēvi, who wished for the union with her husband (both) in body as well as in meritorious acts.

(V 13) This (was done) in the Śaka year eleven hundred increased by fourteen. Let prosperity daily attend Composed by the clever Nṛsimha

The Sūtradhāra (architect) was Sūpā (?)

## NO 25 —VASANTGADH INSCRIPTION OF VARMALATA,

[VIKRAMA] SAMVAT 682.

By D R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., POONA

Last year a summary of this inscription was published by Prof Kielhorn,<sup>2</sup> with a promise to publish the full text on some future occasion The impressions sent by Pandit Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha of Udaipur were not sufficiently clear for that purpose. During the touring season ending March 1906, my work chiefly lay in the Sirohi State I was thus able to inspect the original stone in person and take the best possible impressions When the summary was afterwards published on my return to head-quarters, I sent my impressions to Prof Kielhorn. But, as circumstances arose which prevented him from publishing them, the impressions were

<sup>1</sup> In the original the word is *tridānah* which I originally read as *triddanah*. Dr Konow has suggested the correction adopted in the text

<sup>2</sup> *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1906, H 2



to whom the temple was dedicated. The second name is Pratiḥāra Bōtaka, the first of which words I think signifies the race Bōtaka was thus a Pratiḥāra, i.e. Padiār, and this is the earliest instance of the denomination Pratiḥāra occurring in an inscription. The third name is *raḍasābhiniya* Ādityabhata, the first part of which is unquestionably an official designation, meaning the foreign secretary.<sup>1</sup>

Prof. Kielhorn thinks that the name of Varmalāta spoken of in our inscription as paramount sovereign settles the date of the poet Māgha. It would be impossible not to agree with him when he says, that, out of the numerous forms found in the manuscripts of the Śiṣupālavadha, of the name of the king at whose court Māgha's grandfather Suprabhadēva is stated to have held the office of prime-minister, the variant Varmalāta is to be selected as the most likely one. But to the identification of this prince with the Varmalāta of our inscription, supposing the date V E 682 to be correct it is possible to raise an objection. As every student who has read the *Śiṣupālavadha* knows, Māgha in his work distinctly alludes to the two grammatical treatises, the *Kṛṣṇavṛtti* and its commentary called *Nyāsa*. The former is the joint production of Jayaditya and Vāmana, and, with regard to the former author, the Chinese traveller I-tsing informs us in unmistakable terms that he died about A D 661-662. It should, moreover, be borne in mind that the author of the *Nyāsa* was Jinēndrabuddhi, who like Jayāditya was a follower of the Buddha.<sup>2</sup> And it is inconceivable that I-tsing, one of whose principal objects in coming to India was to collect information about Buddhist authors, could have passed him over in silence, if the latter had flourished before A D. 695 when the Chinese traveller's departure from India took place. The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that the author of the *Nyāsa* could not have lived before the first half of the 8th century. Māgha, therefore, has to be assigned to the latter part of the 8th century. This line of argument adduced by Prof. Pathak<sup>3</sup> appears to me to be worth considering. Dr Konow, however, informs me that he does not think it convincing. He says, "the *argumentum ex silentio* is always unsafe, and, even if we admit that Jinēndrabuddhi cannot have written before A D 695, that does not disprove Professor Kielhorn's identification of our Varmalāta with the king whose minister Māgha's grandfather was. Our inscription may very well date from a time previous to his appointment as minister, and it does not, at any rate, make it impossible to bring Māgha down to the first twenty years of the 8th century. There is nothing to hinder us from supposing that Jinēndrabuddhi flourished about A D. 700. The alleged reference to his work in the *Śiṣupālavadha* would, I think, be more intelligible if we suppose it to have been a new work at the time when Māgha wrote his poem."

I quite accept Dr Konow's main conclusions. But I agree with Professor Pathak that the *argumentum ex silentio* carries some weight in this particular instance. One of the chief objects I-tsing had in view was to gather all available information about Buddhist authors in India. And, when we consider that he has even mentioned his own contemporaries, it is very unlikely that he should have failed to notice Jinēndrabuddhi, if the latter had actually achieved fame in his time. As pointed out by Dr. Konow, there is, however, nothing to prevent us from considering Māgha and Jinēndrabuddhi as contemporaries. The mere fact that one author quotes another one, only shows that he knows him, and not necessarily that he belongs to a later time. Māgha and Jinēndrabuddhi can, therefore, very well both have lived at the beginning of the eighth century, and Professor Kielhorn's identification of the two Varmalātas remains unaffected by Professor Pathak's argument.

<sup>1</sup> *History of Gujarat in the Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I Pt I p 82

<sup>2</sup> It might perhaps be doubted whether Jinēndrabuddhi was a Buddhist. But there are no reasonable grounds for this doubt. A Deccan College manuscript (No 38 of 1881-82, leaf 90b) has the following *Iti bōdhisattvāditya-dakṣarya-Dvayā(Jinēndrabuddhi)(dāhi)-vraochitāyām Kāśikā-vivaraṇa-paśchikāyām daittya dākyayaya chatur-thak pādāh*. I am indebted to Prof. Pathak for this reference. See also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII p 67

<sup>3</sup> *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol XX, pp 305-6

The place **Vata**, where the feudatory prince Rājula was reigning, is doubtless Vasantgadh itself. This will be seen from the fact that the temple to Kshāmāyā, said in the inscription to have been built by the *gōshthī* of Vata, is no other than the temple of Khmel *mutā* in Vasantgadh of which the inscription stone originally formed part. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that the temples dedicated to the Sun and Brahṃā mentioned as existing in Vatapūra in the inscription of Pūrnapāla dated V E 1099 are still existing at Vasantgadh. A slightly different name for the place, viz. Vatākara, occurs in 19. We have a similar instance of a certain old place called both Āśāsana and Āśasādhara. The remains of Vasantgadh have been fully described and the question regarding the name Vata and Vatākara is fully discussed in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for the months July 1906 to March 1906, inclusive pp 49 ff<sup>1</sup>

TEXT<sup>2</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>3</sup> नम. ॥ धातुर्या योगनिद्रा [जलन] — ७ ७ [नस्या] कृतिर्विश्व  
योने. 'कैलासीचाङ्गच्छिद्रप्रतिनियतमुदावासिनोर्वाङ्गसत्ता [1\*] या
- 2 राक्षिस्त्वर्लोके स्मृतिरपि च सतां या श्रुतिर्ब्रह्मगीता सा देवी दुर्गमेषु  
प्रदिशतु जगते मङ्गलानीह दुर्गा.<sup>4</sup> ॥ [1\*] नियतमतिप्रणतिप-
- 3 रखाजौ यागे 'क्याफलिवसक्त [1\*] चेमार्या चेमकरी विदधातु शिवानि  
नस्तत<sup>5</sup> ॥ [2\*] जयति जयलक्ष्मिलक्षितवक्षस्वसञ्चितश्रियाधार<sup>6</sup> [1\*] श्री-
- 4 वक्षलातनृपतिपतिरवनेरधिकवक्षसीर्थः ॥ [3\*] केचिन्नेशमाक्षैरतिविशदपद<sup>7</sup>  
सुद्रया पारगर्था<sup>10</sup> केचिच्चान्ये प्रकाम प्रतिवचनयुतैः [1]
- 5 [र्थ]जापैरजसं [1\*] अन्ये वै मण्डलान्ते कृतवलिङ्गकुक्षीर्भूतिदानिन चान्ये  
तेनेत्य सन्नरेन्द्रव्रतमनुचरता शासिता भूमिपालाः<sup>11</sup> ॥ [8\*] तस्याशेषविश-
- 6 [ष]दोषरहितान्मुष्णाति भक्त्या गुणान् (i) नाम्ना वञ्चभटेति भृत्यपदवी-  
माश्रित्य सत्याश्रयः [1\*] ख्यातः कीर्तिमतामलघ्यचरितः<sup>12</sup> <sup>13</sup> श्रीमातु-  
रप्यर्जने<sup>14</sup> किञ्च
- 7 [जा]तगुणः प्रसृष्टिमवतस्नूनीय संरक्षणे<sup>15</sup> ॥ (ii) [4\*] तस्य स्रुतुरधिक प्रियः  
प्रियेऽप्रययादिसकलैर्महागुणै<sup>16</sup> [1\*] राजिलोभवदेशेपराजकव्यात्मको-

<sup>1</sup> In 19 of the Vasantgadh inscription of Pūrnapāla, Vata is also spoken of as the name of a country. In verse 17 of the *māda kēśhī* inscription found at Ghatiyāla (*Jour. E. As. Soc.* 1895, p. 518), the expression *Vada mānaya māndala* occurs. This is doubtless identical with *Vata Nānaka-mandala*. Here the country or district is not called simply after Vata (Vasantgadh) but also after *Nanaka* which evidently is the present Nānā, about thirteen miles north-east of it.

<sup>2</sup> From the original stone

<sup>3</sup> Read कैलासीचाङ्गच्छिद्र<sup>3</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Read क्रिया<sup>4</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Wrong for 'क्याधार' which would not have suited the metre

<sup>6</sup> Read 'पदेर्मुद्रया

<sup>11</sup> Metre. Sragdharā

<sup>12</sup> The letter य is not in the same line with र and ल् but is engraved exactly below between them so two letters and two vertical strokes are added one above and one below between them to draw attention to the omission

<sup>13</sup> Read, probably 'क्ष' instead of 'क्ष'

<sup>14</sup> Read 'गुणै..

<sup>5</sup> Expressed by a symbol

<sup>6</sup> Read दुर्गा, metre. Sragdharā

<sup>7</sup> Metre. Āryā, and also of the verse following

<sup>10</sup> Read 'क्या

<sup>12</sup> Read 'मल्लघ्य'

<sup>1</sup> Metre. Sādhavikridita

- 8 त्तिरमले कुले नृपः<sup>1</sup> [॥\*] [६\*] ब्राह्मणातिथिभृत्यादिकलावत्सु विशेषतः<sup>2</sup> [1\*]  
सौधिक ३द्रविणे ४शश्ववटे वैश्ववणायते<sup>5</sup> ॥ [७\*] तस्मिन्नाजनि  
देव्याश्चासति राज्यं
- 9 वटाकरखानि[1\*] गोष्ठ्या कारितमेतद्भवनं भुवनस्य चिह्नमिव<sup>6</sup> ॥ [८\*]  
कारापकस्तु स्रुतः पितामहाख्यस्य सत्यदेवाख्यः [1\*] गोष्ठ्या प्रसादपरया  
निरूपितो ज-
- 10 [क]ना स वणिक् । (॥) [८\*] यावन्मेरोस्तटानि प्रचुरहिमकणोत्तुङ्गशैलाधिपस्य  
स्यन्दि[न्यो] यावदु[च्चा] अपगतक[लु]पा — — — — — [1\*]  
यावच्चन्द्रार्कभास-
- 11 [सु]तरलजलधे[रु]र्भयो यावदुच्चैस्ताव[हे]वालयं [निस्थि]तमिह भवतु ७त्रेयस  
७पौरजानां<sup>9</sup> ॥ [१०\*] दिग्ग्रीवधिके काले घण्टां वर्षशतोत्तरे [1\*]  
जगन्मातु-
- 12 १०[रिदं] र[ग]ान स्या[पि]तं [गो]ष्ठिपुङ्गवैः<sup>11</sup> ॥ [११\*] दिवाकरसुतस्येयं  
धूर्तराशेहिजन्मनः<sup>12</sup> [1\*] पूर्वार्तिमृदुभिर्वर्णैः प्रोत्कीर्णा नागमुण्डिना  
[॥] [१२\*] ॥ ॐ ॥
- 13 [गो]ष्ठिकाक्ष<sup>13</sup> [ ] राजिल । बकट । चन्द्रक । प्रतीहारबोटक ।  
राजस्थानीयादिलभट । जा(?)ब(?)र्ण । मातृदासबङ्गदेव । कुलवर्धन ।  
धनदत्त[ब]सु [1]
- 14 पुषक । धोन्धकपुत्रसत्यदेव । ककिलक । धनदत्त । गोमिक । हरि-  
गुप्त । [ब]पक । पपोष्ठ । सत्यदेव । रेभिलाक । रतिदास ।  
तरण । — — — — दत्त
- 15 दृढगुर । धनगर । बपाणन्दि । — — — । राजक । भद्रदेव ।  
रुद्रक । दत्तभिल्लमालकुय । खिलकु । आर्यदिण्ड । शणु ।  
शण्डरटनाग — —
- 16 तता । भिलमालकु । सत्तमदेव । बङ्गदास — — । श्रीमातागणिका  
वृटानाञ्जो ॥ \* ॥ एवमेषां गोष्ठिकाराणां <sup>14</sup>ना-
- 17 . . . . . <sup>15</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Metre Bathôddhatâ.<sup>2</sup> Read विशेषतः.<sup>3</sup> Read द्रविणे.<sup>4</sup> Read शश्ववटे.<sup>5</sup> Metre Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh)<sup>6</sup> Metre Āryā, and also of the verse following.<sup>7</sup> The letter य is engraved below the line.<sup>8</sup> The word *pawreya* is curious, but it probably means "descendants of the citizens (of Vata) "<sup>9</sup> Metre Sragdhara.<sup>10</sup> The *akṣaras* °रिद° are very indistinct.<sup>11</sup> Metre Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh)<sup>12</sup> Read °राशेति°.<sup>13</sup> Read गोष्ठिका क्षत्र<sup>14</sup> Read नासनि.<sup>15</sup> About five letters have been incised in cursive form, but I am unable to read them.

NO. 26. — DAULATABAD PLATES OF THE RĀSHTRAKUTA SANKARĀGANA,  
SAKA-SAMVAT 715

By D R BHANDARKAR, M A, POONA

These plates were in the possession of a Tongawalla, named Bhanu Devram Bhat, a Brahman-kshatri by caste, and residing at Daulatābād, in the Nizam's territory. They seem to have been preserved as heirloom in his family, and, according to the account given by him, it appears that they were given to his great-grandfather as a *sanad*. The plates were obtained on loan by me from the owner through Maulvi Syed Mohammad Bilgrami, First Tālukdār, Aurangābād district, who was kind enough to accede to my request promptly.

There are three plates, each of which measures about 7½" long by about 5" broad. The first plate is inscribed on one side only, and the remaining ones on both sides. The edges of the inner sides of them are fashioned slightly thicker so as to protect the writing, and the inscription is, on the whole, in a state of almost perfect preservation. The plates are strung on a circular ring, the ends of which are joined together by means of a knob bearing a roughly round seal, containing, in relief on a countersunk surface, a representation of Garuḍa, squatting and facing full-front, his hands are joined, palm to palm, on the chest, and are turned upwards, his legs rest one upon the other, and two projections at the sides denote his wings.

The characters of the original inscription belong to the northern class of alphabets prevailing in the 8th century. With regard to the forms of individual letters, attention may be drawn to *ā*, e.g. in *Āśi*, l 2, to *n*, which looks almost exactly like *m*, e.g. in *ṇuṣṭa*, l 12, to *ṇa* in *bhaṇṇa*, l 14, to *nka* in *Śrī-Sankarāganarāja*, l 27, to *rya* in *vīryā*, l 20, and to *ācha* in *pañchabhā*, l 35. The alphabet also includes signs for the numerals 7, 1, and 5 in line 41. The last sign is almost exactly like that for 5 given in the Sāmāngadh grant of Dantidurga, where the date is also expressed in words. No reasonable doubt can, therefore, be entertained as to the correct reading of the date of our inscription. The language is Sanskrit. Up to almost the close of line 24 the inscription is in verse, and two benedictive and imprecatory verses occur in lines 38-40, the rest is in prose. The number of verses at the beginning is 12. Of these, verses 1-9 also occur in other early Rāshtrakūta records. The remaining three verses are peculiar to this inscription, and are historically important. The whole of line 31 after the word *vra(bra)hmachārī* and a part of the line following have unquestionably been tampered with. They contained names of the donee and the village granted, which have been cancelled and replaced by new ones by heating the plates and beating in the letters originally engraved. The boundaries of this new village are specified after about the middle of line 42, where the original inscription really ends, down to line 55. The letters of these lines are as carelessly written and are of exactly the same type as those incised in lines 31-32 just referred to. Lines 42-55 are thus a continuation of the forgery commenced in lines 31-32. In respect of orthography, the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, there is an indifference about the doubling of consonants after *r*, the *visarga* is often wrongly omitted, the vowel *ri* is employed instead of *ri* in *dhūpas=trivishṭapa*, l 5, *Kanakādṛv=va=Endrarājah*, l 8, and *pry-āṭma\*ṇya*, l 24, the letter *qh* is employed instead of *h* once in *rāja-samghaḥ*, l 4, and an *anuvāda* in conjunction with a following *n* is changed to that letter once in *dhvastan=naya*, l 2.

The inscription records a grant by Samarāvalōka śrī-Sankarāgana-rāja of the Rāshtrakūta family. In the introductory metrical portion, his genealogy is given, beginning with Gōvinda-rāja I. The genealogy set forth as far as Kṛṣṇanārāja I is in verses 1-9 which, as already said, are to be met with in many other grants of this dynasty, and which consequently teach us nothing new. It then describes Gōvinda II in the following words in verse 10, occupying ll. 19-21 and bearing a *double entendre* "His son was king Gōvindarāja who was like Hari (Kṛṣṇa) inasmuch as both were fond of battles, inasmuch as the former was celebrated for

having snatched away the glory of Śrī-Pārijāta just as the latter was for having carried off its greatness of the auspicious *pārijāta* (tree), and inasmuch as the prowess of his arms was shown by the former by supporting Gōvardhana just as it was shown by the latter by uplifting the Gōvardhana (mountain) " The mythological sense is clear enough, and, besides, the verse seems to show that Gōvinda II defeated a king of the name of Pārijāta, and made alliance with, and espoused the cause of, another prince called Gōvardhana.<sup>1</sup> The names Pārijāta and Gōvardhana are new, and have not so far been met with in epigraphic records. Then follows a verse (11) which is as important as it is unfortunately corrupt. But if the emendations proposed by me are accepted, the following appears to be its sense: "His younger brother was Nirupama, who, perceiving him self-conceited, abandoned by (feudatory) princes, and even deprived of policy, assumed the royal authority placed (in the hands of a person) other than one possessed of devotion for the elders, in order that the sovereignty might not deviate from the family." What the verse means is that Gōvinda II was a self-conceited ruler and resorted to bad policy, which resulted in the regal authority being held by a person who had no respect for the Rāshtrakūta sovereigns that preceded him, and consequently created disaffection amongst his feudatory chieftains, who deserted him, and that Dhruva Nirupama fearing that the sovereignty would pass away to another dynasty, was compelled to take the reins of the government into his hands and thus rule over his brother's dominions. The Dēoli and Karhād grants of Krishna III, however, give a slightly different account. They record that "sensual pleasures made Gōvindarāja careless of the kingdom, and that, entrusting fully the universal sovereignty to his younger brother, Nirupama, he allowed his position as sovereign to become loose." The discrepancy in the two accounts is with regard to whether Dhruva-Nirupama was actually entrusted by Gōvinda II with the management of the kingdom, the Dēoli and Karhād grants saying that it was so, but our inscription implying that it was not so, as it was left to the care of one who was anything but attached to the Rāshtrakūta family.<sup>2</sup> But the facts, the actual occurrences, mentioned in our charter, which is the earlier of the two and consequently more reliable, could not have been distorted, though the motives might have been coloured and differently expressed, and hence what most probably happened was that Gōvinda II gave himself up to sensual pleasures and allowed the government of his kingdom to slip into the hands of a person other than Dhruva, and not of Dhruva himself, as the Dēoli and Karhād grants claim, and whether it was to remove the danger thereby caused to the stability of the Rāshtrakūta supremacy, as the motive is stated in our inscription, or, what is more likely, his mind lusted after sovereignty, for securing which a splendid opportunity had presented itself when Gōvinda II gave himself up to vicious courses, Dhruva-Nirupama was successful in making himself ruler of his brother's dominions.

Verse 12 informs us that the paternal uncle of (Dhruva-)Nirupama was Śrī-Nanna, brother of Śrī-Krishnarāja and son of Śrī-Kakkarāja. Then follows the preamble of the prose passage which usually precedes the formal part of a copper-plate inscription, and therein the

<sup>1</sup> I have taken the word *uddharana* in the sense of "uplifting, upholding," but it also signifies "eradication, extermination." In that case it would mean that Gōvinda II slew a prince of the name of Gōvardhana. Or if Gōvardhana is here supposed to denote a province, it would mean that he devastated the province of Gōvardhana. A province and a place of that name have been mentioned in the Nāsik cave inscriptions, and have also been spoken of in the Purāṇas. But whether the name was extant so late as the 8th century is doubtful. A similar play upon the word *Gōvardhana* occurs in the Bagur grants of Indrarāja III (above, Vol. IX pp. 32 and 36).

<sup>2</sup> This discrepancy may perhaps be removed by putting a different interpretation on the words *guru-bhakti-mato-nyasametham*. It might be said that the person who had no respect for the elders, i.e. the Rāshtrakūta viregns who were dead, and in whose hands the sovereignty lay, was no other than Gōvinda II himself. It might be argued that the management of the kingdom had actually been entrusted to Dhruva by him on account of his sensual courses, as the Dēoli and Karhād plates claim, and that the motive put forth by Dhruva and his party for ousting Gōvinda II and completely severing his connection with the Rāshtrakūta kingdom was that he had shown himself unworthy of his elders, i.e. the sovereigns who preceded him, by abandoning himself to sensual pleasures and not himself carrying on the administration of his kingdom. In my opinion, this interpretation would be far-fetched and fantastic.

name of the grantor Samarāvaloka-Śrī-Śankaragana-rāja is specified and he is mentioned as son of Śrī-Nanna just referred to. It is worthy of note that no titles have been coupled with his name. He was thus not even a feudatory chieftain. It is, therefore, no wonder that he is spoken of as issuing the charter with the express consent of Śrī-Kalivallabha Narendradēva. The latter was doubtless an epithet of (Dhruva-)Nrupama, who was then the paramount sovereign and whose cousin Śankaragana was. The proper object of the inscription is stated in ll 28-33, but, as said above, the names of the original donee and the village granted to him which were engraved in ll 31-32, have been erased, and new ones incised in characters which, though old, are not quite legible. The only particular which has survived of the original grantee is that he had emigrated from Tenvi, and the expression *tai-pāda-pāgātham gnu-dukshant*, which occurs in l 33, shows that he was the preceptor of Śankaragana. Lines 34-36 contain a request to future rulers to respect the donation, and threaten with spiritual punishment those who might rescind it. Lines 37-40 quote two of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses. And the original inscription then concludes thus: "And this charter was written by Chandayika by order of the supreme ruler, when 715 years had elapsed in accordance with the era of the Śaka Kings." The supreme ruler here alluded to is (Druva-)Nrupama, and the Śaka year 715 must consequently refer to his reign. The earliest record—the Arabian grant—of his son and successor Govinda III is dated in Śaka 716. It is thus plain that (Dhruva-)Nrupama could not have lived long after Śaka 715 when our grant was made.

After this commences the second part of the forged record. It has been mentioned above that the names of the grantee and the village granted engraved in the original inscription in lines 31-32 have been erased, and new ones substituted for them by beating in the previous letters. The name of the new grantee cannot be made out, but his *gotra* specified is Bhāradvāja. Secondly, the name of the new village incised appears to be something like Sāmira. And it is the boundaries of this village that are now specified in lines 42-53 after the completion of the old genuine inscription. The names are written so carelessly and the composition is so full of grammatical inaccuracies that it is not possible to be here definite about anything. In line 52 is given the expression *vala(lla)kha-narindra* which is an epithet generally borne by the Rashtrakūta rulers. The connection of this expression, however, with what precedes and follows is not clear. The forged document ends with *Śrī-Bhatak(ā)ka matah* || 800. The name *Bhatakā* reminds one of the inscriptions of the Valabhi princes, and if the numerals taken for 800 are correctly read and represent a date, as is highly probable, it must be referred to the Valabhi era, and it thus becomes equivalent to A D 1119 which may be taken to be the date of the fabrication of the forged record. Our copper-plate charter, as has been said at the outset, was in the possession of a person from Daulatabad, a Brahmakshatri by caste, and has been preserved in his family as heirloom. As Brahmakshatrias in the Dekkan are known originally to have come from Kāthiāwār, it is not unlikely that somebody in his family, after securing these plates tampered with them in order to use them as documentary evidence to strengthen his otherwise disputable claim to the village therein mentioned, and it is but natural that he should engrave the name Bhatakā after the manner of the Valabhi plates which he must have either seen himself in Kāthiāwār or known about from his forefathers.

# TEXT<sup>1</sup>

## First Plate.

1 श्री<sup>2</sup> स्वस्ति [॥\*] स वोय्यादेवसी<sup>3</sup> धाम यन्नाभिकमल कृतं [॥\*] हरश्च  
यस्य कान्तिन्दु-

<sup>1</sup> From the original plates

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol

<sup>3</sup> Read 'इक्ष्मा'

- 2 कलया कमलं कृतं ॥ [१\*] <sup>1</sup>आसीद्वृष्टिभिरसुखतममङ्गलाग्रो ध्वस्तिवर्धः<sup>2</sup>  
 3 अभिसुखो रणशर्वरीषु [१\*] भूपः शुचिः पृथुरिवाप्तदिगन्तकीर्तिं <sup>3</sup>गोविन्द-  
 4 राज इति राजसु राजसिंहः<sup>4</sup> । (॥) [२\*] तस्यात्मजो जगति विन्धुतदीर्घकीर्तिं<sup>5</sup>  
 5 रात्तार्तिह्वारिहरिविक्रमधामधारी । <sup>6</sup>भूपस्तुविष्टपन्तपानुकृतिः  
 6 कृतज्ञः श्रीकङ्कराज इति गोचमणिवर्ध<sup>6</sup> । (॥) [३\*] तस्य प्रभिन्न-  
 7 कर्तव्युतदानदन्तिर्दन्तिप्रहारविषमोक्षिहितांसुपीठः<sup>7</sup> ।  
 8 क्षापः क्षितौ क्षपितशत्रुभूतनूजः सद्राष्ट्रकूटकनकादृरिविन्द-<sup>8</sup>  
 9 राजः । (॥) [४\*] तस्योपार्जिततपसस्तनयस्तुष्टदधिवलयमालिन्या<sup>9</sup> ।  
 10 भोक्ता सुवि<sup>10</sup> शतक्रतुसदृशः श्रीदन्तिदुर्गराजोभूत् । (॥) [५\*] आसीतोव्विपुलो-<sup>11</sup>  
 11 पलावलिजललोभिविलाजलादाप्राप्तियकलांकितोमल-<sup>12</sup>  
 12 शिलाजालात्तुषाराचलात् । आपूर्वापरवारिराशिपुलिनप्रान्त-

*Second Plate, First Side.*

- 13 <sup>13</sup>प्रसिद्धावधिर्धेनेयं जगती <sup>14</sup>स्वविक्रमवलेनैकातपचीकृता । (॥) [६\*] अभूवि-  
 14 भङ्गमगृहीतनिशातशस्त्रमज्ञातमप्रतिहताश्रमपेतयज्ञं [१\*] यो व-  
 15 क्तमं सपदि दण्डवलेन<sup>15</sup> जित्वा राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतामवाप । (॥) [७\*]  
 काक्षी-  
 16 <sup>16</sup>सकेरलनराधिपचोलपाण्ड्यश्रीहर्षवज्रविभेदविधानदक्षं [१\*] कपर्णाटकं  
 17 <sup>17</sup>वलमचिन्धमजोयमथैः भृत्यै<sup>18</sup> कियद्विरपि यः सहसा विजिग्ये । (॥) [८\*]  
 तस्मिन्<sup>19</sup> दि-  
 18 व प्रयाते वल्लभराज कृतप्रजापालः [१\*] श्रीकङ्कराजस्तुर्महो-  
 19 पति<sup>20</sup> कण्णराज[?]भूत् ॥ [९\*] त[खु]नुराष्ट्रवरुचिः प्रथितो वभूव<sup>21</sup> श्रीपा-  
 20 रिजातविभवहार[ण]प्रतीत<sup>22</sup> [१\*] गोवर्धनोदररणलक्षितवाडुवीर्यो<sup>23</sup>  
 21 गोविन्दराजनृपति <sup>24</sup>हरिणा समानः । (॥) [१०\*] तस्यानुजो निरुपमस्व-  
 सुदीर्घर्षमी-

<sup>1</sup> Read 'आसीद्वृष्टि'.

<sup>2</sup> Read 'सिंहः'.

<sup>3</sup> Read 'दन्तिदन्त' and 'क्षिहितांस'.

<sup>4</sup> Read 'सुवि'.

<sup>5</sup> Read 'प्रसिद्धावधि'.

<sup>6</sup> Read 'काक्षी'.

<sup>7</sup> Read 'काक्षी', the letter ख in 'कैरलनराधिप' was first inadvertently omitted, but was afterwards engraved below between र and म, and the omission indicated by a horizontal stroke above

<sup>8</sup> Read 'वल्' and 'मज्यै'.

<sup>9</sup> Read 'पति'.

<sup>10</sup> Read 'वाडु'.

<sup>11</sup> Read 'भूप'.

<sup>12</sup> Read 'भूपविष्टप'.

<sup>13</sup> Read 'कनकादि'.

<sup>14</sup> Read 'सितीर्षि'.

<sup>15</sup> Read 'वल्'.

<sup>16</sup> Read 'वल्'.

<sup>17</sup> Read 'नृपतिहरिणा'.

<sup>18</sup> Read 'कीर्तिर्ना'.

<sup>19</sup> Read 'वल्भू'.

<sup>20</sup> Read 'मालिन्या'.

<sup>21</sup> Read 'कलक्षितामल'.

<sup>22</sup> Read 'वलेन'.

<sup>23</sup> Read 'तस्मिन्'.

<sup>24</sup> Read 'प्रतीत'.

१  
 २  
 ३  
 ४  
 ५  
 ६  
 ७  
 ८  
 ९  
 १०  
 ११  
 १२

५८  
१४  
१६  
१८  
२०  
२२  
२४





- 22 च<sup>1</sup> त्यक्त नृपैरपि नयेन विलुप्यमानं । र[1\*]ज्यं चभार<sup>2</sup> गुरुभक्ति-  
तोन्धसंख्यं<sup>3</sup>
- 23 मा भूक्लिप्तान्वयपरिच्युतिरत्र लक्ष्माः<sup>4</sup> [11\*] [११\*] पितृव्यस्तस्य<sup>5</sup> गुणवा  
ओनन्न इति
- 24 विच्युतः [1\*] श्रीकृष्णराजभाता हि श्रीकृष्णराजपुत्रजः<sup>6</sup> [11\*] [१२\*] तत्पुत्रः

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 25 प्रकटपराक्रमाक्रान्तदिक्चक्रो<sup>7</sup> पात्तानुरागः परच्छिद्रापवादरङ्ग-<sup>8</sup>
- 26 स्वेधन्मूकवधिर<sup>9</sup> विरुद्धकामसेवी विमलागाधसलिल<sup>10</sup> कान्तारभू-
- 27 मौ जलाशय इव प्रणयिनां<sup>11</sup> तृट्छिता समरावलोकश्रीशङ्करगणराजः
- 28 श्रीकलिवल्लभनरेन्द्रदेवानुमत्या<sup>12</sup> सर्वानेवागामितृपतिग्रामकूट-
- 29<sup>13</sup> भृत्तराधिकारिदीप्तिमनुबोधयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथास्माभि-
- 30 र्मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चानल्पपुन्यश्रीभिद्वय<sup>14</sup> (1) तेन्वीविनि-
- 31<sup>15</sup> र्गतब्रह्मचारी भारद्वाजगोत्राय वासुदे — — — नेयप-
- 32 ण्डि — — — भुक्त्या सामिराभिधानग्रामः साभ्यन्तरसिद्धिसर्व-
- 33 देयप्रह्नीणश्चतुराघाटविशुद्धस्तत्पादपूजार्थ<sup>16</sup> गुरुदक्षिणा दत्ता ।
- 34 यतोऽस्मद्वंशैरन्यैर्वा पालनीयो रक्षणीयश्च । यो वाञ्छानतिभि-
- 35 राहतमतिः<sup>17</sup> 18 आच्छिद्यादाच्छिद्यमानं चानुमोदेतः<sup>19</sup> स पञ्चभिर्म[ह]-
- 36<sup>20</sup> पातकै चोपपातकैः संयुक्त<sup>21</sup> स्वादित्युक्तं च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्या-
- 37 सेन ।

*Third Plate, First Side*

- 38 षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं मोदति<sup>22</sup> भूमिदः [1\*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च
- 39 तान्येव नरकं वसित् ॥ [१३\*] विन्याटवीश्वतोयांशु<sup>23</sup> शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [1\*]

<sup>1</sup> द्यय seems to have been intended, but is, of course, an ungrammatical form

<sup>2</sup> Read चभार, व and not च must have been in the original draft, and, being similar in formation, च was engraved instead of व

<sup>3</sup> Read °भक्तिमती°

<sup>4</sup> Read लक्ष्मा

<sup>5</sup> Read गुणवाञ्छी°

<sup>6</sup> Read °मिवात्मनः, र्त्स is omitted in the text The श्री° of श्रीकृष्ण° or, what is more probable, the हि preceding t, is superfluous

<sup>7</sup> Read दिक्चक्र and पात्तानुराग.

<sup>8</sup> हि was first incised, and then it was corrected into व by erasure

<sup>9</sup> Read °वधिर°

<sup>10</sup> Read °सलिल°

<sup>11</sup> Read तृट्छिता.

<sup>12</sup> Read °देवानुमत्या

<sup>13</sup> Read °कार्यादीन्मनुबोध°

<sup>14</sup> Read °पुण्य°

<sup>15</sup> Read °ब्रह्मचारी°, all letters of l 31 after °ब्रह्मचारी° and the first eight letters of the line following are forged ones, put in after effacing the original letters of the charter, which must have contained the name of the grantee and of the village granted.

<sup>16</sup> Read °पूजार्थ°

<sup>17</sup> Here and in the following the rules of sandhi have not been followed

<sup>18</sup> Read

<sup>19</sup> Read °मोदेत°

<sup>20</sup> Read °पातकैचोप°

<sup>21</sup> Read

<sup>22</sup> This ought to be मोदते according to the rules of grammar; but this will not suit

<sup>23</sup> Read °तोयांशु°

- 40 कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ।(॥) [१४\*] लिखित  
चैतत्सासन<sup>1</sup>  
41 शकटपक्षात्तातीतसवत्सरशतेषु ७१५ परमेश्वराज्ञया पर-  
42 मेश्वराज्ञया<sup>2</sup> चन्दयिक्कन ॥ <sup>3</sup>पुनरपि <sup>4</sup>सिम [1\*] पुर्वत[1\*]<sup>5</sup> चिच-  
43 ग्राम [द<sup>6</sup>क्षिणत निवग्रामः पश्चिमतः दधि[वाह]-  
44 ल ॥ उत्तरत<sup>7</sup> पडलावदपटन एव चतु[र]— —<sup>7</sup>  
45 सिम<sup>8</sup> पुर्वत<sup>9</sup> टक । खेतसिमा<sup>10</sup> पुर्वदरिदरिगहो (?) [पुनः]  
46 टीणस्य टीणस्य मस्तके शिलतल । तोयनरज । नि-  
47 ब्रुतटाकं [1\*] दक्षिणतः जवुग्र(?)हरकः [1] दक्षिणतः<sup>11</sup> नीवग्राम  
48 सती (?)ताविह—रेलाद्रिसंवकः हस्तिनिकगोयहदरिद-  
49 धिवाहलतटा[क] सिलाहयं सिवकपलासचिचाव-  
50 दरितटाक ॥ उत्तरतः<sup>12</sup> खाटके हटो क — —

*Third Plate, Second Side*

- 51 यु[न]म(?)णिः । पुर्वदरीर(?)[ल]—वससिमापर्यंत<sup>13</sup>व-  
52 ली—[निव]ह । वलभनरेद्रेण हिरमाल—गांडुड-  
53 क उत्तरतः<sup>14</sup> देसिलस्यद्र ॥ ग्रामे भूमी ॥ इयच्चोना-  
54 चरमधिकाचरं वा सर्वं प्रमाणमिति ॥  
55 <sup>15</sup>श्रीभट्टाकर्मतः ॥ ८००

No 27.—BUCHKALA INSCRIPTION OF NAGABHATTA,  
SAMVAT 872

By D R BHANDARKAR, M A , POONA

This inscription was first discovered by a *Brahmahatta* of Jodhpur named Nannurāma whose zeal for antiquarian matters is as unflagging as it is disinterested. It was found at Buchkalā in the Bilādā district, Jōdhpur State. It is incised on a pilaster on the proper right forming part of the shrine wall jutting out into the *sabdhāmanḍapa* of what is popularly known there as the temple of Pārvatī. The inscription contains twenty lines of, on the whole, well-

<sup>1</sup> Read चैतत्सासन

<sup>2</sup> This word is repeated unnecessarily.

<sup>3</sup> The original inscription ends at चन्दयिक्कन, and after that begins again the forged part which goes on till 1 55 at the close. It is engraved so carelessly that I am by no means certain of my reading of it. It is, moreover, so full of grammatical inaccuracies, which, in many cases, are due to local pronunciation, that it is not desirable to correct them all.

<sup>4</sup> Read सीमा

<sup>5</sup> Read पुर्वत

<sup>6</sup> Read उत्तरत.

<sup>7</sup> Probably चतुराष्टाट

<sup>8</sup> Read सीमा.

<sup>9</sup> Read पुर्वत

<sup>10</sup> Read सीमा.

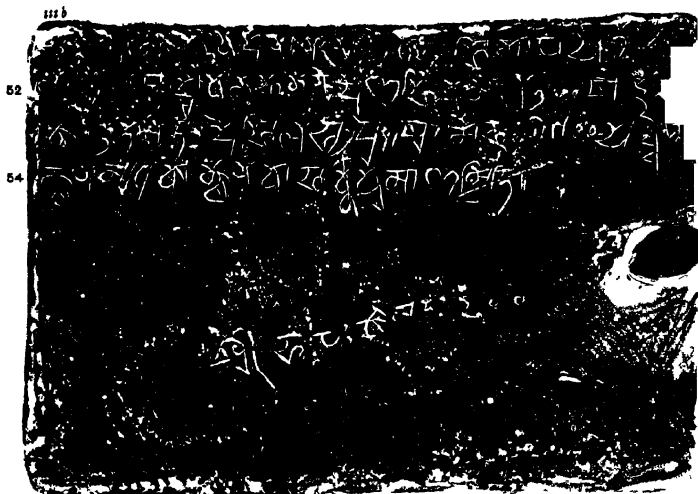
<sup>11</sup> This दक्षिणत is probably a mistake for पश्चिमत.

<sup>12</sup> Read उत्तरत

<sup>13</sup> The reading बुली is also possible

<sup>14</sup> Read उत्तरतः

<sup>15</sup> Read श्रीभट्टाकर्मतः.





preserved writing which covers a space of about 2' 4½" high by 11½" broad. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include the somewhat rare forms of *gh* and *n* and the numeral figures 8, 7, and 2. Attention may also be drawn to the way in which the letters *ś* and *ṛ* are engraved. With regard to the latter there is no difference between it and *m*, except that the upper vertical strokes in the case of the former are much shorter each other than in the case of the latter. The language is Sanskrit, but is anything but grammatical and the whole is in prose. In respect of orthography, *ś* is doubled in conjunction with a following *i*, *dh* is written *ddh* twice in the word *mahāddhārājya*, and there is a tendency to use the dental sibilant instead of the palatal, though in one case the latter is substituted for the former viz in *sūtradhārāḥ*, l 20.

The inscription is dated Samvat 872<sup>1</sup> the fifth of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, and refers itself to the reign of the *P M P* Nāgabhatta-dēva meditating on the feet of the *M. P* Vatsarāja-dēva. It is thus clear that Nāgabhatta is no other person than Nāgabhatta, son of Vatsarāja, of the imperial Pratihāra dynasty wielding sway over the larger portion of North India. Of the princes of this royal family we have had but few dates earlier than the time of Bhōjadēva I. In fact, we had only one date, viz Śaka 705 = A D 783-84, for Vatsarāja furnished by the Jaina work *Harivamsa-Purāṇa*. And our inscription now supplies the second date, V. S. 872 = A D 815 for his son Nāgabhatta.<sup>2</sup>

The purport of the inscription, however, is not quite clear. Something is said therein to have been set up (*niśtā*), but what that 'something' was is far from evident. This something, we are told, was set up, after building the temple (*devagriha*) and worshipping the feet of *Paramēśvara*, in the village of Rājyaghangakam, by the queen Jayāvalī, the daughter of Jajjaka, who himself was a son of the Pratihāra Bapuka, and wife of Bhumbhuvaka, the son of Haragupta of the family called Arāṅgānaka. As Jayāvalī has been spoken of as queen (*rājñī*), her husband must have been some kind of ruler, most probably a chieftain, feudatory to Nāgabhatta, and reigning at, or, at any rate, holding Rājyaghangakam, which must be supposed to be the old name of Buchkalā. The name of the *sūtradhāra* or mason is Pañchaharī, the son of Dēā.

The temple is, as we have seen, said to have been dedicated to *Paramēśvara*, which is usually taken to be a name of Śiva. This, however, does not agree with the sculptural details of the temple. Although it is now-a-days called a temple of Pārvatī, there is, truly speaking, no image in the sanctum. But on the dedicatory block on the shrine door and in the principal niche at the back, the images in which enable one to determine to what god the temple is dedicated, is a figure with four hands, doubtlessly representing some form of Viṣṇu, as the mace, discus, and conch-shell can be distinctly seen in its hands. Other images, also carved on the inner and outer walls of the temple, show that it was a Vaiṣṇava structure. The word *paramēśvara* must, therefore, be taken in its ordinary sense and as referring to Viṣṇu.

#### TEXT<sup>3</sup>

1 श्रीं [१] संवत्सरयते ८७२

2 चैत्रस्य सितपक्षस्य पंचम्यां

3 निवेष्टिता<sup>4</sup> ॥ महाराजाधिराज-<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is worthy of note that, in the copper plate charters issued by Bhōjadēva I, Mahēndrapāla and Mahipāla alias Vinayakapāla, letter numerals are used to express figures, whereas, in the present as well as other stone-inscriptions belonging to the time of these princes, decimal notation is employed. It will thus be seen that both systems were current in North India about this time. [In the facsimile 892 is a misprint for 872—S K.]

<sup>2</sup> The date has already been given by Prof. Kielhorn in his *Synchronistic Table for Northern India*, col. 9. from information furnished by Mr. Ojha.

<sup>3</sup> From the original stone.

<sup>4</sup> Read निवेष्टिता

<sup>5</sup> Read महाराजाधिराज

- 4 परमेश्वरश्रीवत्सराजदेवपा-  
 5 दानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहारा-  
 6 <sup>1</sup>जादिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीनाग-  
 7 भट्टदेवस्वविषये प्रवर्धमान-  
 8 राज्ये राज्यघट्टकाङ्गामे  
 9 राज्ञी जायावली प्रतीहार-  
 10 <sup>2</sup>स्वगोत्रश्रीवपुष्पश्रीज-  
 11 ज्जकदुहिता ताकुहुवोत्पनावा-<sup>3</sup>  
 12 ज्ञानकस्वगोत्रश्रीहरगुप्त-<sup>4</sup>  
 13 पुष्पभुम्भुकपत्नी <sup>5</sup>अक्ष च पर-  
 14 मेस्वरो निर्वा<sup>6</sup> कृत्वा अनेकजन्मा-  
 15 <sup>7</sup>तरस्वसिर्वर्तसंसारदुखाव-<sup>8</sup>  
 16 हरस्य परमेश्वरस्य<sup>9</sup> पादा<sup>10</sup>  
 17 पुजयित्वा<sup>11</sup> देवगृहं करा-  
 18 प्य<sup>12</sup> [1\*] पुन <sup>13</sup>तस्य उपलिपन<sup>14</sup>  
 19 देवशासुतप[ञ्च]हरि<sup>15</sup>  
 20 शुचधारः<sup>16</sup> ॥

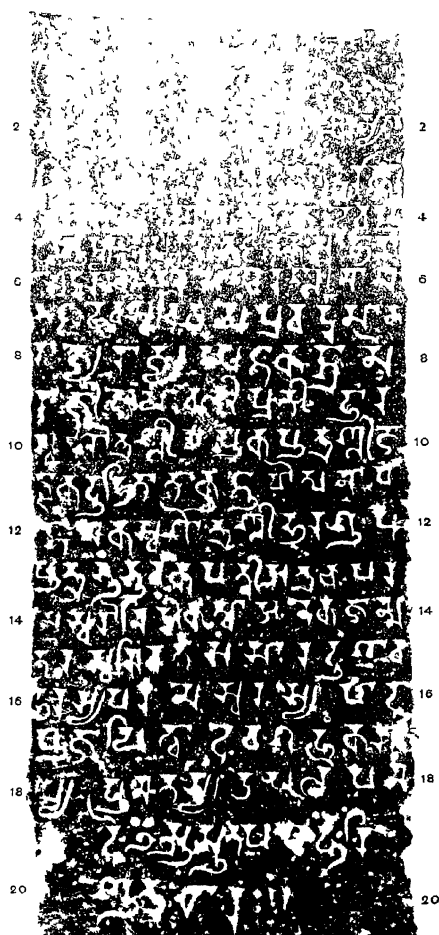
## No 28—KENDUR PLATES OF KIRTIVARMAN II.

SAKA SAMVAT 672

By K B PATHAK, PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT, DECCAN COLLEGE, POONA

This inscription was first brought to my notice in May 1902 by Bhṛingārkar bāva, a well known reciter of *kirtans* at Poona. He was then engaged in a literary controversy about the identity of Jñānēśvara, the well-known saint of Alandi, with Jñānēśvara, the author of the Jñānēśvarī, a famous Marāṭhī commentary on the Bhagavadgītā, and asked me whether the inscription threw any light on the point he was discussing. When I told him that the grant was issued in Śaka 672, and had nothing to do with the author of the Jñānēśvarī, who was contemporary with Rāmadēva, the last of the Yādava kings of Dēvagrī, Bhṛingārkar bāva was kind enough to lend me the plates for the purpose of editing the inscription.

<sup>1</sup> Read "राजाविरज".<sup>2</sup> Read "समीक्ष".<sup>3</sup> Read "दीपना".<sup>4</sup> Read "समीक्ष".<sup>5</sup> Here and in the following the rules of *sandhā* have not been observed.<sup>6</sup> The words परमेश्वरी and निर्वा as they stand, make no sense, and I can suggest no correction.<sup>7</sup> Some such reading as "जन्मान्तरपुनर्निवर्ति" might be expected.<sup>8</sup> Read "दुःखा".<sup>9</sup> Read परमेश्वरस्य.<sup>10</sup> Read पादौ.<sup>11</sup> Read पुजयित्वा.<sup>12</sup> Read कारयित्वा.<sup>13</sup> Read पुनश्चास्य.<sup>14</sup> Read उपलिपने. This word seems to have been here used in the sense of "engraving".<sup>15</sup> Read "हरि".<sup>16</sup> Read शुचधारः.







The plates were found at Kēndūr, a village in the Khēd tāluka of the Poona district. They belong to Mr Purushōttama Rājapāthak, now residing at Kēndūr. There are five plates, the first and the last of which are inscribed on one side only. The plates are equal in size, measuring  $9\frac{1}{2}$ " long by  $4\frac{1}{2}$ " broad. Their edges are raised into rims to protect the writing. The ring on which the plates are strung is about half an inch thick and  $5\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. The seal on the ring is oval, measuring 2" by  $1\frac{1}{2}$ ". It has, in relief, on a countersunk surface, a standing boar facing to the proper left. The weight of the plates, together with the ring and seal, is 225 tolas. The inscription is in a state of excellent preservation. The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets. The language is Sanskrit throughout, and with the exception of the invocatory verse at the beginning and the benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the whole is in prose.

The grant is one of the Western Chalukya king Kirtivarman II., and is issued from the city of Raktapura, which is probably to be identified with Lakshmēśvara, in the Dharwar district. It records that on the full moon day of the month Vaiśākha, during a lunar eclipse, in Śaka 672 expired, in the sixth year of his reign, when his victorious camp was at Raktapura, Kirtivarman II., at the request of his great queen, granted to a Brāhmana named Rāmaśarma, the village of Beppatti in the centre of the villages of Penbāsaaru, Kismaṅgalam, Suḷam and Perbballi, in the district of Veļvola. The five villages can be easily identified with Behatī, Hebsur, Kusugalla, Suḷa and Hebbali, in the Dharwar district. Veļvola is a Sanskritized form of Belvola or Belvala, a name which is applied even at the present day to a portion of the southern Marāṭhā country.

Before the discovery of the present grant, only three records of Kirtivarman II.'s time were known to scholars. Of these the most important is the Vakkalēri grant, which has been published by Mr Rice<sup>1</sup> and re-edited by Dr Kielhorn<sup>2</sup>. As interpreted by these scholars, the date of that grant is Śaka 679 expired, which is spoken of as the eleventh year of Kirtivarman's reign, while, according to the pre-ent grant, Śaka 672 expired was the sixth year of his reign. These two statements cannot be reconciled. It is, however, important to note that the present grant was issued five years earlier, and is perfectly legible throughout. It also mentions the occurrence of a lunar eclipse. Therefore the date in this grant, which admits of verification, is correct. But in the Vakkalēri grant, the first word describing the Śaka year is not legible. Both Mr Rice and Dr Kielhorn have proposed to read it as *nava*, nine, and this view has been endorsed by Dr Fleet. But the proposed emendation does not agree with the present inscription, according to which Śaka 677 expired was really the eleventh year of the king's reign.

The historical information in the present grant may be briefly summarised thus. The first king of the Chalukya line was Polekēśin who performed horse sacrifices. Then came his son Kirtivarman I., who defeated the kings of Vanavāsi and other countries. His brother Mangalīśa being passed over, we are next introduced to Satyāśraya, better known as Polekēśin II., who defeated the famous Buddhist king Harshavardhana, the patron of the illustrious Chinese traveller Hsien Tsang and the hero of Bāpa's immortal work, the *Harshacharita*. Polekēśin II.'s son, Vikramāditya I., was the next king, who recovered, by means of his horse Chitrakantha, part of the Chalukya dominions, which had been overrun by the Pallavas, and had obedience done to him by the lord of Kāñchi, who had bowed down to none other. Vikramāditya I.'s son and successor was Vinayāditya, who broke the confederacy of the Chōlas, Kēralas, Pāṇdyas and Pallavas, and defeated the paramount sovereign of Northern India. Vinayāditya's son Vijayāditya, the next king, had greatly assisted his father and grandfather in their wars. Though suddenly taken prisoner by the enemy, whom he had put

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII p. 28 ff

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol V p. 200 and ff

to flight, he skilfully effected his escape and restored the splendour of the Chalukya empire. He was succeeded by his son **Vikramāditya II**, who led an excursion into the Tundāka country, defeated his natural foe the Pallava king Nandipōtavarmān, and entered the Pallava capital Kāñchi, but did not destroy it. He restored to the Rājasimbhēśvara and other temples, which had been caused to be built there by Narasimhapōtavarmān, heaps of gold and rubies, which had been taken away from them. **Vikramāditya II** was succeeded by his son **Kirtivarmān II**, who issued the present grant.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

## First Plate

- 1 Svasti [i\*] Jayaty=āviskṛta[m] Viśhnōr=vvārāham kshōbhīt-ārnavam [i\*]  
dakṣhīn-ūnata-damshtr-āgra-vīranta-bhuvanam
- 2 vapuh [i\*] Śrīmatām sakala-bhuvana-samstūyamāna-Mānavya-sagōtrānām Hār[iti]-  
putrānām sa-
- 3 pta-lōkamātrībhis=saptamātrībhu=abhivardhātānām Kārttikēya-parirakshana-prāsta(pta)-  
kalyāna-
- 4 parampaiānām bhagavan-Nāīyana-prasāda-samāsādita-varāha-lāñchhan-ēkshana  
kshana-
- 5 vaśī-kṛt-āsēsha-mahābhṛtāñ=Chalukyānām kulam=alamkarishnōr=aśvamēdh-āva-
- 6 bhṛtāsnāna-pavitri-kṛta-gātiśya śī-Polekēśī-vallabha-mahārājasya sū-
- 7 nuh parākram-ākṛanta-Vanavāsy-ādi-paranripata-mandala-pranibaddha-vīśuddha-kirtti-  
śrī-
- 8 Kirttivarmma-prithu(thi)vīvalabha-mahārājas=tasy=ātmajas=samara-samsakta-sakalōttara-
- 9 pathēśvara-śrī-Harshavardhana-parājay-ōpātta-paramēśvara-sābdas=tasya Sa-

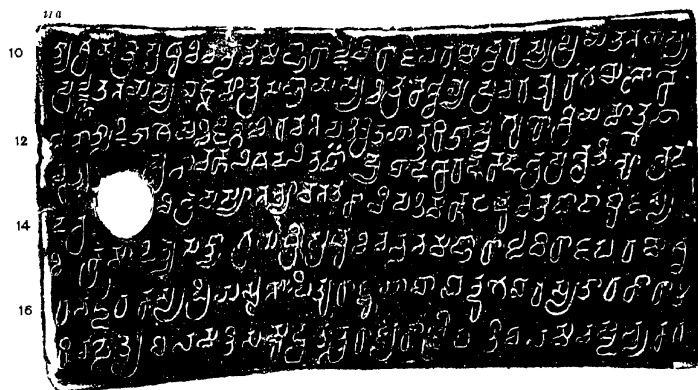
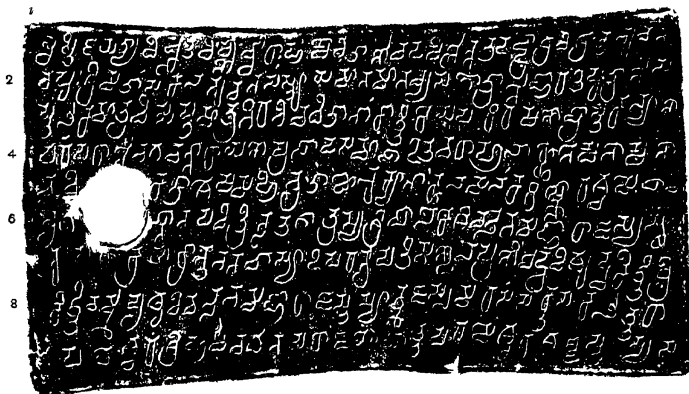
## Second Plate, First Side

- 10 tyāśraya-śī-prithu(thi)vīvalabha-mahārājādhnāja-paramēśvarasya priyatanaasya
- 11 prajūāta-nayasya khatga(dga)-mātra-sahāyasya Chitrakapthākhyā-pravara-tuamgamēn-  
aikē-
- 12 n=aiv-ōtsādīt-āsēsha-vijigishōr=avanipati-tritay-āntarītām svagurō śrīyam=  
ātmasā-
- 13 t-kṛitya prabhāva-kulīśa dalita-Pāmdya-Chōla-Kērala-Kalabhra-piabhrīti-bhūbhṛd-  
v-
- 14 dabhra-vibhramasy=ānanyāvanata-Kāmachipati-makuta-chumbita-pādāmbujasya
- 15 Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-śī-prithu(thi)vīvalabha-mahārājādhrāja-paramēśva-
- 16 ra-bhattāarakasya priyasūnōh pitur=ājñayā Bālēndugē(sē)kharasya Tīrakārāti-
- 17 r=īya daityabalān=atsumuddhatam trairājya-Kāmachipati-balam=avashatbhya kara

## Second Plate, Second Side

- 18 dikṛta-Kavēra-Pārasika-Simha-ādi-dvip-ādhupasya sakal-ōttarāpatha<sup>2</sup>-nātha-mathan-  
ōpārt-ō-
- 19 rjita-pāldhvaj-ādi samasta-pāramaisvaryya-chinha(hna)sya Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya-  
śīprithu(thi)vīvala-
- 20 bha-mahārājādhrāja-paramēśvara-bhattāarakasya priy-ātmajas=śai[śa\*]va ēv=ādligat  
āsēsh-āstra-
- 21 śāstrō dakṣhīnāsā-vijayini pitāmahē samunnūlita-mukhila-kantaka-samhatr=  
uttarāpatha-
- 22 vijigishōr=gurōr=agrata ēv=āhava-vyāpāram=ācharann=arāti-gaja-ghatā-pāṭa-

<sup>1</sup> From the original plates<sup>2</sup> The engraver has originally written \*patā, but corrected it



STEN KONOW

SCALE 0.7

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH

FROM INK IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY D. R. BHANDARKAR

18

20

22

24

26

Handwritten text in a script, likely Tamil, on a palm leaf. The text is arranged in horizontal lines. A circular hole is visible on the left side of the leaf, approximately between lines 22 and 24.

8

0

28

30

32

34

Handwritten text in a script, likely Tamil, on a palm leaf. The text is arranged in horizontal lines. A circular hole is visible on the left side of the leaf, approximately between lines 8 and 10.

- 23 na-viśiṇṇyamāna-kripāna-dhāras-samagra-vigraha-āgrēsaia[h\*] san-sāhasa-rasakah  
 24 paiām(a)mukhikṛita-sāti umandalō Gangā-Yamunā-pāḍidhvaja-padaḍhakkā-mahāśabda-  
 mā-  
 25 nika-matamga-jādīn=pitrisāt=kurvvan=parah palāyamānair=āsāḍya katham=api  
 vidhivaśā-  
 26 d=apanitō=pi prātāpād=ēva viśhaya-prakōpam=arājakam=ntśarayan=Vatsarāja r-

*Third Plate, First Side*

- 27 v=ānapēkshīt-āpara sāhāyakas=tad-avagrahān=nurgatya svabhuj-āvashtambha-prasāḍhit-  
 āśēsha-viśva-  
 28 mbharah prabhur=akhamdita=śaktitrayatvāt(ch)=chhatru-mada-bhamjanatvād-  
 udāratvān=nuravadyatvād-yas=sa-  
 29 masta-bhuvan-āśrayas=sakala-pāramaiśvaryya-vyakti hetu-pāḍidhvaj-ādy-u[ ]\*]vala-prājya-  
 30 rājyō Vijayāditya-Satyāśraya-śrīprithu(thi) vivallabha-mahārājādhrāja-paramēśva-  
 31 ra-bhātārakasya priyaputras=sakala-bhuvana-sāmrajya-lakshmi-svayamvar-ā-  
 32 bhūhēka-samay-ānantara-samupajāta mahōtsāhah ātmavamsāja-pū-  
 33 rva-nripati-chchhāy-āpahānrah prakṛity-amitrasya Pallavasya samtil-  
 ōnmūlanāya  
 34 kṛita-matir=atitvarayā Tumḍāka-viśhayam prāpy=ābhūmukh-āgatan=   
 Nandipōtavarm-ā-  
 35 bhūdhānam Pallavam rana-mukhē samprahritya prapalāyya  
 katumukha-vāditra-sa-

*Third Plate, Second Side*

- 36 mudiaḡhōah-ābhūdhāna-vāḍya-viśēshān(shau)=khatvānga-dhvaja-pramāṇa-prabhūta-  
 prakhyāta-hasti-varā-  
 37 n=sva-kirana-nikara-vikāsa nīrākṛita-tumram-mānukya-rāsī=cha hastēkṛitya  
 Kalāśabhava-mū-  
 38 ya-harid-angan-ānchita kāmchīyamānām Kāmchim=avināśya praviśya satata-  
 pravṛtta-dā  
 39 n-ānā(na)ndita-dvija-dm-ānātha-janah Narasimhapōtavarmma-nirmāpita-silāmaya-  
 40 Rājasimhāśvar-ādi-dēvakula-suvarnarāsi pratyarpṇan-ōpājit-ōjita-pu-  
 41 nyah amivārīta-pratāpa-prasara-pratāpita-Pāmdya-Chōla-Kērala-Kajabhra-  
 42 prabhṛiti-rājanyakah kshubhita-kari-makara-kara-hata-dalita śukti-mukta-muktāphala-  
 43 prakāsa-marochi-jāla-vilasita-vēl-ākulē ghūrnamān-ārpō-nidhānē daksuṇā-  
 44 rnavē śarad-amala-śāśadhara-viśāda yasō-rāsi-mayam jayastambham=atish[h\*]ipat

*Fourth Plate, First Side*

- 45 Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-śrīprithu(thi) vivallabha-mahārājādhrāja-paramēśvara-bha-  
 46 ttārakasya sūnub(r) bālyē susikshita-sāstra-sāstra[h\*] sva-guna-kalāp-ānandita-  
 hri-  
 47 dayēna pitrā samārōpita-yanvarājya[h\*] svakula-vairipah Kāmchīpatēr-  
 mngrahā-  
 48 ya mām prēshaya ity=ādēśam prārthya labdhvā tad-anantaram=ēva kṛita-  
 prayānas=sann=a-  
 49 bhūmukham=āgatya prakāśa-yuddham kartum=asamartham praviśta-durggam  
 Palla-  
 50 vam =amantatō=bhūbhūya bhagnasaktim kṛtvā prabhūta-matta-matamga-ja-su-  
 51 varna-mānukya-kotir=ādāya pitrē samarpṇitvān=ēvam kramēṇa prāpta-sā-

- 52 ivvabhauma-padaḥ pratāp-ānūrāg-āvanata-samasta-sāmanṭa-makuta-mā-  
53 la-rajah-pumja-pimjavita-chalana-sarasuhab(iuhah) Kirtivarman-na-Satyā-

*Fourth Plate, Second Side*

- 54 śraya-śiprthivivallabha-mahāujadhira-aramēsai-a-bhattārakas-sarvān-ēva-  
55 m-ājñāpayati [1\*] Vīditam=astu vo-smābhū=dvisaptaty-uttara-shatchhatēshu  
Śakavarshēshv-atitēshu  
56 pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsarē shashthē varttamānē Raktapuram-  
adivasa-  
57 ti vijaya-skandhāvāiē Vaisākha-paurṇamāsyām sōmagrahanē Kāśyapa-go-  
58 tāya Vajappaśarmmanah<sup>1</sup>-paurāya Mākaya-Vajipē[ya\*]-j-ājnah  
59 putāya vēda vēdunga-pāgāya Rāmaśarmmanē Velvola-visha-  
60 yē Penbasaaru-Kisumamgalam-Sulām-Perballi-nāma-grāmānām=ma-  
61 dhyē Beppatti-nāma-grāma śil-mahādēvi-vijñāpanayā dattah

*Fifth Plate*

- 62 Tad-āgāmubhu=asmad-vamāyau=anyas=cha rājabhū=āyur-asivaryy-ādīnām vilastam=  
achi-  
63 i āmsu-chañchalam=avagachchhadbhū=achandr-āika-dhai-ārṇava-sthiti-samakālam yasāś-  
chiki-  
64 ishubbis-sva-datti-nirvīśēsham paupālaniyam=Uktañ=cha bhagavatā vēda  
vyāsēna  
65 Vyāsēna [1\*] Babubhū=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhū=Sagar-ādibhū [1\*] yasya  
yasya  
66 jaddi bhūms=tasya tasya tada phalam [1\*] Svan=dātum sumahachi-  
chhakam  
67 duhkhām=anyasya pālanam [1\*] dānam vā pālanam v-ētti(v-ēti) dānāch=chhrējō-  
nupālanam [11\*]  
68 Svadattām paradattām vā yō harēta vasundharām [1\*] shashth(t)im  
vaisha-saha-  
69 srāni vishthayām jāyatē kr(kp)mīr=iti [11\*] Dhanamjaya-Punyavallabhēna  
lkhita-  
70 m=dam

**TRANSLATION.**

(Verse 1) Hail! victorious is the body of Vishnu, manifested in the form of a boar on whose uplifted right tusk rests the world, and who has agitated the ocean

(Lines 2 to 6) The great king, the prosperous Polekēśi-vallabha, whose body was purified by the *avabhiṣika* bath terminating a horse-sacrifice, and who adorned the family of the prosperous Chalukyas, who belonged to the family of Manavya praised by the whole world, who were the sons of Hāriti, who were reared by seven mothers, the mothers of the seven worlds, who had acquired a series of benefits through the protection of Kārtikēya, and who had subdued in an instant all kings at the sight of the sign of the boar acquired through the favour of the revered Nārāyaṇa

(Ll 6 to 8) His son was the prosperous Kirtivarman, the great king, and the lord of the earth, who had achieved spotless fame by the conquest of Vanavāsi<sup>2</sup> and other countries of hostile kings.

<sup>1</sup> [Looks like *Vajapaśarmmanah* ॐ S. K.]

<sup>2</sup> Also called Banavāsi or Banavāsē.

22b

36  
38  
40  
42  
44

27a

46  
48  
50  
52

STEN KONOW

SCALE 0.7

W. GRIGGS PHOTO-LIT

FROM INK IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY D. R. BHANDARKAR



1  
 2  
 3  
 4  
 5  
 6  
 7  
 8  
 9  
 10  
 11  
 12  
 13  
 14  
 15  
 16  
 17  
 18  
 19  
 20  
 21  
 22  
 23  
 24  
 25  
 26  
 27  
 28  
 29  
 30  
 31  
 32  
 33  
 34  
 35  
 36  
 37  
 38  
 39  
 40  
 41  
 42  
 43  
 44  
 45  
 46  
 47  
 48  
 49  
 50  
 51  
 52  
 53  
 54  
 55  
 56  
 57  
 58  
 59  
 60

62

62

64

66

68

70

(Ll 8 to 9) His son was he who had acquired the title of *Paramāsvara* by defeating the prosperous *Harshavardhana*, the lord of all the north, and addicted to war

(Ll 10 to 16) The dear son of that<sup>1</sup> asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, the great lord, was *Vikramāditya*, well versed in politics, whose companion was his sword alone, who had destroyed all rivals only with his excellent horse called *Chitrakautha*, who retrieving the fortune of his father, which had been interrupted by the confederacy of the three<sup>2</sup> kings, had destroyed the great splendour of the mountain-like kings of the *Pāndyas*, *Chōlas*, *Kēralas*, *Kalabhras* and others with his prowess resembling a thunderbolt,<sup>3</sup> whose lotus-like feet were kissed by the crest of the lord of *Kāñchi* who had not bowed down to others, and who was the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, the venerable emperor

(Ll 16 to 20) His dear son, who reduced to the condition of tributaries the kings of *Kavēra*, *Pārasika*, *Simhala* and other countries after vanquishing the proud army of the confederacy of the three<sup>4</sup> kings and the lord of *Kāñchi* at the command of his father, just as *Kārtikēya*, at the command of *Śiva* defeated the very insolent host of demons, who had acquired all the symbols of sovereignty such as a lofty *pāṇḍhava*<sup>5</sup> and others by subjugating the king of all the north, was *Vinayāditya*, the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, and the venerable lord

(Ll 20 to 30) His dear son, who while still a child, had mastered all the sciences and the use of arms, who when his grandfather conquered the southern region had uprooted the multitude of all his foes resembling thorns, conducting warlike operations in the very presence of his father who was desirous of conquering the north, who had the edge of his sword blunted by destroying the group of hostile elephants, who took the lead in all fighting, fond of meeting danger, who caused the multitude of his enemies to turn their backs, delivering to his father the variegated *pālī*-banner,<sup>6</sup> the *dhaḥkḥā*, the great musical instruments,<sup>7</sup> rubies and intoxicated elephants, who, though taken captive through the force of circumstances by the flying foe approaching with some difficulty, put an end to anarchy and popular commotion by his prowess alone, and like *Vatsarāja*, expecting no help from others, escaped from the peril and conquered the whole earth by dint of his arm, who was an emperor, the asylum of truth, through his three powers being uninterrupted, through his breaking the pride of his enemies, through his liberality and blamelessness, whose vast empire was resplendent with a *pāṇḍhava* which was a symbol of universal sovereignty, was *Vijayāditya*, the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings and the venerable lord

(Ll 31 to 45) His dear son, who had enjoyed great pleasure immediately after the time of his anointment at the self-choice by the goddess of universal sovereignty, who resolved to uproot the *Pallava* king, his natural foe, who had robbed of splendour the former kings of his line, who on coming to the *Tundāka*<sup>8</sup> district in great haste, beat and put to flight, at the opening of the campaign, the opposing *Pallava* king named *Nandipōtavarmān*,

<sup>1</sup> *Tasya* means "of one who is well-known or referred to above"

<sup>2</sup> Compare the expression *avanipatitritaya* with *trairāja* in line 17 *Atmasādi-kṛtiya* should be "kṛtad"

<sup>3</sup> *Vikramāditya* is compared to *Indra*.

<sup>4</sup> *Trairāja* is used by *Jinasēna* in the following verse (*Adipurāṇa*, XXX. 35), and is explained by the commentator to mean *Chōla*, *Kērala* and *Pāṇḍya* —

*prasadhya dakṣiṇām-āśām vibhva trairajyapālakaṁ |*  
*samam pranamayām-dea vyajya jayasādhanaṁ ||*

<sup>5</sup> For the explanation of *pāṇḍhava*, see my paper in the *Ind Ant*, Vol XIV p 104

<sup>6</sup> The expression *maḥdāśvada* is frequently used in this sense in *Pampa Bhārata*, p 211

<sup>7</sup> *Tundāka* or *Toṇḍai* is a name of the *Dravida* country *Kāñchi* capital of it.

took<sup>1</sup> possession of particular musical instruments, called *katumukhavāditra* and *sa*, *draghōsha*, the *khatvāṅga-dhvaja*, many excellent and well-known intoxicated elephants and a heap of rubies, which dispelled darkness by the brilliancy of the multitude of their rays, who entered, without destroying it, the city of *Kāñchi*, which was, as it were, a girdle adorning yonder lady, the region of the south, who had rejoiced *Brāhmanas*, and poor and helpless people by his uninterrupted liberality, who acquired high merit by restoring heaps of gold to the stone temples of *Rājasimbhēsvara* and other gods, which had been caused to be built by *Narasimhapōtavarman*, who distressed *Pāndya*, *Chōla*, *Kērala*, *Kaḷabhra* and other kings, the extent of his valour which could not be withstood, and who erected a pillar of victory<sup>2</sup> in the form of his great fame, as bright as the cloudless autumnal moon in the southern ocean, full of rolling waves, the shores of which were shining with the multitude of rays of numerous pearls dropped from shells struck and broken by the trunks of excited elephants resembling whales, was *Vikramāditya*, the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, and the venerable lord

(Ll. 46 to 54) His dear son, who was trained in science and the use of arms in his childhood, was appointed heir apparent by his father whose heart was delighted with a multitude of his virtues, who having asked for and obtained an order to put down the lord of *Kāñchi*, the enemy of his family, led an expedition, defeated the *Pallava* king in every quarter, who, unable to meet him in an open field had taken refuge in a fort, made him powerless, took possession of many rutish elephants, gold and crores of rubies, and delivered them to his father, who thus gradually attained to the position of an emperor, and whose lotus-like feet were rendered yellowish by the mass of pollen on the numerous crests of all feudatory kings, who bowed to him through love of his heroism, *Kirtivarman*, the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, and the venerable lord, thus commands all,

(Ll 55 to 61) Be it known to you, when six hundred and seventy-two years of the *Śaka* era had passed away, and the sixth year of [our] increasing prosperous reign was current, when our victorious camp was located at *Raktepura*, on the full moon of *Vaiśākha* during a lunar eclipse, the village named *Beppatti* surrounded by the villages named *Penbasaru*, *Kisumangalam*, *Sullam* and *Perbballi*, in the district of *Velvola*, was granted by us at the request of the prosperous great queen to *Rāmasarman*, well versed in the *Vēdas* and *Vēdāṅgas*, who was the son of *Mākaya*, a performer of the *Vājapēya* sacrifice, and the grandson of *Vājappaśarman* of the *Kāśyapa* *gōtra*.

(Ll 62 to 64) This should be preserved, as though it were their own gift, by future kings of our own family or others, knowing the flash of life and other things to be as changeful as lightning, and desirous of achieving a fame lasting as long as the moon, the sun, earth, and ocean will endure

(Ll 65 to 70) And it is said by the venerable *Vyāsa*, the arranger of the *Vēdas* The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, including *Sagara* Whoever is the owner of the earth, reaps its fruit It is very easy to give what is one's own, it is difficult to preserve what is given by others Of the two things—a gift and preservation—preservation is the better He who takes away land, whether given by himself or others, is born as a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years. This is written by *Dhanañjaya*<sup>3</sup> *Punyavallabha*.

<sup>1</sup> The expression *hastē-kṛitya* is not wrong, compare *Dhanañjaya*, *D sandhanakāvya* XIII 86, and *Blanchi Dikshita's* remark on *Pāṇini* I 4, 77: *sutkāramdtram=ity=anyē*, *hastē-kṛitya mahāśtrānti*. See *Padamanyuri*, p. 224 (Benares edition)

<sup>2</sup> *Vikramāditya* II did not set up a pillar of victory, only his fame, which spread to the shores of the southern ocean, is compared to such a pillar

<sup>3</sup> This must be the same person who composed the *Vakkalāmi* grant five years later A relative of his, perhaps his father, was *Anuvārtapunya* allabha, who wrote the *Kañchi* inscription of *Vikramāditya* II (above, Vol. III. p. 359 f)

## No 29 — DATES OF CHOLA KINGS

BY THE LATE PROFESSOR F KIELHORN, O.I.E., GOTTINGEN

(Continued from Vol VIII, page 274)

From the materials supplied to me by Rai Bahadur V Venkayya I publish here, with the results of my calculations, twenty-two more dates of Chôla kings (Nos 137-158), and two dates (Nos 159 and 160) of the king Peruñjungadeva, "who claims to be a Pallava and who subverted the Chôla sovereignty about A D 1231-32"<sup>1</sup> Five of these dates (Nos. 145-149) belong to the king Rājādhirāja [II] Rājakesarivarman, of whom no dates have yet been published, and whose reign these dates with great probability show to have commenced between (approximately) the 28th February and the 30th March A D 1183 The other dates in general merely confirm the correctness of the results previously found for the commencement of the reigns of the kings to whom they belong, but No 142 reduces the period, during which Rājārāja II must have commenced to reign, to the time from (approximately) the 6th April to the 11th July A D 1148<sup>2</sup>

I am still keeping back a number of dates of Kulōttunga-Chôla II Rājakesarivarman in the hope that more dates of this king may be discovered before long

At the end of this article I give a list of all published dates of Chôla kings that have been examined by me, with approximate statements of the time when each king commenced to reign

## A.—RAJARAJA I.

137.—In the Śivayōganāthasvāmīn temple at Tiruvīsālūr<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [ || — ] Kō-Rājārājakesarivarmmakku yāndu 5 āvadu ivv-ātt[ai]  
[Dha]nu-[n]āyargu Nāyargu-kk[i]lamayum Mūlamum pakka-  
2 m<sup>4</sup> prathipadamum kūḍina vara yōgatt[i]ṇ pōdu

"In the 5th year (of the reign) of king Rājārājakesarivarman,—on the day of the auspicious yōga which was combined with the first tithi of a fortnight,<sup>5</sup> (the nakshatra) Mūla and a Sunday in the month of Dhanus of this year"

I have previously found<sup>6</sup> that Rājārāja I. commenced to reign between (approximately) the 25th June and the 25th July A D 985. This date of the 5th year of his reign corresponds to Sunday, the 1st December A.D. 989, which was the 8th day of the month of Dhanus, and on which the first tithi (of the bright half of Pausa) commenced 5 h 6 m, while the nakshatra was Mūla, by the equal space system for 16 h. 25 m, and according to Garga for 3 h 56 m, after mean sunrise.

For dates with the auspicious yōga—also called *amṛta-yōga*<sup>7</sup>—of a Sunday with the nakshatra Mūla, see above, Vol VI p 21, No 33, and note Compare also Hēmachandra's *Śabdānuśāna-vṛttī*, end of Adhyāya II Pāda 2. *Mūlārka*<sup>8</sup> śrīyāt śāstrē sarvakalyāṇa-kāraṇam | adhūnā Mūlārjasa-tu chitraṁ lōkēṣu gīyātē ||

<sup>1</sup> See Mr. Venkayya's *Annual Report* for 1906-07, p 89.

<sup>2</sup> Compare above, Vol VIII p 264

<sup>3</sup> No 19 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1907.

<sup>4</sup> Read *prathipada*<sup>o</sup>

<sup>5</sup> It is not stated whether it was the bright or the dark fortnight.

<sup>6</sup> See above, Vol VII p 6

<sup>7</sup> See *Ep Carā* Vol IV p 114, No 10.

<sup>8</sup> I.e. *Mūla-nakshatrēna yuktī'rkaḥ śārya*.

138 and 139 — In the Amṛitaghatśvara temple at Tirukkadayūr<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] [Tiru-ma]ga  
 2 . . . . . śrī-kōv=Irājarājakēśarmanmaṣku yānd[u]  
 16 vada āgum yāndu Pi-  
 3 [ra]ttādi=tt[nga]l pū=pakkattu=[p]pakkam [8 ettu]=kka[la]mai<sup>2</sup> Tīngal nāl  
 Pū[na]rpūsam  
 9 . . . . . i[v\*]v-[āndēy] Tulā-nāyaṟu pū[rvva-bha]kshat[tu]  
 dvā[da]śiyum Nāya[r]u-kūla[m]ai[yum] peṟṟa Iraivadi . . .<sup>3</sup>

"In the year which was the 16th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Rājarājakēśarvarman, — on the day of Punarvasu, the week-day (being) Monday, (and) the day of the fortnight being [8— eight—] of the second half of the month Purattādi . . . . . on [the day of] Rēvati which corresponded to a Sunday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month Tulā in this year"

The first of these two dates regularly corresponds to Monday, the 23rd September A.D. 1000, which was the 29th day of the month Purattādi (i.e. the month of Kanyā), and on which the 8th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āśvina) commenced 0 h 55 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Punarvasu, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 22 h 20 m, and by the Bṛahma-siddhānta for 21 h 40 m, after mean sunrise

The second date apparently corresponds to Sunday, the 13th October A.D. 1000. This was the 18th day of the month of Tulā, and on it the 12th *tithi* of the bright half (of Kārttika) ended 1 h 17 m after mean sunrise, but as the *nakṣatra* was Rēvati only from 11 h 10 m after mean sunrise, I should have expected the day to be described as the day of (the preceding *nakṣatra*) Uttara Bhādrapadā

140.— In the Śiva temple at Pēraṅgīyūr<sup>5</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] . . . . . śrī-Rāja-Rājarājadēvarku yāndu  
 2[4]āvadu . . . . . i-yāndu<sup>6</sup> Mṛiśchika-nāyaṟu pū[r]vva  
 pakshattu=P[pudan]-kūlamayum paṇṇamayum peṟṟa Tī[ru]vō[na]ttan nā[1]

"In the 2[4]th year (of the reign) of the glorious Rāja-Rājarājadēva, — on the day of Śrāvaṇa, which corresponded to the fifth *tithi* and to a [Wednesday] of the first fortnight of the month of Vṛiśchika in this year."

For the given week-day (Wednesday) and the *nakṣatra* Śrāvaṇa the date would be wrong for all the ten years from the 20th to the 29th year of Rājarāja's reign. Irrespectively of the week-day, the date for the 24th year would correspond to Saturday, the 6th November A.D. 1008, which was the 12th day of the month of Vṛiśchika, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of Mārgaśīrṣa) ended 3 h 33 m. after mean sunrise, while the *nakṣatra* by all systems was Śrāvaṇa the whole day. I have little doubt that this Saturday is the proper equivalent of the date and that the week-day, if not misread, has been wrongly given in the original

<sup>1</sup> No. 27 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

<sup>2</sup> The letter *la* is engraved below the line

<sup>3</sup> Read *Rēvati-nāḍi*

<sup>4</sup> i.e. the *utthāna-dvādāśi tithi* (the *tithi* of the awakening of Viṣṇu)

<sup>5</sup> No. 208 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

<sup>6</sup> Read *Vṛiśchika*.

## B.—VIKRAMA-CHOLA.

141.—In the Amṛtagaṭhēśvara temple at Tirukkadayār<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [l\*] Pū-mālai m[1]daṇḍu . . .  
 16 kō=Pparakēśaripatmar=ā[na] Tribhuvana-  
 chchakravatti-  
 17 gal śrī-Vikrama-Śōladēvarku yāṇḍu 6 ā[ā]vadu V[r1]śchi  
 . . . [y]aiyū [Bu]dan-kūlamaiyū peṇṇa Mṛgaśīrshattu=nāl

“In the 6th—sixth—year (*of the reign*) of king Parakēśarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama Chōladēva,—on the day of Mṛgaśīrsha, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the [second?] *tithi* of the . . .  
 [of the month of] Vṛiśchi[kā]”

The reign of Vikrama-Chōla has been found<sup>2</sup> to commence on the 29th June A.D. 1118, and thus date of the 6th year of his reign undoubtedly corresponds to Wednesday, the 7th November A.D. 1123. This was the 11th day of the month of Vṛiśchika, and on it the second *tithi* (of the dark half of Kārtika) ended 4 h 45 m, while the *nakshatra* was Mṛgaśīrsha, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 7 h 13 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 5 h 55 m, after mean sunrise.

## C.—RAJARAJA II.

142.—In the Grāmārdhanāthēśvara temple at Elvānāsūr<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [l\*] Pū maiuviya Tina-māḍum . . .  
 13 kō=Pparakēśari[pa]tmar=āna Tribhuvanachchakravati-  
 14 tugal śrī-Rājarājadēvarku yāṇḍu<sup>5</sup> [1]5[vadu]<sup>6</sup> Mē-  
 15 sha-nāyaru pūrvva-pakshattu aṣṭami[ya]m Budan-ki-  
 16 lamaiyū peṇṇa Pūśati-nāl

“In the [1]5th year (*of the reign*) of king Parakēśarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the eighth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha”

With the result previously obtained<sup>7</sup> for the commencement of the reign of Rājarāja [II.] Parakēśarivarman, this date regularly corresponds to Wednesday, the 5th April A.D. 1161, which was the 13th day of the month of Mēsha and on which the 8th *tithi* of the bright half (of Vaiśākha) ended 12 h 54 m, while the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 11 h 10 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 9 h 12 m after mean sunrise.

143.—In the Grāmārdhanāthēśvara temple at Elvānāsūr<sup>8</sup>

- 4 . . . . . kō=Pparakēśaripatmar=āna  
 [Tri]bu-  
 5 vanachchakravattugal śrī-Rājarājadēvarku yāṇḍu 1[7]vadu Dha[nu-nāya]ru  
 [a]para-pa-  
 6 ksha[t\*]tu navamiyū Nāyaru-ki[la]maiya peṇṇa A . . .

<sup>1</sup> No 30 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps *dentiyayum* is meant. <sup>3</sup> See above, Vol VII p 8<sup>4</sup> No 140 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906<sup>5</sup> The letter *n* is engraved below the line<sup>6</sup> The letters *vadu* are written in a group<sup>7</sup> See above, Vol VIII pp 2 and 264<sup>8</sup> No 129 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

"In the 1[7]th year (of the reign) of king Parakésarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,— on the day of A . . .<sup>1</sup> corresponded to a Sunday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanu<sup>2</sup>

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 2nd December A D 1162, which was the 7th day<sup>3</sup> of the month of Dhanu, and on which the 9th *tithi* of the dark half (of Mārgaśīrsha) ended 16<sup>h</sup> 56 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Hasta, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 13 h 47 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 10 h 30 m, after mean sunrise

The result shows that the *nakṣatra*, of the name of which only the initial vowel remains in line 6 of the original, was Attam (Hasta)—The date is the latest one hitherto examined of the reign of Rājārāja II

#### 144 —In the Grāmārdhanāthēśvara temple at Elvānāśūr<sup>2</sup>

1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Pū maruviya Tiru-mādam . . .

8 P[p]ara[k]ēsaripatmar-āna . . . Tribhuvana[ch]chakra[va] . . . śrī-Rājārājadēva[k]  
yāpdu 15[vadu]<sup>3</sup> M[ī]na-

9 nāyaṟru p[ū]rva-pakṣattu . . . paṇi[jam]y[u]m . . . Tingal-kiḷamayum . . .  
M[ī]nagaṣi[r]shattu-nāi

"In the 15th year (of the reign) of king Parakésarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,— on the day of Mṛgaśīrsha, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mīna."

In accordance with the previously obtained results, this date should fall in A D 1161, some time before the 24th March (the first day of the month of Mēsha), but with the actual reading of the original it would be incorrect. In my opinion, the fifth *tithi* (paṇi[jam]y[u]m) has here been quoted erroneously instead of the seventh (*saptamayum*), and the date corresponds to Monday, the 6th March A D. 1161, which was the 12th day of the month of Mīna, and on which the 7th *tithi* of the bright half (of Chaitra) ended 3 h 41 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Mṛgaśīrsha, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 4 h 36 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 3 h 17 m, after mean sunrise

Of the three dates, the date No 142 would show that the reign of Rājārāja II. could not have commenced before (approximately) the 6th April A.D 1146<sup>4</sup>

#### D.—RAJADHIRAJA II.

##### 145 — In the Tyāgarājasvāmīn temple at Tiruvārūr<sup>5</sup>

1 Svasti śr[ī] ॐ Kadal śūṇḍa pār-mag[a]ṇa[m] . . .

2 . . . kō Rājākēsaripa[nma]r-āna Tribhuvanachcha[k\*]karavattigal n  
Rājādha(dh)irājadēvaṟku yāpdu 2[āvadu]<sup>6</sup> Mēsha-nāyaṟru pūrvva-pakṣattu  
shashthiyun-Diṇḡat-kiḷamayum . . . Punnarphāsatti-nāi

"In the 2nd year (of the reign) of king Rājākēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājādhīrājadēva,— on the day of Punnarvasu, which corresponded to a Monday and to the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha"

<sup>1</sup> The name of the *nakṣatra*, which is lost in the original, may be Āsvatī (Āśvinī), Attam (Hasta), Avīṣṭam (Dhanuṣṭhā) or Anuḷam (Anurādhā)

<sup>2</sup> No 197 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

<sup>3</sup> The letters *vadu* are written in a group

<sup>4</sup> Compare the date No 106, above, Vol. VIII. p. 264

<sup>5</sup> No 538 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

<sup>6</sup> The word *avadu* seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the figure 2

The five dates Nos 145-149 are of the reign of a king Rājādhīrāja Rājakesarivarman, and are taken from inscriptions every one of which begins with the words *kadal śūṇḍa*. The first four dates work out regularly on the assumption that this king commenced to reign between (approximately) the 28th February and the 30th March A D 1163. With such a commencement of his reign —

This date, No 145, corresponds to Monday, the 30th March A D 1164, which was the 7th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 6th *tithi* of the bright half (of the first Vaisākha) ended 19 h 3 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Punarvasu, by the Brahma-siddhānta from 7 h 13 m, according to Garga from 9 h 51 m, and by the equal space system from 21 h. 40 m, after mean sunrise — This equivalent of the original date might perhaps be objected to on the ground that the *nakṣatra* was Punarvasu only from 7 h 13 m (or later) after mean sunrise, and in the case of the date No 106, above Vol VIII p 263, where also the *nakṣatra* was found to be Punarvasu from 8 h 32 m (or later) after mean sunrise, I have myself stated that that *nakṣatra* in the original date might have been quoted erroneously instead of the immediately preceding *nakṣatra* Ārdra. But the two dates together now seem to me to show that in either case there was some special reason for quoting the *nakṣatra* Punarvasu, instead of the *nakṣatra* Ārdra in which the moon was at the commencement of the day<sup>1</sup>

#### 146 — In the Kapardīśvara temple at Thiruvaiṇṇuḷḷi.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Svastu [śrī] [||\*] Kadal śūṇḍa pār-mādarum . . . . .  
 5 . . . . . [kō] Rājakēśari[vanma]r-ā[na] Tribhuvanachchakravar[ti]-  
 6 gal śrī-R[ā]jādhirājadevaṅku [y]āṇḍu [Sa]vadu Sim[ha]n[ā]ya[ru] [a]para-  
     pakshattu [dv]ada[śi]yu[m] [Ti]-  
 7 [ṅa]t-kīlamai[yu]m perra [Pun]a[r]p[ā]śat[tu] nā[li]

"In the [8]th year (of the reign) of king Rājakēśarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājādhīrājadeva, — on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Monday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Simha "

The date corresponds to Monday, the 10th August A D 1170, which was the 14th day of the month of Simha, and on which the 12th *tithi* of the dark half (of Śrāvaṇa) commenced 2 h. 3 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Punarvasu,<sup>3</sup> by the equal space system and according to Garga for 17 h 44 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 17 h 4 m, after mean sunrise

#### 147. — In the Tyāgarājāsāmin temple at Tiruvārūr.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 [Sva\*][st] śrīh ||— Kadal śūṇḍa pār-ē[ṇ]n-diśai . . . . .  
 7 . kōv-Irājakēśariparmar-āna Tribhuvanachchakravarttagal śrī-Rājādhīrājadevaṅku  
     yāṇḍu 10[ā]vadu<sup>5</sup> Mīna-nā[yaṅ]u pūrvva-pakshattu trayōdaśiyuṇ-Jevvāy-kīlamai-  
     yum perra Magattu nā[li]

"In the 10th year (of the reign) of king Rājakēśarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājādhīrājadeva, — on the day of Maghā, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mīna "

<sup>1</sup> For other dates with *nakṣatras* which also, if I may say so, commenced some time after sunrise, compare Nos 23, 47, 66, 105, and 121 of this series

<sup>2</sup> No 627 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

<sup>3</sup> A 12th *tithi* joined with the 11th of the dark half of the month of Pūrvaṣāṣṭhī is called *jayanṭi*, it is a *maḥā-doddast*. This may be the reason why the 12th *tithi* has been used in the original date (as a current *tithi*)

<sup>4</sup> No 540 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

<sup>5</sup> The word *dada* seems to have been added by a flourish added to the symbol for ten



The date corresponds to Tuesday, the 27th February A D 1173, which was the 5th *tithi* of the month of Mīna, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of Phālguna) ended 10 h 50 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Maghā, by the equal space system for 14 h 27 m and according to Garga for 2 h 33 m, after mean sunrise

148 — In the Darbhāranyēśvara temple at Tirunallār<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti śi[ḥ] Kadal sūl[ṇ]da [pā]r-mādarum  
[k]ṛṇ=11[ṣa] [k]ṣai[ṇ]parmar=a[ṇa] Turbuva[na][ch]chakkarava[t\*]tigal śi I  
j[a\*]d[i]a[a\*]dēvaiku ya[ṇ]-
- 2 du padin-orivadu Sinna na[ya]rru pū[r]va pasha(ksha)itu paṇṇamur

"In the eleventh year (of the reign) of king Rājakesarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājādhirājadēva,—on the day of Svāti, which corresponds to a Wednesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Simha,"

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 15th August A D 1173, which was the 13th day of the month of Simha, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of Bhādrapada) ended 13 h 53 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Svāti, by the equal space system for 17 h 44 m, according to Garga for 5 h 16 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 1 h 19 m, after mean sunrise

149 — In the Vṛṣabhapurīśvara temple at Mēl-Sēvūr<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Svasti śi[ḥ] Kadal sūl[ṇ]da pār-m[ā]darum . . .
- 2 . . . kō Irāsakā[ṣa]ripatmar āra  
Tribhuvanachchakkaravattigal śi-Rājā[dhīr\*]jadēvaṇku yandu 13[va]n  
Ka[kad]aza nāyaru=ppadimmu(mū)nrān=di(di)yaḍi= [ā]-
- 3 na Badan-kilimayum=apara pakshattu ēkāda[ś]iyum peṇṇa R[ḍ]ṣam-ṇa

"In the 13th year (of the reign) of king Rājakesarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājādhirājadēva,—on the day of Rōhini, which corresponds to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight and to a Wednesday, the thirteenth solar day of the month of Karkatā "

In the three hundred years from A D 1000 to A D 1300 there are only two days which would satisfy the requirements of this date, *viz* Wednesday, the 8th July A D 1097, and Wednesday, the 8th July A D 1181

In A D 1097 the Karkatā-samkrānti took place 17 h 26 m, after mean sunrise of Thursday, the 25th June, the first day of the month of Karkatā therefore was Friday, the 26th June, and the 13th day of the same month was Wednesday, the 8th July. On this day the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āśādhā) ended 5 h 36 m, and the *nakṣatra* was Rōhini, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 4 h 36 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 3 h, 56 m after mean sunrise

In A D 1181 the Karkatā-samkrānti took place 10 h 56 m after mean sunrise of Friday, the 26th June which was the first day of the month of Karkatā; and the 13th day of the same month therefore was Wednesday, the 8th July. On this day the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āśādhā) commenced 4 h, 24 m after mean sunrise, and the *nakṣatra* was Rōhini, by the Brahma-siddhānta and according to Garga the whole day, and by the equal space system from 1 h 58 m after mean sunrise

<sup>1</sup> No 394 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

<sup>2</sup> No 222 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

It is clear that if as was assumed above, the reign of Rājādhirāja Rājakesarivarman commenced between the 28th February and the 30th March A D 1163, neither of the two Wednesdays given above could have fallen in the 13th year of his reign. On the other hand I may state that if either of the two days really fell in his 13th year, the other dates would be incorrect. In these circumstances, and assuming that, with the exception of the regnal year, the details of the original date have been given correctly, I can only suggest that the year 13 (which is given in figures<sup>1</sup> only) has been quoted erroneously instead of the 19th year, and that the proper equivalent of the date therefore is really Wednesday, the 8th July A D 1181. It might of course be objected that this day would fall in the reign of Kulottunga III Parakesarivarman, which commenced between the 6th and the 8th July A D 1178. But I have already shown that we have a similar overlapping of two reigns also in other cases. A date (No 94) of the 30th year of Kulottunga III corresponds to the 25th January A D 1217, while the reign of his successor Rājaiya III commenced in June-July A D 1216, and of this king again we have two dates (Nos 96 and 97) of the 7th February and the 22nd April A D 1248, whereas the reign of his successor Rājendra-Chōla III commenced in March April A D 1246.

From the materials available I therefore infer that Rājādhirāja Rājakesarivarman, *re* Rājādhirāja II, commenced to reign between (approximately) the 28th February and the 30th March A D 1163.

### E—KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA III

150.—In the Grāmārdhanāthēśvara temple at Elvānāsūr<sup>2</sup>

1. Tūbuvanachchakkaravattigal śrī-Vīrai[ā]jēndira-Śōlādēvar[ku] yāndu 6vadu  
Māgira nīyayru pūrvva-pakku[h]ittu<sup>3</sup> dviṭ[ī]yayum Tīngat-kūlamai[y]um peṭṭa  
Aṭṭattai-nāl

"In the 6th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Virarājendra-Chōlādēva,—on the day of Śravishthā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the second *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 16th January A D 1184, which was the 22nd day of the month of Makara, and on which the 2nd *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha) commenced 5 h 36 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Śravishthā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 10 h 30 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 11 h 10 m, after mean sunrise.

151.—In the Amṛtagatēśvara temple at Tirukkadayūr<sup>4</sup>

1. Srasti śrī [i]\* Puyal vāyppa . . . . .  
5 . . . . . kō=[Ppa]ṭakēśamparmar-āna  
Tūbuvanachchakkaravattigal Madu[r]ayum Pāndi[ya]nāyum mudittalai-  
kond-aruliya śrī-Kulōttunga-Śōlādēvar[ku] yāndu 16 vadu Mēsha-nāyayru pūrvva-  
pakshattu [a]ṭṭamiyu[m]  
6 Viyāla-kkūlamayum peṭṭa Pūṣatti-nāl

"In the 16th year (of the reign) of king Parakesarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōlādēva, who was pleased to take Madurai and the

<sup>1</sup> Mr Venkayya has informed me, about three years ago, that the figures undoubtedly are '13'. I would suggest that 'the thirteenth' solar day, which is mentioned closely to the regnal year, may have misled the writer to put down '13' also for the latter.

<sup>2</sup> No 158 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905

<sup>3</sup> No 48 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

<sup>4</sup> Read *-pakshattu*

<sup>5</sup> Read *Tribhu*

crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of Pushya which corresponded to a Thursday and : the eighth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha”<sup>1</sup>

The date corresponds to Thursday, the 31st March A D 1194, which was the 7th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 8th *tithi* of the bright half (of the second Chaitra) ended 10 h 50 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 18 h 24 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 16 h 25 m, after mean sunrise

153 — In the Śivayōganāthasvāmīn temple at Tiruvīśālūr<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Svasti śīi ||— [Pu]yal vāppa . . . . . kō=P[pa]ra-  
16 . . . . .  
17 k[śa]n[pa]rmar=[ā]na T[ī]ribuva[na]chcha[kka]ravattigal Ma[du]rai[yu]m [P]ān[di]-  
18 yan . . . . . mudī-italaiyun=gond-aruh[na] . . . . . śīi-Kulōttunga-Śō[la]-  
19 dēvarkku yāndu . . . . . padine[t]tāva[du] Kum[bha]-nāya[r]ru pūr[va]-pakṣa[ttā]  
20 tri[ti]yāiyum . . . . . Śanī-kkalamaiyum p[c]ṛra . . . . . [Pā]rattu . . . . . nā[li]

“In the eighteenth year (of the reign) of king Parakēśarīvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōlādēva, who was pleased to take Madurai and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of Pūrva-Phalgunī, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha”

The wording of this date is intrinsically wrong because on the third *tithi* of the bright half in the month of Kumbha the *nakṣatra* could not possibly be Pūrva-Phalgunī, and the probability would seem to be that either has the first fortnight been erroneously quoted instead of the second or Pūrva-Phalgunī (*Pūrva*) instead of Pūrva-Bhadrpadā (*Pūrattā*)<sup>3</sup> In my opinion, the date corresponds to Saturday, the 3rd February A D 1199, which was the 10th day of the month of Kumbha, and on which the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of Phālguna) commenced 5 h 40 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Pūrva-Bhadrpadā, by the equal space system for 4 h 36 m, after mean sunrise

153 — In the Vātāranyēśvara temple at Tiruvāṅgādū<sup>4</sup>

- 1 [Sva]sti [śīi] [!]\* Tribhuvanachchakkaravattigal Maduraiyu[m] ī[ḷ]amam  
P[ān]dī[ya]n mudittalai[yu]n-go-  
2 [v]ā-aruh[na] [śīi]-Kulōttunga-Śō[la]d[ē]va[r]kku yān[du] 2]3 vadu . . . . .  
4 . . . . . Kanni-nāya[r]ru=ppadinā[ḷ]ān[di]yadī[y]=ā[ḷ]ā  
Śevvāy-kka(kkī)[la]mai[ya]n[du]m pū[ru]va-[pa]kṣa[t]-  
5 tu [tri]yāiyum per[ra] Śitūrai-nā[li]

“In the [3]3rd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōlādēva, who was pleased to take Madurai, ī[ḷ]am and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of Chitrā, which corresponded to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight and to a Tuesday which was the sixteenth solar day of the month of Kanyā”

The date corresponds to Tuesday, the 12th September A D 1200 The preceding Kanyā samkrānti took place 20 h 58 m after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 27th August, the first day of the month of Kanyā therefore was Monday, the 28th August, and the 16th day of

<sup>1</sup> Another inscription of the [1]8th year of the same king with apparently the same astronomical details is found in the same temple (No 42 of 1906) But the portion, where the fortnight, the *nakṣatra* and the *tithi* may be expected, is damaged What is actually found is [p] . . . . . miyūm  
*Pāḷa-kkalamaiyum per[ra] Pā[ḷ]attu pā*

<sup>2</sup> No 14 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1907

<sup>3</sup> Compare the date No 50, above, Vol VI p 288

<sup>4</sup> No. 456 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905

the same month was Tuesday, the 12th September A D 1200 On this day the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of Āśvina) commenced 7 h 12 m., and the *nakshatra* was Chitrā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 2 h 38 m., after mean sunrise — There seems no reason why the second *tithi* (*dvītiya*) should not have been quoted in the original date instead of the third (*trītiya*)

### F — RAJARAJA III.

154 — In the Jambukéśvara temple near Trichinopoly <sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svas[ti] śr[i] [||\*] [Tri]bhuvanachakravattigal śrī.<sup>2</sup>Rājarājadēvarkku yāndu  
24[āvadu<sup>3</sup>] Mid[u]na-nāyarru pūrvva-pakshattu ēkādaśiyum  
Śam-kṛlāmay[u]m perṛa [Ś]ōdi-nāl

"In the 24th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Svāti, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mithuna "

The reign of Rājarāja III has been found to commence<sup>4</sup> between (approximately) the 27th June and the 10th July A D 1216 This date of the 24th year corresponds to Saturday, the 2nd June A D 1240, which was the 9th day of the month of Mithuna, and on which the 11th *tithi* of the bright half (of Jyāishtha) ended 3 h 37 m., while the *nakshatra* was Svāti, by the equal space system for 5 h 55 m., after mean sunrise

155 — In the Jambukéśvara temple near Trichinopoly <sup>5</sup>

- 1 Svas[ti] śūh [||\*] Tribhu[va]nachchakravattigal śrī.<sup>6</sup>Rājarājadēvarkku yāndu  
2[9<sup>7</sup> āvadu<sup>8</sup>] Tulā nāyaṛṇu=ppūrvva-[pa]kshattu prathamaiyum [Ś]ēvvāy-  
kṛlāmayum per-  
2 ṛa Śōdi-nāl

"In the 2[9]th<sup>7</sup> year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Svāti, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Tulā "

The date, for the 29th year, regularly corresponds to Tuesday, the 4th October A D 1244, which was the 7th day of the month of Tulā, and on which the first *tithi* of the bright half (of Kārtika) ended 12 h 58 m., while the *nakshatra* was Svāti, by the equal space system for 15 h 46 m., and according to Garga for 3 h 17 m., after mean sunrise — For the 26th year of the reign of Rājarāja III the date would be incorrect

156 — In the Jambukéśvara temple near Trichinopoly <sup>9</sup>

- 1 Svast[i] śrī [||\*] Tribhu[va]nachcha[kra]vattigal śrī.<sup>10</sup>Rājarājadēvarkku yāndu  
2[9<sup>10</sup>āvadu<sup>10</sup>] Tulā-nāyaṛṇu pūrvva-pakshattu prathamaiyum Śēvvāy-  
kka(kk)[i]a]mayum perṛa Ś[ōd]i-nāl

"In the 2[9]th<sup>10</sup> year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Svāti, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Tulā "

<sup>1</sup> No 508 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905

<sup>2</sup> This name consists of two abbreviations for the word *rāja* placed side by side.

<sup>3</sup> This word seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the second figure of the regnal year

<sup>4</sup> See above, Vol VIII p 260

<sup>5</sup> No 501 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905

<sup>6</sup> This name consists of two abbreviations for the word *rāja* placed side by side

<sup>7</sup> The second figure of the date might also be 6

<sup>8</sup> This word seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the second figure of the regnal year.

<sup>9</sup> No 503 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

<sup>10</sup> See the notes on the preceding date

The date is identical with the preceding date, and corresponds therefore to Tuesday, the 4th October A.D. 1244.

157 — In the Jambukêśvara temple near Trichinopoly <sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svast[ī] śr[ī] [||\*] Tr[ī]bhuvanachchakravatt[ī]gal śr[ī]-<sup>2</sup>Rājarājadēvarku  
[y]āndu 2[9] āvadu<sup>3</sup> Kumbha-nayarra ppūvva-pakshattu navam[ī]yum  
Tingat-kūla[m]aiyum peṭṭa Urōsan[ī]-nāl.

"In the 2[9]th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to a Monday and to the ninth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha "

The date corresponds to Monday, the 6th February A D 1245, which was the 14th day of the month of Kumbha, and on which the 9th *tithi* of the bright half (of Phālguna) commenced 1 h 12 m, while the *nakshatra* was Rōhini, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 7 h. 53 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h 13 m, after mean sunrise.

158 — In the Jambukêśvara temple near Trichinopoly <sup>4</sup>

- 1 Svast[ī] śr[ī] [||\*] Tr[ī]bhuvanachchakravatt[ī]gal śr[ī]-<sup>5</sup>Rājarājadēva[ī]kku  
[y]āndu 2[9]āvadu<sup>3</sup> Kumbha nayarra-ppūvva-pakshattu navam[ī]yum  
k[ī]lām[ī]yum peṭṭa Urōsan[ī]-nāl

"In the 2[9]th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to a Monday and to the ninth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha "

The date is identical with the preceding date, and corresponds therefore to Monday, the 6th February A D 1245

G — PERUNJINGADEVA.

159 — In the Jambunātha temple at Jambai <sup>6</sup>

- 1 Svasti śr[ī] [||\*] Śa[galabu]vanachchakravatt[ī]gal śrī-kô-Pperu[ñ]jüngadēva[ī]ku  
yāndu 16vadu Danu-nayarra pū[r]vva-pakshattu trayōdāś[ī]yum  
Tingat-k[ī]lām[ī]yum peṭṭa Urōsan[ī]-<sup>6</sup>nāl

"In the 16th year (of the reign) of the emperor of all worlds, the glorious king Perunjüngadēva,—on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to a Monday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first [fortnight] of the month of Dhanu "

Above, Vol VII p 165, I have found that the reign of Perunjüngadēva commenced between (approximately) the 11th February and the 30th July A D 1243. This date, of his 16th year, corresponds to Monday, the 9th December A D 1258, which was the 14th day of the month of Dhanu, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of Pausa) commenced 7 h 48 m, while the *nakshatra* was Rōhini, by the Brahma-siddhānta the whole day, according to Garga from 1 h 19 m, and by the equal space system from 13 h 8 m, after mean sunrise.—Instead of the 13th, I should have expected the 12th *tithi* to have been quoted, especially as, joined with Rōhini, this *tithi* is a *mahā-dvādāśī* (*pāpa-nāśini*)

<sup>1</sup> No 500 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905

<sup>2</sup> This name consists of two abbreviations for the word *rāja* placed side by side

<sup>3</sup> This word seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the second figure of the regnal year

<sup>4</sup> No 62 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903

<sup>5</sup> No 96 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903

<sup>6</sup> The syllables *san[ī]* are repeated by mistake in the original

160 — In the Grāmārdhanāthēśvara temple at Elvānāśūr.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [!]\* . . . . . Śaḡalabuvanachchakkaravattigal  
 śrī-kō=²Pparuñ-  
 2 jṇḡadēyarkku yāṇḡu muppadāvadū Tulā-nāyarṇu apara-pakshattu  
 3 tri(ṭṭi)yaṇḡu Tīṇḡa[!]-kijamayum peṇṇa Kāttigai naḡ

"In the thirtieth year (of the reign) of the emperor of all worlds, the glorious king **Peruṇḡḡadēva**,— on the day of Kṛittikā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Tulā "

The date corresponds to Monday, the 10th October A D 1272, which was the 13th day of the month of Tulā, and on which the 3rd *tithi* of the dark half (of Āśvina) commenced 6 h 40 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Kṛittikā, by the equal space system for 13 h 47 m, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 0 h 39 m, and according to Garga for 1 h 58 m, after mean sunrise

#### A LIST OF THE DATES OF CHOLA KINGS HITHERTO EXAMINED.

##### A —Parāntaka I Parakēsarivarman

(Between the 15th January and the 25th July A D 907.)

- No 101 (Vol VIII p 261) —Year 36, Kalyuga 4044 (current) Saturday, the 14th January A D 943  
 No 55 (Vol VII p 1) —Year 40 Saturday, the 25th July A D 946

##### B —Rājārāja I Rājakēsarivarman

(Between the 25th June and the 25th July A D 985 )

- No. 137 (Vol IX p 207) —Year 5 Sunday, the 1st December A D 989.  
 No 1 (Vol IV p 66) —Year 7 the 26th September A D 991  
 No 61 (Vol VII p 169) —Year 11 Sunday, the 14th June A D 996  
 No 25 (Vol V p 43) —Year 15 Tuesday, the 29th August A D 999  
 No 27 (Vol V p 197) —Year 15 Wednesday, the 15th May A D 1000<sup>3</sup>  
 No 138 (Vol IX p 208) —Year 16 Monday, the 23rd September A D 1000.  
 No 139 (Vol IX p 208) —Year 16 Sunday, the 13th October A D 1000  
 No. 2 (Vol IV p 67) —Śaka 929 (current) The date is incorrect  
 No 140 (Vol IX p 208) —Year 24, Saturday, the 6th November A D 1008<sup>4</sup>  
 No. 3 (Vol IV p 68) —Year 23, Śaka 934 The date would correspond to the 23rd December A D 1012, but contains no details for exact verification.

##### C —Rājēndra-Chōḡa I Parakēsarivarman.

(Between the 27th March and the 7th July A D 1012 )

- No 102 (Vol VIII p 261) —Year 5 Tuesday, the 26th March A D 1017  
 No 32 (Vol VI p 20) —Year 9, Śaka 943 (current) Thursday, the 7th July A D 1020  
 No 4 (Vol IV p 68) —Śaka 943 (current) Wednesday, the 1st March A D 1021.  
 No. 5 (Vol IV p 69) —Year 31 (for 21), Śaka 954 Monday, the 23rd October A D 1032

<sup>1</sup> No 159 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

<sup>2</sup> Read =Pparuṇḡḡa "

<sup>3</sup> In the original the week day is wrongly given as Thursday

<sup>4</sup> The week-day is wrongly given as Wednesday

- No 33 (Vol VI p. 21) —Year 22, Śaka 955 Sunday, the 25th November A.D. 1033  
 No 34 (Vol. VI, p 22).—Year 26, Śaka 959 The date is incorrect  
 No 62 (Vol. VII, p 169) —Year 31 Friday, the 23rd July A.D. 1042<sup>1</sup>

**D —Rājādhirāja I. Rājakesarivarman.**

(Between the 15th March and the 3rd December A.D. 1018)

- No 15 (Vol IV p 218) —Year [3]2 (for 22) Thursday, the 22nd November A.D. 1039.  
 No. 12 (Vol IV. p 216) —Year 26 Wednesday, the 14th March A.D. 1044.  
 No 13 (Vol. IV p. 217) —Year 27 Wednesday, the 13th February A.D. 1045  
 No 14 (Vol. IV. p 217) —Year 29. Wednesday, the 3rd December A.D. 1046<sup>2</sup>  
 No. 11 (Vol IV. p 216) —Year 30 Śaka 970 (current) The date does not admit of exact verification.  
 No 35 (Vol VI. p 22) —Year 35. Śaka 975 —probably Sunday, the 23rd May A.D. 1053.<sup>3</sup>

**E —Rājēndradēva Parakēsarivarman<sup>4</sup>**

(The 28th May A.D. 1052)

- No 38 (Vol VI p 24).—The 82nd day of year 4 Thursday, the 17th August A.D. 1053.  
 No. 36 (Vol VI p 23).—Year 6, Śaka 979 Monday, the 27th October A.D. 1057.  
 No 37 (Vol VI p 23).—Year 12 (for 11 ?), Śaka 984 The date does not admit of exact verification.

**F —Virarājendra Rājakesarivarman<sup>5</sup>**

(Between the 11th September A.D. 1082 and the 10th September A.D. 1083)

- Vol. VII, p 9. —Year 5 Monday, the 10th September A.D. 1067

**G —Kulōttunga-Chōla I Rājakesarivarman (Rājendra-Chōla II.)**

(Between the 14th March and the 8th October A.D. 1070.)

- No 56 (Vol VII p 1) —Year 4 Thursday, the 7th November A.D. 1073  
 No 39 (Vol VI. p 278) —Year 7, Śaka 998 Friday, the 10th February A.D. 1077.<sup>6</sup>  
 No 63 (Vol VII p. 170) —Year 16 Thursday, the 12th March A.D. 1086  
 No 6 (Vol IV p 70) —Year 37, Śaka 1030 (for 1028 ?) The date does not admit of exact verification  
 No 9 (Vol IV p 72) —Śaka 1035. Sunday, the 22nd February A.D. 1114  
 No 7 (Vol IV p 70) —Year 44 Friday, the 13th March A.D. 1114  
 No 8 (Vol IV p 71) —Year 45 Thursday, the 8th October A.D. 1114  
 No 40 (Vol VI p. 279).—Year 45, Śaka 1036. Wednesday, the 9th December A.D. 1114.  
 No 26 (Vol V p 43).—Year 48 Monday, the 7th January A.D. 1118  
 Nos. 20 and 28 (Vol IV. p 262, and Vol V p 198) —Year 48 Friday, the 25th January A.D. 1118<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *śakāvatāra* quoted is intrinsically wrong.

<sup>2</sup> The 2nd *śaka* is wrongly quoted instead of the 3rd.

<sup>3</sup> The 13th *śaka* has probably been wrongly quoted instead of the 3rd.

<sup>4</sup> In No 37 surnamed Rājakesarivarman

<sup>5</sup> No 273 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904 contains a date of the 7th year of this king and of Śaka 991 expired (=A.D. 1069/70)

<sup>6</sup> The month Māgha is wrongly quoted instead of Phālguna

<sup>7</sup> In No 28 the 12th *śaka* is wrongly quoted instead of the 2nd which is correctly given in No 20.

**H — Vikrama-Chôja Parakésarivarma.**

(The 28th June A D 1118)

- No. 21 (Vol IV. p 263, and Vol. VII p 3) —Year 4 Monday, the 1st May A D 1122.  
 Nos 103 and 104 (Vol. VIII p 262).—Year 4 Wednesday, the 10th May A D 1122  
 No 22 (Vol IV. p. 264, and Vol VII p 3) —Year 5 Monday, the 31st July A D, 1122.  
 No 57 (Vol VII p 3) —Year 5 Thursday, the 31st May A D 1123  
 No 10 (Vol IV p 73, and Vol VII. p 4).—The 340th day of year 5 Sunday, the 3rd June A D 1123<sup>1</sup>  
 No 141 (Vol IX p 209) —Year 6 Wednesday, the 7th November A D 1123  
 No 84 (Vol VIII p. 1) —Year 7 Thursday, the 7th August A D, 1124,  
 No 105 (Vol VIII p. 263) —Year 8 Tuesday, the 18th August A D 1125  
 No 42 (Vol VI p 280) —Year 9, Śaka 1049 the 27th May A D 1127<sup>2</sup>  
 No 59 (Vol. VII p 5) —Year 10 Sunday, the 15th April, or Saturday, the 14th April A D, 1128<sup>3</sup>  
 No 64 (Vol. VII p. 170) —Year 11 Wednesday, the 19th December A D 1128  
 No 58 (Vol VII p 4) —Year 11 Saturday, the 5th January A D 1129  
 No. 65 (Vol VII p 171) —Year 15 The date does not admit of verification  
 No 41 (Vol VI. p. 279, and Vol VII p 3) —Year 16 Monday, the 16th April A D, 1134  
 No 43 (Vol VI p 281, and Vol VII p 5) —Year 17, Śaka 1054 (for 1057) Thursday, the 18th April A D 1135

**I — Kulottunga-Chôda II<sup>4</sup>**

Vol VII p. 9 —Śaka 1056 (for 1065) the 24th March A.D 1143

**J — Rājārāja II Parakésarivarma.**

(Between the 6th April and the 11th July A D. 1146)

- No 85 (Vol VIII p 2).—Year 4 Wednesday, the 23rd November A D 1149.  
 No 86 (Vol VIII p 2) —Year 6 Thursday, the 24th January A D 1152  
 No 89 (Vol. VIII p 3) —Year 6 Thursday, the 14th February A D 1152<sup>5</sup>  
 No 87 (Vol. VIII p 2) —Year 12. Wednesday, the 26th March A D 1158  
 No 88 (Vol. VIII. p 3) —Year 15. Thursday, the 12th January A D 1161  
 No. 144 (Vol IX p 210) —Year 15 Monday, the 6th March A D 1161,<sup>6</sup>  
 No 142 (Vol IX p 209).—Year 15 Wednesday, the 5th April A D 1161  
 No 106 (Vol VIII p 263) —Year opposite to 16 Wednesday, the 11th July A.D, 1162,  
 No. 143 (Vol. IX p. 209) —Year 17. Sunday, the 2nd December A D 1162

**K — Rājādhirāja II. Rājakésarivarma.**

(Between the 28th February and the 30th March A D. 1163)

- No 145 (Vol IX p 210) —Year 2 Monday, the 30th March A D 1164.  
 No 146 (Vol IX. p 211).—Year 8 Monday, the 10th August A D 1170  
 No 147 (Vol. IX. p 211).—Year 10 Tuesday, the 27th February A D 1173  
 No 148 (Vol. IX p 212).—Year 11 Wednesday, the 15th August A D. 1173  
 No. 149 (Vol IX. p 212) —Year 13 (for 19 ?) Wednesday, the 8th July A D 1181 (?).

<sup>1</sup> The 7th *śukla* is wrongly quoted instead of the 8th<sup>2</sup> The year *Plava* is wrongly quoted instead of *Plavaṅga*<sup>3</sup> In the original date either the *wakshatra* or the week-day is quoted incorrectly.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps identical with Kulottunga Chôja II Rājakésarivarma, of whom I possess unpublished dates of the regnal years 4, 10, 14 and 15<sup>5</sup> The month of *Mina* is wrongly quoted instead of *Kumbha*<sup>6</sup> The 5th *śukla* is wrongly quoted instead of the 7th



L.—Kulóttunga-Chóla III. Parakēsarivarman (Virarājendra-Chóla,<sup>1</sup> Tribhuvanavira<sup>2</sup>)

(Between the 6th and the 8th July A D 1178)

- No. 66 (Vol VII p 171) —Year 3 Monday, the 11th August A D 1180<sup>3</sup>  
 No. 67 (Vol VII p. 171) —Year 3 the date is incorrect  
 No 107 (Vol VIII p 264) —Year 4 Thursday, the 11th March A D 1182  
 No 150 (Vol IX p 213) —Year 6 Monday, the 16th January A D. 1184  
 Nos 108 and 109 (Vol VIII p 264) —Year 6 Thursday, the 5th July A D 1194.<sup>4</sup>  
 No. 68 (Vol. VII p. 172) —Year 7. Wednesday, the 22nd August A D 1184.  
 No 23 (Vol IV p 264) —Year 8 Monday, the 8th July A D 1185  
 No 90 (Vol VIII p 4) —Year 10 Tuesday, the 5th January A D 1188<sup>5</sup>  
 No 19 (Vol IV p. 220) —Year 12 Monday, the 4th December A D 1189.  
 No 60 (Vol VII p. 172) —Year 14 Thursday, the 2nd January A D 1192<sup>6</sup>  
 No 110 (Vol VIII p 265) —Year 16 Monday, the 17th January A D 1194.  
 No 151 (Vol IX. p 213). —Year 16 Thursday, the 31st March A.D 1194  
 No 24 (Vol IV. p 265) —Year 16 Saturday, the 4th June A D 1194<sup>7</sup>  
 No. 69 (Vol VII p 172) —Year 17 Monday, the 13th February A D 1195.  
 No 70 (Vol VII. p. 172) —Year 17 Thursday, the 8th June A D 1195.  
 No. 152 (Vol IX p 214). —Year 18 Saturday, the 3rd February A D 1196<sup>8</sup>  
 No 71 (Vol VII. p 173) —Year 19 Monday, the 2nd September A D 1196<sup>9</sup>  
 No 17 (Vol IV. p 219). —Year 19 Tuesday, the 12th November A.D 1196.  
 No 72 (Vol VII p 173) —Year 19 Wednesday, the 30th April A D. 1197  
 No 16 (Vol IV p 219) —Year 19 (for 20), Śaka 1119. Friday, the 21st November A.D. 1197<sup>10</sup>  
 No 111 (Vol VIII p 265) —Year 20 Sunday, the 3rd May A D 1198<sup>11</sup>  
 No 31 (Vol V p. 199) —Year 20 The date is quite incorrect  
 No 73 (Vol VII p 174) —Year 21 Wednesday, the 7th April A D 1199  
 No 74 (Vol VII p 174) —Year 21 Saturday, the 10th April 1199<sup>12</sup>  
 No 153 (Vol IX p 214). —Year 23 Tuesday, the 12th September A D 1200  
 No 112 (Vol. VIII p 265) —Year 23 Monday, the 6th November A D 1200  
 No 113 (Vol VIII. p. 266) —Year 25 Wednesday, the 24th July A D 1202<sup>13</sup>  
 No 44 (Vol. VI. p 231). —Year 27 Thursday, the 5th May A D 1205  
 No. 29 (Vol V p 198). —Year 29 Wednesday, the 7th March A D 1207.  
 No 114 (Vol VIII p 266) —Year 32 Monday, the 21st December A.D. 1209<sup>14</sup>  
 No 18 (Vol IV p 220) —Year 34 Monday, the 19th September A D. 1211.  
 No. 91 (Vol VIII p 4) —Year 35 Sunday, the 2nd June A D 1213  
 No 92 (Vol VIII p 4) —Year 36 Monday, the 14th April A D 1214

<sup>1</sup> This name occurs in the dates of the 6th and 7th years<sup>2</sup> This name occurs in the dates from the 32nd to the 39th year<sup>3</sup> I now take this to be the proper equivalent of the date<sup>4</sup> The 12th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 11th<sup>5</sup> The second fortnight is wrongly quoted instead of the first<sup>6</sup> The first fortnight is wrongly quoted instead of the second<sup>7</sup> The 4th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 14th<sup>8</sup> The *nakshatra* Pūrva Phalguni is wrongly quoted instead of Pūrva-Bhadrapadā<sup>9</sup> The *nakshatra* quoted is intrinsically wrong<sup>10</sup> The 15th solar day is wrongly quoted instead of the 25th<sup>11</sup> The *nakshatra* Uttarāshāḍhā is wrongly quoted instead of Uttara-Bhadrapadā<sup>12</sup> The month of Rishabha is wrongly quoted instead of Mēsha.<sup>13</sup> The 5th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 4th<sup>14</sup> The 9th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 8th.

- No 93 (Vol VIII p 5) —Year 37 Monday, the 17th November A D 1214  
 No 30 (Vol V p 199) —Year 37 Sunday, the 7th June A D 1215  
 No 94 (Vol VIII p 5) —Year 39 Wednesday, the 25th January A D 1217

**M — Rājārāja III Rājakesarivarman <sup>1</sup>**

(Between the 27th June and the 10th July A D 1216 )

- No 115 (Vol VIII p 267) —Year 2 Monday, the 29th January A D 1218  
 No 75 (Vol VII p 174) —Year 4 Monday, the 22nd June A D 1220  
 No 76 (Vol VII p 175) —Year 5 Wednesday, the 19th August A D 1220 <sup>2</sup>  
 No 77 (Vol VII p 175) —Year opposite to 6 Thursday, the 13th October A D 1222  
 No 95 (Vol VIII p 6) —Year opposite to 8 Monday, the 7th October A D 1224 <sup>3</sup>  
 No 116 (Vol VIII p 267) —Year opposite to 8 Sunday, the 23rd February A D 1225 <sup>4</sup>  
 No 117 (Vol VIII p 267) —Year 10 Friday, the 17th April A D 1226  
 No 78 (Vol VII p 175) —Year 10 Tuesday, the 21st April A D 1226  
 No 118 (Vol VIII p 268) —Year 12 Monday, the 2nd August A D 1227  
 No 119 (Vol VIII p 268) —Year 16 Thursday, the 10th July A D 1231  
 No 120 (Vol VIII p 268) —Year 16 Saturday, the 22nd May A D 1232  
 No 45 (Vol VI p 281) —Year opposite to 16 Saturday, the 25th September A D 1232  
 No 46 (Vol VI p 282) —Year 17 Tuesday, the 18th January A D 1233  
 No 47 (Vol VI p 282) —Year 18 Tuesday, the 23rd August A D 1233  
 No 121 (Vol VIII p 269) —Year 18 Sunday, the 13th November A D 1233  
 No 48 (Vol VI p 282) —Year 18 Wednesday, the 7th December A D 1233  
 No 122 (Vol VIII p 269) —Year 18 Sunday, the 25th December A D 1233  
 No 49 (Vol VI p 283) —Year 18 Monday, the 2nd January A D 1234  
 No 123 (Vol VIII p 269) —Year 19 (for 18) Sunday, the 11th June A D 1234  
 No 50 (Vol VI p 283) —Year 19 probably Sunday, the 13th August A D 1234 <sup>5</sup>  
 No 124 (Vol VIII p 270) —Year 19 Sunday, the 5th November A D 1234  
 No 125 (Vol VIII p 270) —Year 19 Thursday, the 25th January A D 1235  
 No 128 (Vol VIII p 271) —Year 27 (? for 21) Monday, the 12th January A D 1237 <sup>6</sup>  
 No 51 (Vol VI p 284) —Year 22 Tuesday, the 16th March A D 1238 <sup>7</sup>  
 No 52 (Vol VI p 284) —Year opposite to 22 Monday, the 28th February A D 1239  
 No 53 (Vol VI p 284) —Year opposite to 22 Wednesday, the 2nd March A D 1239  
 No 54 (Vol VI p 285) —Year opposite to 22 Friday, the 4th March A D 1239  
 No 154 (Vol IX p 215) —Year 24 Saturday, the 2nd June A D 1240  
 No 126 (Vol VIII p 270) —Year opposite to 24 Saturday, the 12th January A D 1241  
 No 127 (Vol VIII p 271) —Year 27 Wednesday, the 30th July A D 1242  
 Nos 155 and 156 (Vol IX p 215) —Year 29 Tuesday, the 4th October A D 1244  
 Nos 157 and 158 (Vol IX p 216) —Year 29 Monday, the 6th February A D 1245  
 No 129 (Vol VIII p 271) —Year 29 Monday, the 26th June A D 1245  
 No 130 (Vol VIII p 272) —Year 30 Sunday, the 17th December A D 1245 <sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This surname occurs only in the date No 45

<sup>2</sup> The 5th *tithi* may have been quoted erroneously instead of the 4th

<sup>3</sup> The 9th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 8th

<sup>4</sup> [The last day of] the month of Kumbha has been quoted erroneously instead of [the first day of] the immediately following month of Mīna

<sup>5</sup> In the original date either the *nakṣatra* Uttaraśādi (Uttara Bhadrāpadā) has been wrongly quoted instead of Uttara (Uttara Phalgunī), or the first fortnight instead of the second

<sup>6</sup> If the published reading of the original date is correct, the second fortnight has been wrongly quoted instead of the first

<sup>7</sup> The 4th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 14th

<sup>8</sup> The 13th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 12th

- No 96 (Vol VIII. p 6) —Year 32 Friday, the 7th February A D 1248  
 No 97 (Vol VIII p. 6).—Year 32 Wednesday, the 22nd April A.D. 1248

**N —Rājendra-Chôla III.**

(Between the 21st March and the 20th April A D. 1246 )

- No 79 (Vol VII p 175) —Year 3 Saturday, the 20th March A D 1249  
 No 98 (Vol. VIII p 6) —Year 4 Sunday, the 12th September A D 1249  
 No 131 (Vol VIII p 272) —Year 4 Wednesday, the 5th January A D 1250.  
 No 80 (Vol VII p 176) —Year 7 Wednesday, the 25th December A D 1252  
 No 83 (Vol VII p 177) —Year opposite to 7 The date is intrinsically wrong.  
 No 132 (Vol VIII p 272).—Year 9 Tuesday, the 12th January A D. 1255.  
 No 133 (Vol VIII p. 273) —Year opposite to 11 Monday, the 9th July A D 1257  
 No 134 (Vol VIII p 273) —Year 16 (for 17) Monday, the 1st May A D 1262  
 No 135 (Vol VIII p 273) —Year 18 Wednesday, the 2nd January A D 1264<sup>1</sup>  
 No 136 (Vol VIII p 274).—Year 20 Wednesday, the 20th January A D 1266.  
 No 81 (Vol VII p 176) —Year 21 Wednesday, the 30th June A D 1266  
 No 99 (Vol VIII p 7) —Year 22 Wednesday, the 20th April A D 1267.  
 No 82 (Vol VII p 177) —Year 22 Sunday, the 8th May A D 1267

\* \* \* \* \*

**O —Peruñjagadéva.**

(Between the 11th February and the 30th July A.D. 1243.)

- Vol VII p 164, B.—Year 7 Friday, the 30th July A D 1249  
 No 159 (Vol IX p 216) —Year 16 Monday, the 9th December A D 1258  
 Vol. VII p 164, A —Year 18, Śaka 1182 Sunday, the 31st October A D 1260  
 No 160 (Vol IX p 217) —Year 30 Monday, the 10th October A D 1272  
 Vol. VII p 165, D —Year 31 Saturday, the 10th February A D 1274

\* \* \* \* \*

**P.—Tribhuvanavira-Chôladéva.**

(Between the 24th August A D 1331 and the 23rd August A.D 1332 )

- No 100 (Vol VIII p 7) —Year 11 Friday, the 23rd August A D 1342.

**No 30 —DATES OF PANDYA KINGS.**

BY THE LATE PROFESSOR F KIELHORN, CIE, GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from Vol. VIII. page 283 )

From the numerous dates of Pāndya kings sent to me by Rāj Bahadur V Venkayya, I here give five (Nos 63-67), the European equivalents of which may be given with certainty. The remaining dates must wait till more dates of the kings to whom they belong have been discovered. Of those here published, Nos 64 and 66 are valuable inasmuch as, taken together with previously published dates, they show that Māravarmān Kulāśekhara I. commenced to reign between (approximately) the 2nd and the 27th June A D 1268, and Māravarmān Kulāśekhara II. between (approximately) the 6th and the 29th March A.D 1314.

<sup>1</sup> The second fortnight is wrongly quoted instead of the first.

In a postscript I give a date of a king Rājakēśarīvarman Vira-Pāṇḍya, according to Mr Venkayya a ruler of Kongu, which quotes both the Śaka year 1202 and the regnal year 15, both given in words. This date is of considerable interest, because my calculations prove its meaning to be this, that the day of the date fell in the 15th year of the king's reign which (reign) commenced in the Śaka year 1202 (and not, that the day of the date itself fell in the Śaka year 1202). The date thus suggests another point of doubt and uncertainty regarding the interpretation of dates that do not contain sufficient data for exact verification, even when at first sight such doubt seems to be out of the question.

At the end of this article also I give a list of all published dates of Pāṇḍya kings that have been examined by me, with approximate statements of the time when each king commenced to reign.

#### A — MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA II.

##### 63.—In the rock-cut Śiva temple at Tirumaiyam<sup>1</sup>

1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Kō Māyapanmar-āna Trubhuvanachakravattigal śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍya-dēvaṅku yāṇḍu 7vadu [Risha]bha-[nāy]iṅṅu-ppadim[ā]nān-diyadiyum pūrvva-

<sup>2</sup> mikshattu daśamiyum Nāyirru-kkila-<sup>3</sup>

2 mai[yu]m per[ra\*] U[tti]attu nāl

"In the 7th year (of the reign) of king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva, — on the day of Uttara-Phalguni, which corresponded to a Sunday, to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight and to the thirteenth solar day of the month of Rishabha."

I have previously found<sup>4</sup> that the reign of Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II commenced between (approximately) the 15th June A D. 1238 and the 18th January A D 1239. This date of his 7th year regularly corresponds to Sunday, the 7th May A D 1245. The preceding Vrishabhasamkrānti took place 0 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 25th April A D 1245, which was the first day of the month of Vrishabha, and the 13th day of the same month therefore was Sunday, the 7th May A D 1245. On this day the 10th *tithi* of the bright half (of Jyāishtha) commenced 0 h. 43 m. and the *nakṣatra* was Uttara-Phalguni, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 19 h. 42 m., and by the Bṛahma-siddhanta for 16 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise.

For the reign of Māyavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. the date would be quite incorrect.

#### B — MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA I.

##### 64.—In the Arjunēśvara temple at Kilādī<sup>6</sup>

1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Kō Māyava[mm]a-āna Ti[ṭ]bhuvanachoha[ka]vattigal<sup>7</sup>  
[em]mandalamun-goud-aruliyā śr[i]-Kulaśēkharadēvaṅku [y]iṇḍu 23vadu  
Mith[n]na-nāyāṅṅu 6 t<sup>8</sup> pūrvva-pakshattu [tri]t[i]yā[yu]m Vell[i]-kē[ṭ]lamaiyum  
perṇa Pūśattu nāl

"In the 23rd year (of the reign) of king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva, who was pleased to take every country,— on the day of Pūṣya, which corresponded to a Friday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight (and) to the 6th solar day of the month of Mithuna."

<sup>1</sup> No 387 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

<sup>2</sup> Read *pakshattu*

<sup>3</sup> The whole of this line is engraved over an erasure

<sup>4</sup> See above Vol VI p 805

<sup>5</sup> I.e. the *tithi* of the *Daśaharā*

<sup>6</sup> No 447 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

<sup>7</sup> Read *chakra*

<sup>8</sup> The syllable *t* here stands for *tuadi*

I have previously found<sup>1</sup> that the reign of Māra-varman Kulasekhara I commenced between (approximately) the 19th March and the 27th June A D 1268. This date of his 23rd year regularly corresponds to Friday, the 1st June A D 1291. The preceding Mithuna-samkrānti took place 7 h 16 m after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 27th May A D 1291, which was the first day of the month of Mithuna; and the 6th day of the same month therefore was Friday, the 1st June A D 1291. On this day the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of the first Āshādhā) ended 3 h 3 m., and the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 14 h 27 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 12 h 29 m, after mean sunrise.

The date reduces the period, during which Māra-varman Kulasekhara I. must have commenced to reign, to the time from (approximately) the 2nd to the 27th June A.D. 1268

#### 65—In the Arjunēśvara temple at Kiladī.<sup>2</sup>

1 Svasti śrī [||\*] . . . śi-kō  
Mārapanma-āna Tribhuvanachchakavattiga[<sup>3</sup> e]mmandalamun-gon[d-a]rūhya  
śrī-Kulasegaradevaṅku yāndu 30vaḍin edurām-āndu Ka[r]kkataka-nāyarṇu 8 t'm  
apara-pakshattu ē[k]āda[śi]yum peṇṇa Rōhin[ī]-nāl.

"In the year opposite the 30th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māra-varman *ahas* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulasekharadeva, who was pleased to take every country,—on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight and to the 8th solar day of the month of Karkataka."

For the year opposite the 30th, *i.e.* for the 31st year, of Māra-varman Kulasekhara I this date regularly corresponds to [Saturday], the 5th July A D 1298. The preceding Karkataka-samkrānti took place 17 h 19 m after mean sunrise of Friday, the 27th June A D 1298. The first day of the month of Karkataka therefore was Saturday, the 28th June, and the 8th day of the same month was Saturday, the 5th July A D 1298. On this day the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āshādhā) ended 18 h 55 m, and the *nakshatra* was Rōhini, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 23 h 38 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 22 h 59 m., after mean sunrise.

#### C—MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA II

##### 66—In the Bhūmīśvara temple at Gudimallūr<sup>5</sup>

1 Suvasi<sup>6</sup> [śrī] [||\*] Kō Mārapanma Tr[ra]buvanachchakkarava[t]ti śrī-Kula-  
[ś]ēgaradevaṅku yāndu 12[āvaḍu]<sup>7</sup> paṇṇ[ī]raṇ[ḍāva]ḍu [M]ēsha-nāyarṇu  
pupu[r]u[va] pakshattu chatutteṣiyum Vellī-kkūlamayum peṇṇa Avittat[ta] nāl.

"In the 12th—twelfth—year (of the reign) of king Māra-varman (*ahas*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulasekharadeva,—on the day of Dhanishthā, which corresponded to a Friday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha "

This date is intrinsically wrong because the *nakshatra* cannot possibly be Dhanishthā on the 14th *tithi* of a first fortnight in the month of Mēsha. Irrespectively of the *nakshatra*

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol VIII p 273

<sup>2</sup> No 449 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

<sup>3</sup> Read "chakra"

<sup>4</sup> The syllable *ts* here stands for *tsyadya*

<sup>5</sup> No 419 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

<sup>6</sup> Read *svasti*

<sup>7</sup> The word *avadu* seems to be denoted by a flourish added to 2

Read *pāva-*

the date would be wrong for the 12th year of the reign of Māvarman Kulasekhara I. But for the 12th year of the reign of Māvarman Kulasekhara II (which has been found<sup>1</sup> to commence between approximately the 6th March and the 23rd July A D 1314) the date would regularly correspond to **Friday, the 29th March A D 1325**, which was the 4th day of the month of **Mēsha**, and on which the 14th *tithi* of the bright half (of Chaitra) ended 7 h 9 m, while the *nakshatra* was **Hasta**, by the equal space system and according to Gaiga for 10 h 30 m and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h 13 m, after mean sunrise—I have no doubt that this is the true equivalent of the date and that the concluding words of the original date ought to be *Atittu nil*, ‘the day of Hasta,’ instead of *Atittu nāl*.

The date would prove that Māvarman Kulasekhara II, could not have commenced to reign later than (approximately) the 29th March A D 1314.

#### D — JATAVARMAN PARAKRAMA-PANDYA

67 —In the Satyagrinātha-Perumāl temple at Tirumaiyam<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Svasti śiṭ [||\*] Śrī-ko-[Chchadai]panmai=āna Ti[ai]buvanaśa[kia]vatt[ai]gal si[ai]  
Parakk[ai]ama-Pā[ndiyade]varkku [a]udu vvaḍ[ai]n
- 2 edir vādu -n[ai]yayū apaiṇa pakshattu dvāḍiyyum Nayanu kk[ai]-  
lamayum perṇa Uttarādattu nāl

“In the 7th (year) opposite the 5th year (of the reign) of the glorious king [Jatā]-varman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Parakrama-Pandya-deva,—on the day of Uttarashadha, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of ”

I have previously found<sup>3</sup> that Jatavarman Parākrama Pandya commenced to reign between (approximately) the 10th January A D 1307 and the 9th January A D 1358. This date of the 7th opposite the 5th year, i.e. of the 12th year of his reign, undoubtedly corresponds to **Sunday, the 4th February A D 1363**, which was the 11th day of the month of [Kumbha], and on which the 12th *tithi* of the dark half (of Māgha) ended 21 h 7 m after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* was Uttarashādhā, by the Brahma-siddhānta and according to Garga the whole day, and by the equal space system from 6 h 34 m after mean sunrise.

The date shows that Jatavarman Parākrama-Pandya could not have commenced to reign before (approximately) the 5th February A D 1357.

#### POSTSCRIPT

#### RAJAKESARIVARMAN VIRAPANDYA<sup>4</sup>

In the Kariyamānikka-Perumāl temple at Vijayamangalam<sup>5</sup>

- 1 Svasti śiṭ [||\*] Nānmalai=irukka [||\*] [Śaga]i-yāndu āynatt-iru-nūṇ-ṇandil  
[kō]v=[Irā]śa[k]śarpa[ai]nmai=āna [Ti]bhuvanachcha[kravat]-
- 2 tugal śrī-Viṇa-Pandiyadevarku yāndu pa[d]ṇaṇṇāvadu<sup>6</sup> Tu[il]ā-nāyayū apara-  
pakshattu=ṭṭingat-kilamay[u]m daṣamiyūm pe[ṇṇa] Ut[t]uattu n[ā]l

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol VI p. 315

<sup>2</sup> No 395 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

<sup>3</sup> See above, Vol VII p. 17

<sup>4</sup> This king is neither a Pāṇḍya nor a Chōla, but a ruler of Kongu, see Rā Bahadur V Venkayya's *Annual Report* for 1905-06, page 79

<sup>5</sup> No 544 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905

<sup>6</sup> The *akshara tu* is engraved above the line

<sup>7</sup> The guttural *n* is engraved above the line

"In the Śaka year one thousand two hundred and two, the fifteenth year (of the reign) of king [Rā]jakēśarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Virā-Pāṇḍyadēva**,—on the day of Uttara-Phalguni, which corresponded to the tenth *tithi* and to a Monday of the second fortnight of the month of Tula "

The meaning of this date would naturally be taken to be that the day of the date fell both in the 15th year of the king's reign and in the Śaka year 1202, either current or expired, but for either of these Śaka years the date would be incorrect

For the current Śaka year 1202 the date might be taken to correspond to Monday, the 2nd October A D 1279, which was the 4th day of the month of Tula, and on which the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āśvina) ended 2 h 37 m after mean sunrise. But the *nakshatras* on this day were Maghā and Pūrva-Phalguni

For the expired Śaka year 1202 it would correspond to Saturday, the 19th October A D. 1280, which was the 22nd day of the month of Tula, and on which the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āśvina) ended 18 h 25 m, while the *nakshatra* was Pūrva-Phalguni, by the Brahmasiddhānta for 11 h 10 m, according to Garga for 15 h 46 m, and by the equal space system from 3 h. 17 m, after mean sunrise

The date would be incorrect also for the Śaka year 1200 (current or expired) and for all years down to Śaka 1214 expired. It would be correct for Śaka 1215 expired (= 1216 current). For this year it would correspond to Monday, the 26th October A D. 1293, which was the 29th day of the month of Tula, and on which the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of Kārtika) ended 6 h 52 m. after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* by all systems was Uttara-Phalguni during the whole of the day

I have no doubt that Monday, the 26th October A D 1293, is the proper equivalent of the date; and, in accordance with this result, I take the true meaning of the original date to be this, that the day of the date fell in the 15th year of the king's reign which commenced some time during the (current) Śaka year 1202 (= A D. 1279-80) that is quoted at the beginning of the date. For dates that have to be similarly interpreted, I may refer to Nos 261, 262 and 269 of my *Southern List*

#### A LIST OF THE DATES OF PANDYA KINGS HITHERTO EXAMINED.

##### A.—Jatāvarman Kulasēkhara

(Between the 30th March and the 29th November A D. 1190 )<sup>1</sup>

- No 2 (Vol VI p 302)—Year opp to 13 Thursday, the 26th February A D 1204.  
 No. 1 (Vol VI p 301)—Year 12 opp. to 13 Saturday, the 29th November A D 1214.  
 No. 45 (Vol VIII p 275)—Year 13 (for 13 ?): Thursday, the 6th October A D 1216(?)  
 No 44 (Vol VIII p 275)—Year 14 opp to 13: Wednesday, the 29th March A D. 1217

##### B.—Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.

(Between the 29th March and the 4th September A.D 1216.)

- No 6 (Vol VI p 304).—Year 7 Monday, the 13th March A D 1223  
 No 5 (Vol VI p. 303)—Year 9 Friday, the 28th March A D 1225  
 No 46 (Vol VIII, p 276)—Year 15: Tuesday, the 3rd December A D 1230.

<sup>1</sup> Or perhaps Between the 7th October and the 29th November A D 1190

No 3 (Vol VI p 302) —Year opp to year opp to 17 Monday, the 4th September A D 1234

No 4 (Vol VI p 303) —Year opp to year opp to 17 Monday, the 19th February A D 1235

### C —Māravarman Sundara-Pāndya II

(Between the 15th June A D 1238 and the 18th January A D 1239 )

No 63 (Vol IX p 223).—Year 7 Sunday, the 7th May A D 1245

No. 10 (Vol VI p 305) —Year 11 Sunday, the 25th April A.D 1249

Nos 7 and 8 (Vol VI p 304) —Year opp to year opp. to 11 Wednesday, the 18th January A D 1251

No 9 (Vol. VI p 305) —Year opp to year opp to 11, Wednesday, the 14th June A D 1251.<sup>1</sup>

### D —Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya I.

(Between the 20th and the 28th April A D 1251 )

No 11 (Vol VI p 306) —Year 2 Thursday, the 27th March A D 1253

No 12 (Vol VI p. 306) —Year 2 Saturday, the 19th April A D 1253

No 13 (Vol VI p. 306) —Year 3 Wednesday, the 29th October A D 1253

No 17 (Vol VI p 307) —Year 7 Sunday, the 7th October A D 1257<sup>2</sup>

No 14 (Vol VI p 307) —Year 9 Tuesday, the 29th April A D 1259

No 15 (Vol VI p. 307) —Year 9 Sunday, the 15th June A D 1259

No 16 (Vol VI p 307) —Year 10 Wednesday, the 28th April A D 1260.

No 18 (Vol VI p 308) —Year 11 Tuesday, the 19th July A D 1261<sup>3</sup>

### E —Vira-Pāndya.

(Between the 11th November A D 1252 and the 13th July A D 1253 )

No 32 (Vol VII. p 11) —Year 7 Sunday, the 13th July A D 1259

No 31 (Vol VII p 10) —Year 15 Thursday, the 10th November A D. 1267.

### F.—Māravarman Kulasékhara I.

(Between the 2nd and the 27th June A D 1268 )

No 20 (Vol VI p 309) —Year 10 Wednesday, the 5th January A D 1278

No 48 (Vol VIII p 277).—Year 22 Monday, the 27th June A D 1289

No 64 (Vol IX p 223) —Year 23 Friday, the 1st June A D 1291

No 21 (Vol VI. p 309) —Year 26 Wednesday, the 18th November A D. 1293<sup>4</sup>

No 19 (Vol VI p 308) —Year 27 Friday, the 10th December A D 1294.

No 49 (Vol. VIII p 277) —Year 30 Wednesday, the 31st July A D 1297

No 65 (Vol. IX p 224) —Year opp to 30 · Saturday, the 5th July A.D 1298

No 50 (Vol VIII p 277).—Year 34 Saturday, the 8th July A D 1301.<sup>5</sup>

No 51 (Vol VIII p 278) —Year 29 (for 39) Saturday, the 9th July A.D. 1306

No. 22 (Vol. VI. p 310) —Year 40 Saturday, the 24th February A D 1308.

No 47 (Vol. VIII p 276) —Year 40, Śaka 1229 Monday, the 18th March A.D. 1308

<sup>1</sup> The month of Mīna is wrongly quoted instead of Mithuna

<sup>2</sup> In the date, which is intrinsically wrong, the month of Kanyā is quoted instead of Tula

<sup>3</sup> Thursday appears to have been wrongly quoted instead of Tuesday

<sup>4</sup> The 2nd *śaka* is wrongly quoted, or misread, instead of the 3rd.

<sup>5</sup> The 3rd *śaka* is wrongly quoted instead of the 2nd



## G.—Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya II

(Between the 13th September A D. 1275 and the 15th May A D 1278)

- No 25 (Vol VII p. 311) —Year 6 Monday, the 21st July A D 1281.  
 No 52 (Vol VIII p. 278) —Year 10 Monday, the 23rd July A D 1285  
 No 54 (Vol VIII p. 279) —Year 12 Wednesday, the 27th August A D 1287<sup>1</sup>  
 No 26 (Vol VI p. 311) —Year 12 Friday, the 12th September A D, 1287<sup>2</sup>  
 No 53 (Vol VIII p. 279) —Year 11 (for 12) Wednesday, the 29th October A D 1287  
 No 23 (Vol VI p. 310) —Year 13 (for 14) Monday, the 1st August A D 1289  
 No 24 (Vol VI p. 310) —Year 13 (for 14) Friday, the 5th August A D 1289.  
 No 27 (Vol VI p. 312) —Year opp to 14 Monday, the 15th May A D 1290  
 No. 55 (Vol VIII p. 280) —Year 2 opp to 13 Monday, the 28th August A.D 1290<sup>3</sup>  
 No 56 (Vol VIII p. 280) —Year 9 for 10(?) Friday, the 29th March A D 1286(?)<sup>4</sup>

## H.—Māvarman Kulāśekhara II.

(Between the 6th and the 29th March A D 1314.)

- No 29 (Vol VI p. 313) —Year 4 Saturday, the 23rd July A D 1317  
 No 30 (Vol VI p. 313) —Year 5 Monday, the 5th March A D 1319<sup>5</sup>  
 No 28 (Vol VI p. 312) —Year 8 Saturday, the 14th November A D 1321  
 No. 66 (Vol IX p. 224) —Year 12 Friday, the 29th March A.D 1325<sup>6</sup>

## I.—Māvarman Parākrama-Pāndya.

(Between the 1st December A D. 1334 and the 1st November A D. 1335.)

- No 33 (Vol VII p. 11) —Year 6, Śaka 1262 Wednesday, the 1st November A D 1340  
 No 34 (Vol VII p. 11) —Year 8 (for 18) Friday, the 30th November A.D. 1352.

## J —Jatāvarman Parākrama-Pāndya.

(Between the 5th February A.D. 1367 and the 9th January A.D. 1358.)

- No 67 (Vol IX p. 225) —Year 7 opp to 5 Sunday, the 4th February A D 1369.  
 No. 35 (Vol VII p. 12) —Year 10 opp to 5, Śaka 1293 Friday, the 9th January A.D 1372.

## K —Kōṣṛaṇmaikondāp Vikrama-Pāndya.

(Between the 13th January and the 27th July A D. 1401)

- No 59 (Vol VIII p. 282) —Year 4 Sunday, the 15th February A D 1405 (?).<sup>7</sup>  
 No 58 (Vol. VIII p. 281) —Year 8 Friday, the 27th July A D 1408.  
 No. 57 (Vol. VIII p. 281) —Year 15, opp to 2, Śaka 1339 Wednesday, the 12th January A D 1418

<sup>1</sup> The 31st solar day is wrongly quoted instead of the 30th<sup>2</sup> The 13th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 3rd<sup>3</sup> The [first day of the] month of Kanyā is wrongly quoted instead of [the last day of] Simha.<sup>4</sup> This date may possibly be one of the 8th year of J Sundara Pāṇḍya I, corresponding to Friday, the 28th March A D 1259<sup>5</sup> The date is intrinsically wrong The month of Simha is wrongly quoted instead of Mīna, and the *nakṣatra* Pushya (*Pūṣya nāḍi*) instead of Pūrva Phalguni (*Pūrva nāḍi*)<sup>6</sup> The *nakṣatra* Dhaniṣṭhā (*Āṣṭittu nāḍi*) is wrongly quoted instead of Hasta (*Āttittu nāḍi*).<sup>7</sup> In the original date, which is intrinsically wrong, the first fortnight is wrongly quoted instead of the second, and the 3rd *tithi* instead of the 2nd.

**L.—Jatilavarman Parākrama-Pāndya Arikēsaridēva**

(Between the 18th June and the 18th July A D 1422 )

No 37 (Vol VII p 13) —Year opp to 31 Thursday, the 19th July A D 1453<sup>1</sup>

No 36 (Vol VII p. 12) —Year 2 opp to 31, Śaka 1377 Monday, the 24th March A D 1455

No 38 (Vol VII p 13) —Year 4 opp to 31 Wednesday, the 16th March A D 1457

No 39 (Vol VII p 13) —Year 8 opp to 31, Śaka 1381 Wednesday, the 17th June A D 1461<sup>2</sup>**M.—Māṇavarman Vira-Pāndya**

(Between the 18th March and the 28th July A D 1443)

No 60 (Vol VIII p 282) —Year 11 opp to 2 Monday, the 28th July A D 1455

No 61 (Vol VIII p 283) —Year 14 Sunday, the 16th January A D 1457.

No. 62 (Vol. VIII p. 283) —Year 14 Saturday, the 12th March A.D. 1457

**N.—Jatilavarman Parākrama-Pāndya Kulasēkhara**

(Between the 15th November A D 1479 and the 14th November A D 1480)

No 40 (Vol VII p 14) —Year 20, Śaka 1421 Thursday, the 14th November A D 1499

**O.—Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāndya III.**

(Between the 2nd June A D. 1531 and the 1st June A D. 1532.)

No 42 (Vol VII p 15) —Year 22 opp to 2, Śaka 1477. Saturday, the 1st June A D 1555

**P.—Jatilavarman Śrīvallabha.**

(Between the 26th November A D 1534 and the 26th November A.D. 1535 )

No 41 (Vol VII p 15) —Year 3, Śaka 1459 Wednesday, the 28th November A.D. 1537

**Q.—Jatilavarman Śrīvallabha Ativirarāma.**

(Between the 23rd August A D. 1562 and the 22nd August A D 1563 )

No 43 (Vol VII. p 16) —Year 5, Śaka 1489 Friday, the 22nd August 1567

**No. 31 — TIRUMALAI ROCK INSCRIPTION OF RAJENDRA-CHOLA I**

By PROFESSOR E HULTZSCH, PH D , HALLE (SAALH)

When, more than twenty years ago, I started epigraphical work in the Madras Presidency, I prepared with my own hands an inked estampage of the inscription which is here re-edited. After Mr Venkayya had joined my office in Bangalore, we spent a considerable time in reading and translating this record — one of the first early Chōla documents we tried to make out in a reliable manner. The Tamil text of it as printed in *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol I p 98, does not contain any misreadings<sup>1</sup>. But the translation on p 99 needs revision in the light of the other Chōla inscriptions which were published later on, and a facsimile of this beautifully

<sup>1</sup> Monday is wrongly quoted instead of Thursday<sup>2</sup> Śaka 1381 is wrongly quoted instead of 1383, and the 23rd solar day wrongly instead of the 21st<sup>3</sup> Only the date in line 12 should be '13' (instead of '12'), the same correction has to be made in the heading of the Plate facing p 232 below

engraved and well preserved rock inscription was hitherto missing. I therefore republish it now in Roman characters with a fresh translation, and with a colotype of a careful inked estampage which was prepared recently under Rai Bahadur Venkayya's personal supervision.

The inscription is engraved on a smooth piece of rock near a rock-cut Jama figure on the top of the hill of Tirumalai near Pôjûr in the North Arcot district. The language is Tamil, and the alphabet is likewise Tamil, interspersed with a few Grantha words and letters (*svasti*, *sri*, l. 1, *shai* of *vishaya*, l. 9, *Mahî*, l. 10, *Sri-Râjêndra-Chôladêva* and *ja* of *Jayangonda*, l. 12, *sri*, *Jina* and *dêva*, l. 13, *vyâpârî*, l. 13 f.)

The inscription is dated in the 13th year of the reign of the Chôla king Parakésarivarman alias Râjêndra-Chôladêva I (l. 12), who ascended the throne in A D 1012<sup>1</sup>. Its first eleven lines consist of a passage in Tamil verse which describes the conquests of the king, and the first words of which (*Tiru manai*, etc.) are quoted — as pointed out by Mr. Venkayya — in Perundévânâr's commentary on the *Vîrasôlîyam*<sup>2</sup>.

The list of conquests opens with Idadupai-nâdu (l. 1 f.), i.e. the country of Yedatore in the Mysore district, and Vanavâsi, i.e. Banavâsi in the North Canara district. The next item, the city of Kollioppâkkai, must have been included in the Western Châlukya kingdom. For it was set on fire by Râjâdhirâja I. in the course of a war against Sômêśvara I and Vikramâditya VI,<sup>3</sup> and it is mentioned as Kollioppâke in an inscription of Jayasimha II<sup>4</sup>. Mannai-kataka is identified by Mr. Rice with the city of Manne in the Nelamangala talûka of the Bangalore district<sup>5</sup>.

Îlam (l. 2) or Îla-maṇḍala (l. 3) is the Tamil designation of the island of Ceylon. Râjêndra-Chôla I. boasts of having deprived its king of his own crown, the crowns of his queens, and two other trinkets which the Pândya king had previously deposited with the king of Ceylon: a crown and the 'necklace of Indra'. Mr. Venkayya has pointed out that the *Mahāvamsa* (chapter LIII) also refers to the crown of the Pândya, which had been left with the king of Ceylon and was taken from him by the Chôlas,<sup>6</sup> and that the 'necklace of Indra' is alluded to in several Pândya inscriptions<sup>7</sup>.

The Kêrala (l. 3) is the king of Malabar. Śândimattivu (l. 5), i.e. the island of Śântamst (?), is unknown. Musangî is perhaps identical with the fort of Uchchangî in the Bellary district.<sup>8</sup> Jayasimha of Ratta-pâdi (l. 6), who was put to flight at Musangî, is the Western Châlukya king Jayasimha II<sup>9</sup>.

Śakkarakôttam, i.e. Chakrakôṭṭa, is shown by the inscriptions of Kulôttunga I. to have belonged to the dominions of the king of Dhârâ<sup>10</sup>. Madura-maṇḍala (l. 7) need not be connected with Madhurâ, the capital of the Pândya king, who has been already accounted for (l. 3), but may be meant for the district of the northern Mathurâ on the Yamunâ. The three next geographical names cannot be identified.

At Âdinagar (?) Râjêndra-Chôla I. captured Indraratha of the race of the Moon (l. 8). As suggested by Prof. Kielhorn,<sup>11</sup> this prince may be identical with that Indraratha who is mentioned in the Udaypur inscription as an enemy of Bhôjadêva of Dhârâ.

<sup>1</sup> *South Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III p. 196, above, Vol. VIII p. 262.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III p. 197.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 52.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. III p. 261. Compare also Vol. VI pp. 224, 225 and 227 (*Kollioppâkkai*).

<sup>5</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III p. 10 of the Introduction.

<sup>6</sup> *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1906-1907*, p. 73.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p. 63 f., *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII p. 72 and note 78.

<sup>8</sup> *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II p. 94, note 4.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. I p. 96.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. III, p. 132.

<sup>11</sup> *List of Southern Inscr.* p. 120, note 3.

Odda-vishaya (1 9) is the province of Orissa, and Kōsala-nādu is probably *Southern Kōsala*.<sup>1</sup> Tandabutti, i.e. Dandabhukti and its ruler Dharmapala are unknown from other sources. The same is the case with Ranasua, who ruled over Tukkanaladam (1 10), i.e. *Dakshina-Virāṭa*<sup>2</sup> or Southern Berar, and with Gōvinda-chandra,<sup>3</sup> the ruler of Vangāla-dēśa, i.e. the Bengal country. Mahipala, whom the Chola king deprived of his elephants and women, is identified by Prof. Kildheim with the Pāla king Mahipala I.<sup>4</sup>

The list of conquests closes with Uttalādam (1 11), i.e. Uttara-Virāṭa or Northern Berar, and the Gangā, i.e. the river Ganges.

The short passage in Tamil prose with which the inscription ends (ll. 12-14) records its actual purpose — a gift of money for a lamp and for offerings to the Jaina temple on the hill by the wife of a merchant of Malliyūr in Karaivali, a subdivision of Perumbanappādi. The temple was called Sri-Kundavai-Jinalaya (1 13), i.e. the Jina temple of Kundavai. This name suggests that the shrine owed its foundation to Kundavai, the daughter of Parāntaka II, elder sister of Rājārāja I (and consequently the paternal aunt of Rājendra-Chola I) and wife of Vallavaraiyā Vandyadōvai.<sup>5</sup> The sacred hill (Tirumalai) is stated to have formed part of Vaigavūr, a *pallichchalandam*, i.e. 'a village belonging to a Jaina temple,'<sup>6</sup> in Mugai-nādu, a subdivision of Pangala-nādu, a district of Jayangonda-Chōla-mandala. Malliyūr is the modern Gudimallūr near Arcot.<sup>7</sup> The remaining geographical names mentioned in this paragraph have been discussed in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III p. 89, and above, Vol. VII p. 192.

In conclusion I would like to add a few words on the later conquests of Rājendra-Chōla I which are registered in the Tanjore inscription No. 20. Mr. Venkayya has shown that my former identification of Kadāram with a place in the Madras district<sup>8</sup> must be wrong, because the Chōla king despatched an expedition to it on ships by sea, and because two of the localities mentioned in connection with this expedition, Nakkavaram and Pappālam, are, respectively, the Nicobar Islands and a port in Burma.<sup>9</sup> Among the remaining items we read in line 9 of the Tanjore inscription *niyāśin-viśayamum*, and in line 11 *kalai-ttakkor jnagal talai-ttakkolamum*. The second of them, Takkōlam, may be identical with Ptolemy's *Takwala ἐμπόριον* which Colonel Gerini places at Takōpa on the western coast of the Malay Peninsula.<sup>10</sup> Instead of the first, which I had translated by 'Vijayam of great fame,' an inscription at Kandiyūr near Tanjore reads *niyāśin-viśayamum*, 'the prosperous Śrīviśaya'.<sup>11</sup> This may be the correct reading, for according to the larger Leiden grant (1 80) Śrīviśaya was the name of the country ruled over by the king of Kataha or Kadāram.

<sup>1</sup> *South Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> In his *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1906-1907*, p. 87 f., Mr. Venkayya has shown that the Tamil term *Ilādga* does not correspond to the Sanskrit *Lāṭa* (Gujarāt), but to *Varaṭa* (Berar).

<sup>3</sup> Page 34 of Dr. Bunnell's *South-Indian Palaeography* (2nd ed.) contains the following note:—"The great inscription at Tanjore (11th century) mentions a Śērāmān, but also a king of Karuvai (or Karū) and a Gōvinda chandra (king of Kannāḍa)."—*Kannāḍa* (= Kannada or Karnata?) is nothing but a misreading of the word *Takkanalādam*, which happens to precede the name *Gōvindaśandan* (1 10), and *Karuvai*, here represented as referring to Karuvūr, is probably derived from *Adinagar-ava* (1 8). I am not drawing attention to these mistakes in order to gloat over them, but to prevent their being quoted as reliable facts.

<sup>4</sup> *List of Southern Inscr.* p. 120, note 4.

<sup>5</sup> *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II p. 68. For three other princesses named Kundavai see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIII p. 298, note 13, and *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III p. 100.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. VII p. 116, note 1.

<sup>7</sup> See Mr. Venkayya's *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-1906*, p. 36 f., Nos. 418, 416 and 419.

<sup>8</sup> *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II p. 106.

<sup>9</sup> *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1898-99*, p. 17. Compare *South Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III p. 194 f.

<sup>10</sup> *Journ. R. As. Soc.* 1894, p. 247.

<sup>11</sup> See my *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1894-95*, p. 4.

## TEXT

- 1 Svasti sīḥ [||\*] Tiru manni valarav-ira-ni-la-madand-ayum pōr-chchaya-ppāvaiyuñ=  
ju ttani-chchelvaiyu-<sup>1</sup>dan poi-un-dēviyai=agi ni b-uru ned-udiyal ūḥul  
Idaidu-
- 2 rai-nādun=dndai-vana-vēli-ppadai Vanavāśiyuñ=juḥi-chchūl-madit-Kolippākkaiyu=  
nānark-ai-u-muran Mannaikkadakkamum poi-u-gadal ilatt-araś-da-mudiyum  
ānga-
- 3 var dēviyai=ōng-elin-mudiyu-munn-avai pakkal-Ttēnnavar varitta śundara-  
mudiyum Indiran=āramun-den-dīrai Īla-mandala-muluvadam eṇi-badai=  
Kkeralar
- 4 muraimaiyu=chūdun-gula-danam=āgiya palar pugai mudiyuñ=Jengadīr-mālaiyuñ=  
jang-a-lu-vol u-ttol-b-ru-n-gīvai=pal-balan-di(di)ruñ=jeruvu=chena-
- 5 viḷ<sup>2</sup> mubatt-ōn-g-ūl-ai-ai-sūgalai katta Paraśurāman mēv-aiyuñ=Jāṇḍimattivv-aran<sup>3</sup>  
kannu muttiya śem-boṇ-Rura-ttagu-mudiyum bayan-godu pal mugā  
Musangiyil mu-
- 6 dug-itt-olitta Śayaśi(śi)ngan<sup>4</sup> āla-pperum-bugalodum pid-iyal Irattabādi ēl-ai-ai  
ilakkamun=nava-vedu-kkula-pperu-malaigalum vikkūma-vīrar Śakkaragōttamu=
- 7 mudira-bada-v-illai Madura-mandalamum kā-midai-valaiya=Nāmanaikkōnamum  
veñ-jul u-v-ān Pāñjappalliyum pās-udai-ppala=nan-Māśuni-dēśamum ayaivi-
- 8 l-van-gi(gi)rttiy-Āḍinagar-avaiyir=Chandiran=rol-gulatt=Iradarana<sup>5</sup> vilaiy=  
amaikkalatt=kkalaiyodum pid[it]tu=ppala-danatodu nīrai kula-dana-kkuvai-
- 9 yuñ<sup>6</sup> tti-aiyuñ=jeri-milaiy=<sup>7</sup>Otta-vishaiyum būsurai śēr nal-Kkōśalai-nādun=  
Ḍanmabālanai vem-munaiy=aiṭtu vand-urai-sōlai-Ttandayū(bu)ttiyum=  
Ira-na-
- 10 sūrpai muran=ura=ttākki=thkk-ana<sup>8</sup>-gi(gi)rtti-Ttakkanalādamun=Gōvindaśandan  
ppai=ind=oda=ttangāda-sāral Vangāla-dēśamun=dōdu-gadai-changugottai<sup>9</sup>=  
Mahibalanai
- 11 veñ-jama[r\*]<sup>10</sup>-valāgatt-āṇḍuvitt-ai-ūḥi on-dīyal yānaiyum pendir-bandāramu=  
nitāla-nedun-gadal=Utti[rā]lādamum veṇi-manar-ttēṇ-ttēṇ-bunai=Kangaiyu=  
mā-p-
- 12 poi-u-dandār=konda kō=Pparagēśaribapmar=āna udaiyār Śrī-Rājēndra-  
Chōlādēvarku yāndu 13āvadu [Ja]yangonda-Sōla-mandalattu Pangala-  
nāttu naduvil
- 13 va[g]ai Mugai-nāttu=ppalichchendam Vagavūr-Ttirumalai Śrī-Kundavai-  
Jinālayattu dēvarku=Pperumbānappādi-Kkaraivali Malliyūr irukkum vyā-
- 14 pām Nannappayan manavātti Śāmundappai varitta tūnanadavilakku onirukku=  
kkāśu mubadam [tru]vamudakku varitta kāśu pattum [||\*]

## TRANSLATION

(Line 1) Hail! Prosperity!

(L 12) In the 13th year (of the reign) of king Pa. akēśarivarman *alias* the lord Śrī-Rājēndra-Chōlādēva, who,--

<sup>1</sup> Read =chinnai

<sup>2</sup> Read =tito-aran

<sup>3</sup> Other inscriptions read *ajapp arum*, see *South-Ind Inscr* Vol II p 93, note 5

<sup>4</sup> Read =*Javaradanai*. That this is the original reading, becomes more than probable in the following manner -- (1) The doubtful word may be expected to rhyme on *Chandīya*, the third word before it (2) The Tanjore inscription No 20 reads =*Indravadana* (3) *Indravadana* is the only correct Sanskrit name I can think of, which would account for both corrupt readings

<sup>5</sup> The Tanjore inscription No 20 reads *tiṭṭ-aruñ-jeri minai*

<sup>6</sup> Read, as in the Tanjore inscription No 20, *tōdu galar-changuv otai*

2  
4  
6  
8  
10  
12  
14

சுந்தரபாண்டியன்  
சுந்தரபாண்டியன்  
சுந்தரபாண்டியன்  
சுந்தரபாண்டியன்  
சுந்தரபாண்டியன்  
சுந்தரபாண்டியன்  
சுந்தரபாண்டியன்  
சுந்தரபாண்டியன்  
சுந்தரபாண்டியன்  
சுந்தரபாண்டியன்  
சுந்தரபாண்டியன்  
சுந்தரபாண்டியன்  
சுந்தரபாண்டியன்  
சுந்தரபாண்டியன்  
சுந்தரபாண்டியன்

(L 1) in *(his)* life of high prosperity, while Tiru (Lakshmi), having become constant, was increasing, *(and)* while the goddess of the great earth, the goddess of victory in battle, and the matchless goddess of fame rejoiced to have become his great queens,—

(L 11) seized by *(his)* great, warlike army *(the following)* :—

(L 1) Idaidurai-nādu, Vaṇavāsi, *(round which)* a fence of continuous forests was spreading,<sup>1</sup> Kolhippākkai, whose walls were surrounded with brushwood,<sup>2</sup> Mannai-kkadakkam, whose strength was unapproachable,<sup>3</sup> the crown of the king of Īlam *(on)* the tempestuous ocean, the exceedingly fine crowns of the queens of that *(king)*, the beautiful crown<sup>4</sup> and the necklace of India, which the king of the South *(i.e.* the Pāṇḍya) had previously deposited with that *(king)* of Īlam, the whole Īla-maṇḍala *(on)* the transparent sea, the crown praised by many and the garland of the Sun, family-treasures which the arrow-shooting *(king of)* Kēraḷa rightfully wore, many ancient islands, whose old, great guard was the ocean which makes the conches resound, the crown of pure gold, worthy of Tiru (Lakshmi), which Paraśurāma, having considered the fortifications of Śāṇḍimattivu impregnable, had deposited *(there)*, when, in anger, *(he)* bound the kings twenty-one times in battle, the seven and a half lakṣas of Irattabādi, *(which was)* strong by nature, *(and which he took)*, together with immeasurable fame, *(from)* Jayasimha, who, out of fear and full of vengeance, turned his back at Muṣaṅgi and hid himself, the principal great mountains *(which contained)* the nine treasures *(of)* Kuvēra,<sup>5</sup> Śakkaragōttam, whose warriors were brave, Madura-maṇḍala, whose forts *(bore)* banners *(which touched)* the clouds, Nāmaṇai-kkōṇam, which was surrounded by dense groves, Pañchappalli, whose warriors *(bore)* cruel bows, the good Māṣuni-dēsa, whose fruits were fresh, a large heap of family-treasures, together with many *(other)* treasures, *(which he carried away)* after having captured Indraratha of the old race of the Moon, together with *(his)* family, in a fight which took place in the hall *(at)* Ādinagar, *(a city)* which was famous for unceasing abundance, Oḍḍa-vishaya, which was difficult to approach, *(and which he subdued in)* close fights, the good Kōśalai-nādu, where Brāhmanas assembled, Tandabuthi, in whose gardens bees abounded, *(and which he acquired)* after having destroyed Dharmapāla *(in)* a hot battle, Takkanaḷādam, whose fame reached *(all)* directions, *(and which he occupied)* after having forcibly attacked Ranaśūra, Vangāla-dēsa, where the rain-wind never stopped, *(and from which)* Gōvindhachandra fled, having descended *(from his)* male elephant,<sup>6</sup> elephants of rare strength and treasures of women, *(which he seized)* after having been pleased to put to flight on a hot battle-field Mahipāla, decked *(as he was)* with ear-rings, slippers and bracelets, Uttiralādam, as rich in pearls as the ocean, and the Gangā, whose waters dashed against bathing-places *(tirtha)* covered with sand,—

(L 12) Chāmundaṇṇai, the wife of the merchant Nannappaya, who resided *(at)* Malliyūr *(in)* Karaivali, *(a subdivision)* of Perumbānappādi, deposited twenty *kāṣus* for one perpetual lamp and ten *kāṣus* for offerings to the god of the Śrī-Kundavai-Jinālaya *(on)* the holy mountain (Tirumalai) of Vagavūr, a *pallachchandam* in Mugai-nādu, a subdivision *(vagai)* in the middle of Paṅgaḷa-nādu, *(a district)* of Jayangonda-Chōḷa-maṇḍala

<sup>1</sup> It seems most natural to take *padar* as a verb. It may also mean 'a road' or may be the nom. plur. of the Sanskrit *bhata*, 'a warrior'.

<sup>2</sup> This was perhaps done by the besieging Chōla army when setting fire to the city. Among the meanings of *śulṭi* the *Dictionnaire Tanouli-Français* notes the following:—'brouilles, menu bois sec pour brûler'.

<sup>3</sup> Other inscriptions read *nannayk-aram-aram*, 'whose fortifications were unapproachable'.

<sup>4</sup> It seems more simple to take the first member of *śundara-mudai* as an adjective, than to translate the compound by 'the crown of Sundara'.

<sup>5</sup> See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol II p. 95, note 1.

<sup>6</sup> Compare *paṇḍa-śūndar-śūndar*, *ibid.* Vol II p. 34, text line 7 f.

## No 32—MAMBALLI PLATE OF SRIVALLAVANGODAI, KOLLAM 149.

By T A GOPINATHA RAO, M A, MADRAS

The copper plate on which the subjoined inscription is engraved, belongs to the **Mamballī** bhandāratil of the Māmballī *matha* and was secured for me for publication by Mr S (Srinivanda) Pillai, High Court Vakil, Trevandrum. Besides this plate, there are five other odd plates belonging to the same *matha*, which bear fragments of inscriptions of the Kīlappérūr<sup>1</sup> dynasty of the Vēnādu kings. In one of them occurs the name Śrī-Vīra-Dēvadaian-Kēralavarman of Kīlappérūr<sup>2</sup>.

The plate measures  $10\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$  and has a hole on the left margin. It does not appear to have possessed a ring or seal. At the left end of the plate, the owner has engraved, in modern Malayālam characters, the word Māmballī. Excepting this single word and a few Grantha letters interspersed in the document, the inscription is written in the Vatteluttu alī habbet. The words *svastī* and *śrī* in line 1, the letter *śrī* occurring in the name Śrīvallavangōdai in lines 7, 18 and 19, *rakshā*<sup>3</sup> and *rakshā*<sup>4</sup> occurring in the words *rakshichchu* and *rakshābhū* in line 12 are in Grantha characters. The consonant *k* retains the earlier form, without a loop at the bottom, this form differs from the later ones which are scarcely distinguishable from the symbol for *ch*. The letter *pū* (of *pāṇḍu* in line 3), whilst it has the common form in all other instances, looks like the Grantha letter *hra*. The language of the inscription is Tamil, tinged here and there with the colloquialisms of the Malabar Coast e.g. *irundaruvu*=*ēdattu varichchu*, (= at the place where they were pleased to be seated), in line 5, *paṭṭāra-gakkolla* for *paṭṭāragarkkollā* (= belonging to the *bhaṭṭāraka*) in lines 6 and 12, *ar* for *arisi* (= rice) in line 9, *Murungayūr* for *Murungayūr* in line 21, *Sannaran* for *Sangaran* in line 22, *rakshichchu* for *rakshitū* in line 12. The phrase *nāpūlichcheydu* is contracted in the modern Malayālam language into *nāpalichche*.

This is the earliest known record dated in the Kollam era, and belongs to the reign of the Vēnādu king Śrīvallavangōdai.<sup>5</sup> It is dated in the 149th year of the Kollam era,

<sup>1</sup> [Kīlappérūr is annexed as the house-name of the Vēnād (Travancore) princes in later inscriptions (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV p 190). It is a village about 8 miles to the north-east of Āṅṅal, which is the hereditary domain of H H the Senior Rani of Travancore (Mr Nagamaj's *Travancore Manual*, Vol III p 579). The country round Āṅṅal seems to have been known as Kupaḍāśa in ancient times. The late Mr Sundaram Pillai was of opinion that Vēnādu and Kūpaḍāśa were two distinct principalities and that the latter was at some stage of its history annexed by the rulers of the former. The Vēnādu Kings are said to have assumed the family name Kīlappérūr after this annexation.—V Venkayya.]

<sup>2</sup> [This name occurs without the title *vīra* in a Vatteluttu inscription from Vīranam in the Travancore State. The late Professor Sundaram Pillai has called the king Kēralavarman II and assigned A.D. 1198 for his date (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIV p 283).—V V.]

<sup>3</sup> [In the name Śrīvallavangōdai *kōdai* was perhaps an epithet of the rulers of Vēnādu. The first part of the name, *vē* Śrīvallava (Śrīvallabha) may be that of the king to whom Vēnādu was feudatory. Such a combination of names is frequently met with in Tamil inscriptions. If the name Śrīvallavangōdai be a similar compound, Śrīvallava or Śrīvallabha might be the name of a Pāṇḍya king. The Pāṇḍya king, who probably reigned about this time, was Vīra-Pāṇḍya, with whom the Chōla Āḍitya II is said to have fought in his youth. Vīra Pāṇḍya himself claims to have taken "the head of the Chōla (king)", and a number of his inscriptions have been found at Suchindram in South Travancore. But we have at present no reason to suppose that he bore the name Śrīvallabha, although the designation was common enough among the Pāṇḍyas. On the other hand, the Singhalese chronicle *Mahāvamsa* refers to an invasion of Ceylon in the period A.D. 975-991 by Vallabha, the Chōla king (Mr. Wijesimha's *Translation*, Chapter LIV, p 85). It is, however, doubtful if the Chōlas were powerful enough to undertake an expedition against Ceylon at the time of which we are now speaking. And as the chronology of the Singhalese chronicle is not beyond question, we cannot suppose that the ruler of Travancore mentioned in the Māmballī plate was a Chōla feudatory. The history of the Chōlas is very little known. Consequently it is uncertain to which dynasty the Śrīvallabha, whose feudatory the Vēnādu ruler might have been in A.D. 973, belonged.—V V.]



on a Sunday corresponding to the *Āsvati*-*nakshatra* in the month *Vṛśchika* when the planet Jupiter stood in the constellation *Tulā*. Professor Kielhorn kindly contributes the following remarks on the date — "If the date were correctly recorded, it would correspond, for the year 149 of the Kollam era, to Sunday, the 9th November A.D. 973, which was the 15th day of the month of *Vṛśchika*, and on which [the 11th *tithi* of the bright half of *Mārgaśīra* ended 11 h 12 m, while] the *nakshatra* was *Rēvati* for 16 h 25 m, after mean sunrise, and *Āsvini* (*Āsvati*) for the rest of the day. On the same day Jupiter's mean longitude was  $191^{\circ} 44'$ , and his true longitude  $195^{\circ} 27'$ , i.e. in either case Jupiter was in the sign *Tulā*."

"The difficulty here is, that the day should have been described as the day of the *nakshatra* *Āsvini*, when this *nakshatra* only commenced 16 h 25 m after mean sunrise, and I have no doubt whatever that either *Āsvini* (*Āsvati*) has been quoted erroneously instead of *Rēvati*, or Sunday instead of Monday. If the week-day were Monday,<sup>1</sup> the date would regularly correspond to Monday, the 10th November A.D. 973, the 16th day of *Vṛśchika*, when the *nakshatra* was *Āsvini* (*Āsvati*) for 16 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise, and when Jupiter of course still was in the sign *Tulā*."

The inscription informs us that *Umayammai* of *Tirukkalayapuram*, daughter of *Ādichchan*, set up a *bhaṭṭāka* (image) in the temple at *Ayurūr*. The king *Śrīvallavangōdai* made a gift of land to *Umayammai* for the purpose of keeping up the services of the *bhaṭṭāka* set up in the *Ayurūr* temple, and she, in her turn, made over the subject matter of the gift to the *Tiruchchengunrūr* temple, in order that it might be placed under the management of the *Poduvāls* of that temple. From the produce of the land so given, the *Poduvāls* of the temple of *Tiruchchengunrūr* had to supply to the temple daily 4 *nāḷis* of rice for daily offerings and annually 200 *paraṇis* (of 9 *nāḷis* each) of paddy.<sup>2</sup> If the word *uḍar* used in l 18 was really meant to be used in the sense of 'of or belonging to,' the inscription would warrant us to draw the conclusion that *Umayammai* was a near relation of *Śrīvallavangōdai* — either mother or wife. It would then be more probable to consider her as his wife than as his mother, as the passage *Śrīvallavangōdaiy=uḍar Ādichchan=Umayammai* means *Ādichchan Umayammai belonging to Śrīvallavangōdai*. She might perhaps be the daughter of the *Chōḷa* king *Āḍitya II*,<sup>3</sup> to whose time this record belongs. If, on the other hand, *uḍar* be a mistake for *ṣar* then no sort of relationship need exist between the two.<sup>4</sup>

The inscription employs several peculiar terms which require some explanation each. The word *aṭṭupēru* (ll 8 and 19) implies 'acquisition by the pouring of water.' This mode of acquisition differs from others, such as purchase, etc.<sup>5</sup> The meaning of the expressions *kilidu* and *ṣavy=iḍu* is not definitely known. *Kil-iḍu* literally means 'that which is placed under,'<sup>6</sup> and *ṣavy=iḍu*, 'that which is placed in the middle.' A piece of land placed under the management of a person was perhaps called a *kilidu* with reference to that person. If this person sublet to a third party, the person subletting seems to be the *ṣavy=iḍan*, i.e. he is the middle man between the owner of the property and the sub-tenant. It is in this sense that the passages of the inscription, in which these terms occur have been translated. The name *poduvāl* was given to a class of people who were eligible for service in temples. It has now

<sup>1</sup> [According to the Editor's footnote 4 on p 236, the name of the week day is engraved over an erasure — F K.]

<sup>2</sup> [See below, p 238, note 3 — V V.]

<sup>3</sup> [The record may belong either to the reign of *Āḍitya II* or of his successor *Madhurāntaka*. If *Umayammai* was the daughter of the *Chōḷa* king *Āḍitya II*, it is difficult to understand why he is described as a native of *Tirukkalayapuram*. In all probability she was a private individual — V V.]

<sup>4</sup> [See below, p 238, note 10 — V. V.]

<sup>5</sup> [See below, p 237, note 12 — V. V.]

<sup>6</sup> [Compare Hultzsch, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX p. 292 — V V.]

become the name of a sub-caste among the Ambalavāsi section of the Malayāls. Then again, the word *ānilan* is explained variously as a trustee of an endowed temple, *magistrat de la ville*, or a patron or founder of a temple. I believe it is used here in the first two meanings. The term *ādihārī* occurs in the inscriptions of the Tamil and Malayālam countries, and is used in the sense of 'an officer in charge of a division,'<sup>1</sup> and it is in this sense the term is used in line 23 of the present record. The phrase *mukkūlvattam* implies, according to Dr. Gundert, a Bhagavati temple. If this be the sense in which it is employed in our inscription, then the *bhaṭṭāra* set up by Umayammai might be taken to be Bhagavati. But its literal meaning, 'the three-fourths of a *vattam* (encut or group of villages),' and the use of the *bhaṭṭāra* instead of *bhaṭṭāri* preclude the possibility of its being a Bhagavati temple in the present instance. How *mukkūlvattam* came to mean a Bhagavati temple is not known. The meaning of the expressions *Śīrūrnadai* and *Śīrūrnadai-ttaṇḍam* is not clear. Hence they have been tentatively translated as "the custom obtaining in small towns" and "the fine levied in accordance with the custom obtaining in small towns."

The places mentioned in this inscription are—Kollam, Tirukkallayapuram, Ayūrūr, Tiruchchengunūr, Idaiyāmanam, Murunnaiyūr, Manalmūku, Pupalūr and Kudagottūr. Of these Kollam, Ayūrūr and Tiruchchengunūr are the modern Quilon, Ayūrūr and Chengunūr<sup>2</sup> (the head-quarters of the tāluka of the same name) in North Travancore. Idaiyāmanam might be identified with Edaman, a station on the Maniyachi-Quilon branch of the South Indian Railway, and Punalūr is another station on the same line. I am not able to identify the rest.

### TEXT<sup>3</sup>

#### First Side

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Kollan=dōnri nūṭṭu-nāṭṭattonbadām=āndu Tul-
- 2 ttul Viyāla-nunṭa Munchuga āyūrū [Nāyū=ānda]<sup>4</sup>
- 3 Achehuvadi i-nna[||]āl Kollattu=p[pā]ngāvin kōyilul=uya-
- 4 nṭa kottulul Tiruchchengunūr=pparudai=pperu-makkal kūtta-
- 5 n=gūdi irundaruḷiy=edattu<sup>5</sup> vaichchu Tirukkallayapūatti=Ādichechan=  
Umayammai
- 6 Ayurūṭṭi=piradittai=śeyda pattāragarayum pattāragarkolla<sup>6</sup> pūmyum  
Ādi-
- 7 chechan=Umayammaikku [nī]rōd=atti-kkoduttān Vēṇād=udaiya Śrīvallavangōdai  
[||\*] Ādich-
- 8 chan=Umayammai tān=attipṭṭu kondadu Tiruchchengunūr=ppattāraga-
- 9 rkkū=kkil-īḍāy=chehiṭṭūr nadaiy=odu kūda nānāḷi=chechey[da]rū tiru-  
mudi-
- 10 nukkum [o]nbadu=pāli=pparayāl irunṭu paṇai=cheche[y]du nel āndu-
- 11 varai kuduppiḍāga=ppoluvāl kaiyyal nīrōd=atti-kkoduttāl [||\*] Ayūrūr  
mu-
- 12 kkāl vattamum pattāragarkolla<sup>7</sup> idaiy-īdum rakshichchu koduttu rakshā-  
pōgan=

<sup>1</sup> [The word *ādihārī* is also used in the sense of 'minister,' *South-Ind Inscr.* Vol II, p 92, and above Vol VII p 196.—V.]

<sup>2</sup> [According to Mr. Nagamaya the village is called Chengannur (*Travancore Manual*, Vol III p 681) and there is a large and famous pagoda dedicated to the goddess Bhagavati, in which there is celebrated annually a festival lasting for 28 days.—V.]

<sup>3</sup> From the original copper plate

<sup>5</sup> Read *irundaruḷiyay idattu*

<sup>7</sup> Read *pattāragarkuḷḷa*

<sup>4</sup> This portion is engraved over an erasure

<sup>6</sup> Read *pattāragarkuḷḷa*

First Side

2 4 6 8 10 12 14

Second Side

16 18 20 22 24 26

STEN KONOW

SCALE 0 80

W GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH



- 13 gollakkadaviyar poduvālmāi [||\*] i-ppariṣu ſeyda kil ittil ūrālaiāga i-  
 14 day-idaiāga pukku vīlakkavum porul kavavavum perār [||\*] <sup>1</sup>idā[nnāh]l-onju

## Second Side

- 15 ſeyyumavan <sup>2</sup>reppēru-vagai cheṇṇūr-nadai-ttandam irunūru-kkalaṅju  
 16 pon tанда-ppada-kkadaviyan [||\*] avanku<sup>3</sup> pēdu tāngumavanum i-ppari-  
 17 ſē tandappaduvidu [||\*] i-ppariṣu mēṇ-chollappatta Ayurū mukkā-  
 18 l-vattamum pattāragarkk=olla<sup>4</sup> iday-iduñ=Śrīvallavangōday=udai-  
 19 Âdichchan=Umayammai attu-ppēru kondadu [||\*] Śrīvallavangōday=u-  
 20 dan=irukka=Turuchchengunrūr=ppattāragarkku kil-idāga atṭiy-e-<sup>5</sup>  
 21 datt=ariyūñ=jādūkkal Muṇṇaiyūr-Tēvam=Bavittaran nānum=ari-  
 22 van [||\*] Idaiyāmanattu Śannaran=Gandan nānum=arivan [||\*] Manalmūkki[n]  
 23 Kandan=Dāmōdaran nānum=aṇivan [||\*] Vēnāttuṅku adigāiāñ=jeygi-  
 24 nṇa Punalūr(i) Iravi Parandavan nānum=aṇivan [||\*] Kudagōttūr=  
 Pparan-  
 25 davan=Gandan nānum=aṇivan [||\*] iravi Turuchchengunrūr=ppoduvā-  
 26 i Śāt[ta]ñ=Jadayan-eluttu [||\*]

## TRANSLATION

(Lines 1 to 7) Hail! Prosperity! In the year one hundred and forty-nine after Kollam appeared, on a Sunday corresponding<sup>6</sup> to the Aśchuvadi (*āśvati-nakṣatra*) in the month of Mīruchigam (Vriśchika), when Jupiter stood in Tula—while<sup>7</sup> the great men of the *parudai*<sup>8</sup> (assembly) of Turuchchengunrūr were pleased to be assembled<sup>9</sup> on this day in the high hall of the palace (situated) in the flower garden of Kollam, Śrīvallavangōdai, (the king) of Vēnādu gave, by the pouring of water, to Âdichchan=Umayammai of Tirukkalayapuram, the *baṭṭārakar*<sup>10</sup> set up by Âdichchan-Umayammai at Ayurūr, and the lands belonging to the *baṭṭārakar*.

(Ll 8 to 11) Âdichchan-Umayammai gave, as *kil-idu* to the *baṭṭārakar* of Turuchchengunrūr, by pouring water in the hands of the *poduvāi*,<sup>11</sup> what she acquired by gift,<sup>12</sup> so that (he)

<sup>1</sup> [The reading seems to be *id[ai] nāyil onru* If *nai* has to be taken as *nd* it would be quite different from the other *nds* which occur in the inscription and resemble the modern Tamil *nd*—V V]

<sup>2</sup> [The reading seems to be *vevēṇru*—V V]

<sup>3</sup> Read *avanukku*

<sup>4</sup> Read *pattāragarkkuḷla*

<sup>5</sup> Read *aṭṭiy-idattu*

<sup>6</sup> [The original has *Nāyir-ānda Aśchuvadi*, which would mean in Tamil 'the (*nakṣatra*) *Āśvini* (Āśvini) which was governed by Nāyiru (the Sun)' If then the week day be Sunday, *Nāyir-ānda* would correspond to the modern *Nāyirācha* and the word *dīcha* which Dr Gundert derives from the root *dīu* 'to sink' may, in that case, be derived from the root *dī* 'to rule'—V V]

<sup>7</sup> [The expression *idattu varichu* of the original seems to be used in the sense of the modern Malayālam *idattil vechu* which appears to be almost synonymous with the Tamil *idattil*—V V]

<sup>8</sup> [The word *parudai* occurs also in the form *parada* and is a *śabdha* of the Sanskrit *pariśat*—V V]

<sup>9</sup> [The original has "were assembled and were pleased to be seated"—V V]

<sup>10</sup> [It was evidently the image of the god that was made over to Âdichchan Umayammai, see below, p 238, note 10—V V]

<sup>11</sup> [According to Dr Gundert, *poduvāi* means "a class of half-Brahmans, temple servants" and *agappoduvāi* with *pūnūl* officiate as priests and administrators of temple property—V V]

<sup>12</sup> [*Āṭṭipēru* is evidently the same as *aṭṭipēru* which, according to Dr Gundert, means "complete purchase of a free h. l." Mr Nagamaya defines the term as 'the out and out surrender of the jenm's rights by sale (*Travancore Manual*, Vol III, p viii).—V V]

might supply, according to the rate current in small towns,<sup>1</sup> four *ndls* of rice<sup>2</sup> for (daily) offerings, and two hundred *para*s of paddy at nine *ndls* per *para*, annually<sup>3</sup>

(Ll 11 to 13) The *poduvils* shall protect the mukkal-vattam<sup>4</sup> of Ayurūr and the *idaiyidu* of the *bhaṭṭarakā*, and take (a fraction of the produce) as remuneration for the protection (afforded)<sup>5</sup>

(Ll 13 to 14) The *ūrilars* shall not enter as<sup>6</sup> *idaiyidars* in the *kiliḍu* (which is the subject of) this transaction,<sup>7</sup> and shall neither dismiss (the *kiliḍars*) nor collect the rent

(Ll 14 to 16) He that reduces this to a fourth<sup>8</sup> shall, consistently with the custom obtaining in small towns, be subject to the general fine of two hundred *kalaṇju* of gold<sup>9</sup>

(Ll 16 to 17) He that abets the former shall also be subject to a fine in the same way

(Ll 17 to 19) Both the *mukkalvattam* of Ayurūr and the *idaiyidu* belonging to the *bhaṭṭarakā*, mentioned above, are thus the acquisitions in gift of Ādicchan-Umayammai (of, or) related to Śrīvallavangōḍai<sup>10</sup>

(Ll 19 to 22) (The following are the signatures of) the *siddhus* who were present at the time when Ādicchan-Umayammai, while she was with Śrīvallavangōḍai, made this gift of

<sup>1</sup> [I take *chirār nadaiyōḍu kūda* as meaning "together with the shrine at Sīṟṟūr" *Nadai* (*nada*) is used for 'temple' in South Malabar according to Dr. Gundert, and there is a temple at Quilon called Gaṇapatiśāda meaning 'shrine or temple of Gaṇapati' — V. V.]

<sup>2</sup> [I would read in the original *chēvadu-ari* (l. 9) and *chēvadu nel* (l. 10) and take *chēvadu nel* as equivalent to *tennel* which occurs in the Ambāsamudram inscription of Varaguṇa Mahārāja (above, p. 90) and which according to Winslow means "superior kind of rice, of a yellowish hue — as *teṇḍal*" — V. V.]

<sup>3</sup> [As the dative *truvamuduvannikkum* is used and as the purpose for which the 200 *para*s of paddy had to be supplied is not stated, it looks as if the paddy was to be converted into rice and used for offerings. In this case, there is something wrong in the calculation here made. At the rate of four *ndls* of rice per day the quantity required for a year or 360 days comes to 1,440 *ndls* of rice or 160 *para* according to the equivalent of the *para* given in line 10. How 160 *para* of rice can be obtained from 200 *para* of paddy it is difficult to understand. According to the Tanjore inscriptions of Rājārāja I, 2½ times the quantity of paddy was required to obtain a given measure of rice, and 3 times the quantity according to the Ambāsamudram inscription of Varaguṇa-Mahārāja — V. V.]

<sup>4</sup> [The word *mukkalvattam* occurs in the Tirunelli plates of Bhāskara Ravivarman, where Professor Holtzsch has translated it by 'tempel' (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX p. 292). According to Dr. Gundert the term denotes in Travancore 'a temple of Konganūmār'. An inscription at Tiruvāliśvaram near Ambāsamudiam in the Tinnevely district mentions *Tirugurādāna* ('dahanam') *pānnina śivagandār tirumukkalvattam*, where *tirumukkalvattam* appears to mean 'the holy shrine' of the god Śiva (No. 120 of the A. A. Superintendent's collection for: 1905) — V. V.]

<sup>5</sup> [According to Dr. Gundert *rakeḍ-bhōgam* is synonymous with *rāja-bhōgam*, which denotes the ruler's share. From certain Tellicherry records (1796-1799) it appears that this share amounted to one fifth (of the revenue) — V. V.]

<sup>6</sup> [The word *aga* here translated 'as' occurs in a similar context in the Tirunelli plates of Bhāskara Ravivarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX p. 290, text line 17). It is apparently synonymous with the Tamil *avadu* or *aylun* and the Malayālam *agaḥ* — V. V.]

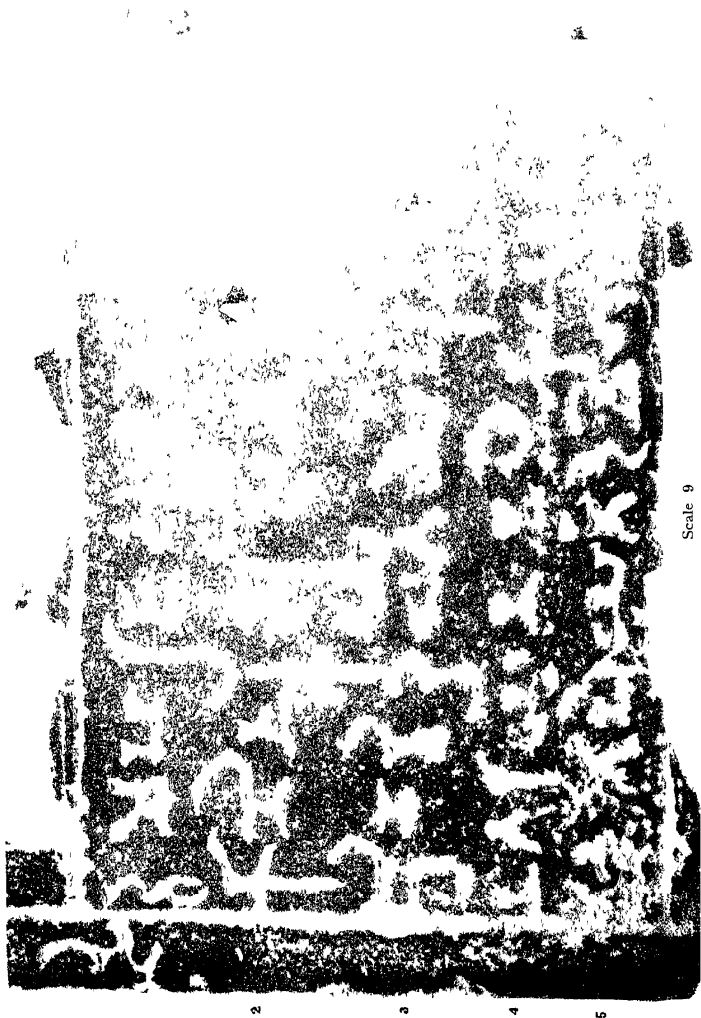
<sup>7</sup> [*Ippariṣu* means 'in this manner, thus'. I would translate the passage thus "Neither the *ūrilars* nor the *idaiyidars* shall be entitled to interfere and disturb the *kiliḍu* thus settled or to seize (any) property" — V. V.]

<sup>8</sup> *I.e.* he who contributes to the dwindling of this charity

<sup>9</sup> [I would translate the passage as follows "He who does any injury to this (contract) shall individually pay a fine of two hundred *kalaṇju* (to) the shrine at Sīṟṟūr" See notes 1 and 2 on p. 237 and note 1 above — V. V.]

<sup>10</sup> [Instead of *Ayurūrp-pradattai seyda pattḍarag* of line 6, we have here *Ayurūr mukkalvattam* which to a certain extent confirms the meaning 'shrine' of *mukkalvattam*. Instead of *pattḍaragarkkoḷla pāni* in line 6, we have here *pattḍaragarkkoḷla idaiyidu*, which denotes the interest which the Ayurūr shrine possessed in the land acquired by Ādicchan-Umayammai from Śrīvallavangōḍai. Consequently, the sentence repeats the statement made in lines 6 to 7 that Ādicchan-Umayammai had obtained the concession from Śrīvallavangōḍai. Accordingly, it seems to me that *Śrīvallavangōḍaiy-udai* at the end of l. 13 is a simple clerical mistake for *Śrīvallavangōḍaiy-idai*. If any such relationship as would be implied by the use of the word *udai* were intended, it would be more natural to expect it noted when Ādicchan-Umayammai is mentioned for the first time. Besides, it would be unusual for the mother or wife of Śrīvallavangōḍai to enter into a transaction of this nature with him. — V. V.]

British Museum inscription of Kanishka.



Scale 9

2

3

4

5





land as *vdayiḍu* to the *bhatṭāraka* of Tiruchchengunṇūr —<sup>1</sup> I, *Dēvam*-<sup>2</sup>*Pavittiraṇ* of *Murunnaiyūr*, also know,<sup>3</sup>

(L 22) I, *Sannaran Kandan* of *Idaiyāmanam*, also know,

(Ll 22 to 23) I, *Kandan Dāmōdaran* of *Manalmūḱku*, also know,

(Ll 23 to 24) I, *Iraṇi-Parandavan*<sup>4</sup> of *Punaiūr*, the *adṁkāru* of *Vēnādu*, also know,

(Ll 24 to 25) I, *Parandavan-Kandan* of *Kudagōttūr*, also know

(Ll 25 to 26) This is the writing of *Śāttan-Śadaiyaṇ*, the *poḍuvōl* of *Tiruchchengunṇūr*

### No 33 — THREE EARLY BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS

By PROFESSOR H LUDERS, PH D, ROSTOCK

#### I — BRITISH MUSEUM STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF KANISHKA

On the occasion of a visit to the British Museum in the autumn of 1906, I discovered in one of the cases of the Northern Gallery the stone bearing the subjoined inscription, which, as far as I know, has never been published before. At my request impressions were taken, from which I have prepared the transcript. Subsequently Dr Fleet kindly sent me the photograph of the stone reproduced in the accompanying plate

Nothing seems to be known about the origin of the stone, but the characters, the language and the date of the inscription prove that it comes from Northern India

The sculpture at the top of the stone represents a man and a woman sitting on a bench. The woman to the left, wearing a loin-cloth and a girdle and the usual ornaments round the neck, the wrists, the ankles and in the lobes of the ear, rests her left elbow on the knee of her left leg which she has placed on the top of the bench, and turns her laughing face to the spectator. The male person also is wearing a necklace, bracelets, ear-drops, and a *dhōti* covering the knees. He is sitting astride, and with the right hand he touches, or points to, a sort of stand placed between the two persons on the bench and bearing what would seem to be a cushion adorned by three small square marks and supporting some bell-shaped object. Right over the head of the man there appears something which at first sight looks almost like a club, but which in my opinion probably is the mutilated head of a cobra. As the stone is broken off immediately above the head of the female person, it is quite possible that her head also was overshadowed by a similar representation of a serpent's head, and it seems to me very probable therefore that the sculpture represents a Nāga and his wife.

The writing is Brāhmī of the earlier Kuchaṇa type. The subscript *ya* is expressed by the full sign, and the *sha* shows the old form with the small cross-bar. The language is the usual mixed dialect. The inscription, which is dated in the tenth year of mahārāja *dēvaputra* *Kanishka*, records the gift of a temple. Details will be discussed below.

<sup>1</sup> [In the original the name *Ādichchaṇ-Umaiyaṁmai* is not repeated as it is represented in the translation. It looks as if *Śrīvallavangōḍai* was seated with the members of the assembly of *Tiruchchengunṇūr* in the palace at Kollam (ll 4-5) while making the gift to *Ādichchaṇ Umaiyaṁmai*. Accordingly I would translate this sentence as follows:—“(The following are) the *śāddhū* who know (the transaction entered into) at the place at which (*Ādichchaṇ Umaiyaṁmai*)—while *Śrīvallavangōḍai* was sitting with (the assembly ?) — granted the *kūḷḍu* (of the land ?) to the lord (*bhatṭāraka*) of *Tiruchchengunṇūr*.” The same fact is referred to in lines 8 and 9 — V V.]

<sup>2</sup> [The name of the man was apparently *Dēvaṇ Pavittiraṇ* — V V.]

<sup>3</sup> [As the terms of this transaction and bear witness to the same]

<sup>4</sup> [*Parandavan* is apparently a *taddhava* of the Sanskrit *Paramāṇa* — V V.]

## TEXT.

- 1 Siddha[m]<sup>1</sup> maharājasya dēva[putiasya]<sup>2</sup>  
 2 Kāmishkasya savatsarē [10]<sup>3</sup>  
 3 grā 2 dī 9 ātāyē purvay[ā]<sup>4</sup>  
 4 [n]itarāyam<sup>5</sup> na[va]rākāyam<sup>6</sup> [h]ā-  
 5 [imya]n=[d]ata[n]<sup>7</sup> priyatām dēvi<sup>8</sup> grā[masya]<sup>9</sup>

## REMARKS

1 The *anusvāra* is indistinct because it is crossed by the line forming the base of the sculpture — 2 The reading of the bracketed characters is certain, though the surface of the stone has peeled off at the corner — 3 This figure also has suffered from the peeling off of the surface, but the reading is beyond doubt — 4 The *ā* is very indistinct, and the correct reading may possibly be *purvaya* or *purvayān* — 5 At first sight one might feel inclined to read *nitarāyam*, but the base-line of the first letter is quite straight, whereas *na* has a distinctly curved base. I feel therefore sure that what appears to be the continuation of the base-line to the left, is merely due to a flaw in the stone — 6 The two convergent side-lines of the *va* are not very distinct, just as in the same letter in line 3, and there appears a vertical in the middle which makes the letter look almost like *na*. But this line is far too thin to really form part of the letter and must be accidental — 7 The bracketed letters of these two words are more or less damaged, but the reading seems to be sure — 8 The *ā*-stroke is added to the top of the letter, whereas in *dē* in the first line it is added in the middle — 9 The last two letters are damaged, but only the *ya* can be said to be conjectural

## TRANSLATION

Success! In the year 10 of the *mahārāja dēvaputra* Kāmishka, in the second (month of) summer, on the ninth day,—on that (date specified as) above a temple was given in the northern *navamukhi* (?) May the goddess of the village be pleased!

## NOTES

The orthography of the inscription is very irregular, double consonants, long vowels and the *anusvāra* being frequently not expressed in writing. A long *ā* appears in the word *hārmya*. According to the *St. Petersburg Dictionary* the same form is found also in the *Taittīrīyār VI*, 6, 2 instead of the ordinary *harmya* occurring in the corresponding verse in *Aitharvay XVIII*, 4, 55. In *hārmyan=datam* the final *m* is converted into the nasal before the following *mnte*, which is rare in inscriptions in this dialect. Another instance is found in the concluding words of the Mathurā inscription, above Vol I p 386, No 8 *priyatām=bhaqavān=Rishabhasrīh*, which at the same time help us to understand the phrase found at the end of the present record *priyatām dēvi grāmasya*.

Of greater interest is the spelling of the king's name, *Kāmishka*, with a long vowel in the first syllable and a lingual *n*. With regard to the latter point, the seven Brāhmī inscriptions that have preserved the name are in perfect agreement<sup>1</sup>. In the Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions of Suś Vihār<sup>2</sup> and Zeda<sup>3</sup> the name is read as *Kamishka*, in that of Mamkyāla as *Kaneshka*,<sup>4</sup> but I am by no means sure whether in the two last mentioned inscriptions the readings *Kamishka* and

<sup>1</sup> Mathurā inscr of S 5, *Ind Ant* Vol XXXIII p 34 ff, No 4, Mathurā inscr of S 7, above Vol. I p 391, No 19, Mathurā inscr of S 9, *Pennia Or Journ* Vol I p 178, No 2, and *Ind Ant* Vol XXXIII p 37, No 6, Mathurā inscr, *Ind Ant* Vol XXXIII p 149, No 25, Sarnāth inscr of S 3, above Vol VIII p 176 No 3\*, Sarnāth inscr of S 3, above Vol. III p 179, No 3\*

<sup>2</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol X p 326

<sup>3</sup> *Journ As* Ser VIII Vol XV p 187

<sup>4</sup> *Journ As* Ser IX Vol VII p 8



E. Hultsch

Collotype by Gebr. Pfäffner

From a photograph supplied by Dr. Fleet.



*Kaneshka* would not be preferable. On the whole, contemporary records certainly are in favour of the spelling with the lingual *n*, and I would therefore propose to use *Kanishka* as the common form of the name. The spelling with the long vowel in the first syllable as in the present inscription is unusual, but it does not stand quite alone. In the Sârâth inscription, No 3<sup>a</sup>, the editor, it is true, reads *Kanishlasya*, but the photo-lithograph<sup>1</sup> distinctly shows *Kânishlasya*.

Turning to the special object of the inscription, we may infer from the concluding words that the temple was dedicated to a goddess, and the representation of the two Nâgas above the inscription makes it not unlikely, I think, that the goddess intended was a Nâgî. That during the Kushana period there existed temples for the worship of serpents in Northern India, is well attested by the two Mathurâ inscriptions<sup>2</sup> which mention the temple (*st[h]âna*) of the *nâgêndia* Dadhikarna and a servant at the temple of the same Dadhikarna (*Dadhikarîmadavikulika*).

The most difficult words of the inscription are *utariyam navamikâyam*. I have thought for some time that they might be part of the date and mean 'on the following (i.e. intercalated) month (lunar day)', but for two reasons this idea must be given up. Firstly, such a statement would be in the wrong place after *âyasya pûrvayê*, and secondly, as Professor Kidhoun informs me, *utariya* is never used in the sense of *adhika* or *dvitîya*<sup>3</sup>. The words must therefore be connected with *udriyam=datam*, and as a form ending in *-âyam* can hardly be anything else but the locative singular of a stem in *â*, *utariâ navamikâ* would seem to denote either the locality where the temple was erected or, possibly, the goddess to whom it was dedicated. However, these explanations are far from satisfactory. Neither has *navamikâ* the appearance of being the name of a locality, nor does *utariâ navamikâ* in the least sound like the name of a goddess or a Nâgî. I am at present unable to solve this difficulty.

## II.—MATHURÂ STONE INSCRIPTION, DATED SAMVAT 74.

This inscription is engraved on a stone-slab discovered by Sir Alexander Cunningham in the Jail Mound at Mathurâ. It was first edited in 1870, together with facsimiles, by Rajendralala Mitra in the *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX, Part I, p. 129, No. 15 and by Dowson in the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc. New Ser.* Vol. V, p. 183, No. 4. In 1873 Cunningham published it again with a facsimile in the *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III, p. 32, No. 8, and in 1904 I have treated it myself in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII, p. 106, No. 20. I edit it here again for a special reason. When I was in Oxford in 1905, Professor Hoernle kindly made over to me the collection of impressions, rubbings and drawings of inscriptions formed by him when preparing the second volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, which was to contain the 'Indo-Scythic' inscriptions. In this collection there is also the impression which I have used for the present edition. It cannot be said to be first rate and, as unfortunately most of the impressions of this collection, it has been tampered with in some places by pencilling out parts of letters that in the impression itself are more or less effaced. Nevertheless the impression is of the greatest value as shown by the following note written on the margin, probably by General Cunningham himself: 'The only impression now available—The stone has been lost at Agra.' Under these circumstances it seemed to me desirable to publish the accompanying reproduction of the impression, which in spite of its shortcomings naturally is far superior to the drawings published hitherto. Professor Hoernle's collection contains besides two facsimiles. The one is an eye-copy in red and blue pencil on a slightly reduced scale, made according to a marginal note by Captain Watts, Royal Engineers, the other is a pencil-tracing on transparent paper, perhaps made from the stone itself, but afterwards gone over with China ink, blue and red pencil, and practically of no value.

<sup>1</sup> [I have some weeks ago examined the original and the *â* is quite certain.—S. K.]

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 390, No. 18, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII, p. 102, No. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Professor Hultsch writes to me that he is never less inclined to connect *utariyam navamikâyam* with the date, but he would take *utariya* in the sense of *uchyamâna*, *upari-likhita*, 'above-mentioned.'

The inscription is divided by a blank space into two parts. The upper portion, containing eight lines, is complete with the exception of some letters at the end of the first two lines, which have disappeared by the breaking off of the right corner of the stone. Of the lower portion which in Dowson's and Cunningham's facsimiles has been omitted altogether, nothing is left but faint traces of some characters in the first line. The characters are Brahmi of the Kushana type. The *sha* appears in the older form with the small cross-bar, but the subscript *ya* shows the cursive form. The language is the mixed dialect. The inscription is dated in the year 74 of a mahārāja rā[jātrāja] devaputra whose name began with Vāsu, but owing to its fragmentary state its real purport cannot be made out.

## TEXT.

- 1 Mahārājasya<sup>1</sup> r[ā]<sup>2</sup> .<sup>3</sup>
- 2 sya devaputrasya Vāsu. . .<sup>3</sup>
- 3 savatsarī<sup>4</sup> 70<sup>5</sup> 4 vaisham[ā]<sup>6</sup>
- 4 śe prathamē divasē
- 5 tris[ā]<sup>7</sup> 30 asyam<sup>8</sup> purvayam<sup>9</sup>
- 6 Talakīya[ya]<sup>10</sup> mahādānda-
- 7 nāyasya<sup>11</sup> Vā-
- 8 lina[ya]<sup>12</sup> k[shā]<sup>13</sup>t[rā]<sup>14</sup> Mhi-
- 9 . . [mahādānda]<sup>15</sup>.

## REMARKS

1 The *ā*-stroke is distinctly visible in the impression, although it does not appear in Capt. Watts' eye-copy — 2 The *ā*-stroke is uncertain. Restore *rājātrāja* — 3 The *ā*-stroke is quite distinct though here again it is omitted in Capt. Watts' eye-copy. As regards the restoring of the line, I refer to the remarks below — 4 The *ā*-stroke, omitted in Capt. Watts' eye-copy, is quite distinct — 5 Owing to a flaw in the stone, a small portion of the lower left cross-bar of the symbol has disappeared. In the impression somebody has tried to restore the missing portion by adding in pencil a hook turning upwards, but there is nothing to warrant this restoration. There can be no doubt that the symbol had the shape of a plain St. Andrew's cross, just as in other inscriptions. The lower right cross-bar also has been pencilled over in the impression, but this is of no consequence as it is perfectly distinct. The meaning of the symbol will be discussed below — 6 The upper portion of the *m* and the *ā* are not quite distinct — 7 The *ś*-stroke is indistinct, and the *śa* has suffered from a hole in the paper — 8 The apparent curving of the tail of the *a* has been caused by pencilling. In Capt. Watts' eye-copy the tail is quite straight — 9 Above the *pu* there is a distinct stroke which must be accidental — 10 There are some strokes behind and below the *ta*, but they are not noticed in Capt. Watts' eye-copy and may be accidental. The *ś*-stroke is not very distinct, and the reading *Talakīyam* would be possible — 11 Capt. Watts expressly states that there are no traces of letters before the *nā* of line 7 and the *ā* of line 8. The *nā* has been pencilled over so as to look almost like *śā*, but there can be no doubt that it is *nā*, and as such it appears also in Capt. Watts' eye-copy — 12 The *ya* is damaged, but certain — 13 The *k* of the first and the *r* of the second syllable are damaged, but certain. The *ś* of *kshā* is very faint and not given in Capt. Watts' eye-copy. The last syllable may also be *trā* as in Capt. Watts' eye-copy — 14 Of this word only faint traces are visible in the impression, and the reading rests almost entirely on Capt. Watts' eye-copy. Instead of *da* Capt. Watts gives *dā*.

## TRANSLATION.

In the year 74 of the mahārāja rājātrāja devaputra Vāsu . . . , in the first month of the rainy season, on the thirtieth day, 30,—on that (date specified as) above, in the field (?) of the great general Vālina at Talakīya (or Talakī?) Mhi . . .

Mathura inscription of Samvat 74.







## NOTES.

The orthography shows the usual features. The lengthening of the vowel in *dāṇḍa* appears again in the same word in the Set-Mahet inscription, above Vol VIII, p 181, and we may further compare such forms as *āntāśvāsa* and *āntāśvāsiyā* in the Mathurā inscriptions, *Ep. Ind* Vol II p 198 f, Nos 1 and 4.

As regards the date, the first symbol of the date of the year requires a fuller consideration, as it has been differently interpreted. As already stated above, it has the shape of a St Andrew's cross. Cunningham<sup>1</sup> originally read it as 40, and he was followed by Dowson, who in editing the Mathurā inscriptions everywhere adopted Cunningham's readings of the dates.<sup>2</sup> In 1891 Buhler expressed his belief that the sign really represented 70,<sup>3</sup> and this opinion was endorsed in the following year by Cunningham in his paper on the coins of the Kushanas in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Ser III Vol XII p 50, note 6.

I accordingly read the symbol as 70 when I published the inscription in the *Indian Antiquary*, and I am still convinced that Buhler was right, but in order to settle this question definitely, it will be necessary to examine the other Northern Brāhmī inscriptions where the same sign occurs. They are the following seven, all of which come from Mathurā or its neighbourhood —

(1) Mathurā inscription of the time of *śvāmī mahāśakrāpa Śodāsa*, *Ep. Ind* Vol II p 199, No 2, and Plate. In the *Vienna Or Journ* Vol V p 177, Buhler read the symbol as 40, adding 70 in brackets. In the *Ep. Ind*, *loc cit*, Buhler again gave 40 in the text, but added in a note that the symbol might possibly be 70. And lastly in *Ep. Ind* Vol IV p 55, note 2, he stated that he would now remove the alternative reading 42, which he had thought admissible at first.

(2) Kāman inscription, *Ep. Ind* Vol. II. p 212, No. 42, and Plate. Here Buhler rendered the sign by 70 in the text, but added in a footnote that it might also be read as 40.

(3) Mathurā inscription, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol XXXIX. Part I. p 130, No. 17, and Plate, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc. New Ser.* Vol V p 183, No 5, and Plate, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol III p 33, No 11, and Plate. Cunningham and Dowson read the sign as 40, and I have followed them in *Ind. Ant.* Vol XXXIII p 102.

(4) Mathurā inscription, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol XXXIX. Part I p 127, No 1, and Plate, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc. New Ser.* Vol V p 182, No 1, and Plate, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol III p 33, No 12, and Plate. Cunningham and Dowson read the sign as 40, and I have adopted this reading in *Ind. Ant.* Vol XXXIII p 101, No 11.

(5) Mathurā inscription, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol XXXIX. Part I p 127, No 2, and Plate, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc. New Ser.* Vol V p 183, No 2, and Plate, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol III p 34, No. 13, and Plate. Cunningham and Dowson read the sign as 40, and I have followed them in *Ind. Ant.* Vol XXXIII, p 102, No 13.

(6) Mathurā inscription, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol XXXIX. Part I. p 130, No 18, and Plate. The facsimile is very poor. In the *Ind. Ant.* Vol XXXIII p 101, No 12, I have read the sign as 40, but I have pointed out also that the inscription is possibly identical with that referred to under No. 3.

(7) Mathurā inscription, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc. New Ser.* Vol V p 184, No 7, and Plate, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol III. p. 34, No. 14, and Plate. Cunningham and Dowson read the sign as 40.

<sup>1</sup> The absurd opinions of Rajendralala Mitra may be passed over in silence.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Cunningham's remarks, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc. New Ser.* Vol V p 194.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Ind* Vol I p 873, note 7.

It thus appears that the symbol has hitherto been treated sometimes as 40 and sometimes as 70, but it will be readily conceded, I think, that it is impossible to assign two different values to the same sign in inscriptions of the same locality and the same period. But before we can decide which of the two interpretations is the correct one, we shall have to examine also the other symbols supposed to represent either 40 or 70 in the early Brāhmī inscriptions of Northern India. The following inscriptions, which for convenience sake I number in continuation of the list given above, must be taken into consideration —

(8) Mathurā inscription of the time of *mahārāja* Huviksha, *Ep Ind* Vol I p 387, No 9, and Plate. The symbol resembles the ligature *pta* and was read by Bühler as 40.

(9) Mathurā inscription, *Ep Ind* Vol I p 387, No 10, and Plate. The general appearance of the symbol is the same as in No 8, but its lower part is not quite distinct in the photo lithograph. Bühler read the sign as 40.

(10) Mathurā inscription, *Arch Surv Rep* Vol III p 33, No 10, and Plate, *Ep Ind* Vol I p 396, No 30, and Plate. The symbol generally has the same form as that in No 8, but its lower part is a little more cursive. Cunningham and Bühler read it as 40.

(11) Mathurā inscription of the time of *mahārāja* Huvishka, *Arch Surv Rep* Vol III p 34, No 15, and Plate. The symbol is the same as in No 8. Cunningham read it as 40, and I have followed him in my treatment of the record in the *Ind Ant* Vol XXXIII p 103, No 14.

(12) Mathurā inscription, *Ep Ind* Vol II p 204, No 20, and Plate, p 321, and Plate. The upper part of the symbol is the same as in Nos 8—11, but its lower part is a distinct loop. Bühler read the sign as 70.

(13) Mathurā inscription, *Ep Ind*, Vol I p 387, No 11, and Plate. As Bühler expressly states in a footnote that the symbol is a plain *pta*, it may have been so in the impression before him. In the photo-lithograph, however, it does not bear the slightest resemblance to that sign, but looks exactly like the letter *bra*. Bühler read the symbol as 40.

(14) Sāichū inscription of the time of *mahārāja rājātūāja* *dēvaputra* Shāhi Vāsashka, *Ep Ind* Vol II p 369 f, and Plate. The symbol found here has quite a peculiar shape. Provided that the vertical standing behind it does not belong to it, but is part of the following sign for 8, it resembles the usual sign for 20. As such it was read also at first by Bühler, but at Cunningham's suggestion he afterwards took it to be 70. The reading of the sign was then discussed at length by Dr Fleet in a paper in the *Journ Roy As Soc* 1903, p 326 ff, and he came to the conclusion that it was 20. But later on, when Mr Vincent Smith in his *Early History of India*, p 238, had suggested that the symbol might be read as 60, Dr Fleet admitted the possibility of this interpretation, see *Journ Roy As Soc* 1905, p 357<sup>1</sup>.

Leaving aside for the present the symbols found in the last three inscriptions, it appears that there are two symbols, the St. Andrew's cross and the *pta*, one of which must represent 70 and the other 40. Now in the inscription which forms the subject of this paper the St. Andrew's cross cannot represent 40, as in that case the inscription would be dated in the year 44 in the reign of a king whose name begins with Vāsa, whereas we know that from 33–60 Huvishka was the reigning monarch in this part of the country. Here, therefore, the St. Andrew's cross must represent 70, and we must accordingly assign the same value to the symbol also in the inscriptions enumerated above under Nos. 1–7. We thus get the dates S. 72 for No. 1, S. 74 for

<sup>1</sup> Another sign that originally was read 40 by Bühler, is found in the Mathurā inscription of the time of *mahārāja rājātūāja* *dēvaputra* Huvashka, *Ep Ind* Vol I p 386, No 8, and Plate. Later on Bühler declared that on further consideration he read the symbol as 60, and as such it has been treated since then everywhere; see *Ep Ind*, Vol. II, p 204, note 61.

No 2, and S 77 for Nos 3-7. The inscriptions themselves contain nothing to contradict this result. No 4, it is true, mentions the *mahārāja vīśatīrāja dāraputra* Huvishka, but not in connection with the date, the inscription simply recording a gift to the *vihāra* of that king. As to the date S. 72 for the *mahāvīśatīrāja* Solasa, I refer to the remarks of Dr Fleet in the *Journ Roy As Soc* 1907, p 1024 ff.

If the St Andrew's cross represents 70, the sign resembling *pta* must be 40. The inscription No 8, therefore, would be dated in S. 44, No 9 in S. 45, No 10 in S. 47, and No 11 in S. 48, which is in accordance with the statements of Nos. 8 and 11 that their dates fall into the reign of Huvishka or Huvishka.

The symbol occurring in No. 12 undoubtedly differs from either of the two symbols found in Nos. 1-11, but whereas it bears no resemblance whatever to the cross-shaped sign, it is easily intelligible as a cursive development of the *pta* sign<sup>1</sup>. In my opinion therefore this sign also must be taken as 40, and the inscription as being dated in S. 49, not S. 79. There is another point in favour of this interpretation. The inscription records a gift made at the request of the venerable Vridhahastin (*Vṛddhabastin*), a preacher in the *Kottiya* (*Kottiyā*) *gana*, the *Vaṇṇa* (*Vaṇṇi*) *sikhā*. There is another Mathurā inscription dated in S. 60,<sup>2</sup> recording a gift made at the request of the *gana*, the venerable Khamma, a pupil of this same Vridhahastin. If Vridhahastin in S. 60 had a pupil who had acquired the dignity of *gana*, he must have been a man advanced in years at that time, and although, of course, it is not impossible that he was still alive in S. 79, it would certainly seem more natural to find him as a spiritual adviser in S. 49 and his pupil in the same capacity eleven years later on, in S. 60.

Little can be said about the symbol occurring in No. 13. The form appearing in the photograph is quite peculiar and unlike any other symbol in the inscriptions from Mathurā or elsewhere, but in accordance with Bühler's statement, it may be provisionally taken as 40.

As regards the symbol in No. 14, I agree with Dr Fleet that there is no reason whatever why it should be 70, as even the sign in No. 12, which Bühler cited in support of this interpretation, is to be read not 70, but 40. On the other hand, I feel sure that it is not 20. I have lately received through Dr Konow impressions of an inscription running round the base of a pillar preserved in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription, which is in Brāhmī characters of the Kushana type, is partly worn, but the date is quite distinct. Now the sign for the tens in the date of the year is the same as that in the Sāśhi inscription, showing again the vertical, which is thus proved to be an integral part of it and not to belong to the following sign. And although unfortunately the text of the inscription contains nothing that would enable us to form a positive opinion on the value of the symbol, we may safely assert that it cannot be 20, as we find this number expressed by the usual sign in the date of the day. Lastly also the proposal to treat the symbol as 60 cannot be said to be convincing, the sign that has hitherto been read as 60 in the inscriptions of the Kushana period<sup>3</sup> certainly being entirely different. I do not want to offer a new hypothesis. In my opinion we shall have to wait for fresh materials before we can hope to arrive at a satisfactory result in this question. In how far the restoring of the king's name in our inscription of S. 74 is influenced by this uncertainty, will be shown below.

I know that the results arrived at above are partly not in harmony with those deduced from the coins of the Western Kshatrapas. The numeral signs occurring in the legends of those coins are given in table IX, col. V, of Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie* from Professor Rapson's table in

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the symbol found in No. 9 forms the intermediate stage between the *pta* and the looped sign. As I have stated above, its lower part is not quite distinct in the photograph, but it does not seem to me impossible that here also it consists not of the usual fork, but of a loop, though a much smaller one than in No. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep Ind Vol I* p. 386, No. 8, and Plate.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep Ind Vol I* p. 386, No. 8, and Plate, Vol. II p. 204, No. 19, and Plate, *Arch. Surv. Rep Vol. XX*, p. 87, and Plate V, fig. 6.

the *Journ Roy As Soc* 1890, Plate to p 6-9 Here the St Andrew's cross has been entered as 40, and a sign much resembling the *pta* and another looped sign almost exactly like that of No 12 as 70 I do not wish to throw any doubts on the correctness of these readings, but I content that for such questions inscriptions must be treated separately according to time and locality

[Rajendralala Mitra, Dowson and Cunningham agreed in restoring the name of the king as *Vāsudēvaśāśya*] When I edited the inscription from the facsimiles published by my predecessors I drew attention to the circumstance that the available space is hardly sufficient for the three *aśāśyaśāśya*, and I proposed to restore the name as *Vāsushkasya*, as this name of the king seemed to be attested by two other inscriptions of S 76 and S 78,<sup>1</sup> whereas the first undoubted record of Vāsudēva's reign was dated in S 80 What I said about the difficulty of supplying three syllables is confirmed by the impression now before me, although owing to the frequent irregularity of the writing in these inscriptions it is impossible to speak on this point with absolute certainty But the evidence for the existence of a king Vāsushka in S 76 and S 78 is not so strong as it seemed to be formerly As I have tried to show above, the date of the Sāñchi inscription mentioning a king Vāśahka<sup>2</sup> is quite uncertain, and the Mathurā inscription mentioned by Führer as being dated in S 76 and recording repairs in the reign of Vāsushka has not yet been published As Dr Konow informs me, it cannot even be found now, Führer's trenches having been filled up again a long time ago and the exact spot where the inscription was found being no more known Under these circumstances a decision is of course impossible for the present If Führer's statement after all should prove correct, I should unhesitatingly restore *Vāśu* to *Vāsushkasya*, otherwise the reading *Vāsudēvasya* will have to be accepted.

The rest of the inscription calls for few remarks *Talakiya* or *Talaki* seems to be the name of a locality, but I am unable to identify it The title *mahādandanīyaka* is frequent in the inscriptions of the Gupta period and later times In the Kushana inscriptions it has not yet been found before, but the subordinate title of *dandanīyaka* occurs in the Manikyāla inscription,<sup>3</sup> where the correct reading in 1 2 is, not *Laladada-nayago*, but *Lala-dadanayago*

### III—MATHURĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF ŚONDĀSA.

This inscription was first published, together with a facsimile, in 1870 by Professor Dowson in the *Journ Roy As Soc* New Ser Vol V p 188, No 29 In 1873 it was published again with a facsimile by Cunningham in the *Arch Surv Rep* Vol III p 30, No 1 And in 1904 I have tried to edit the text from those two facsimiles in the *Ind Ant* Vol XXXIII p 149, No 24 For the present edition of the record I have made use of an impression found in Professor Hoernle's collection described above

Cunningham states that the stone bearing the inscription was found in the Jail Mound at Mathurā. According to Dowson, it has been cut through and the first part of it has been carried off On the other hand, the facsimiles distinctly showed that something was missing at the right end, and thus I was led to suppose that the stone was damaged on both sides This, however, is not the case Nothing is missing at the beginning of the writing on the left, and on the right also only one letter has been cut off at the end of the first two lines With this exception the inscription is in an excellent state of preservation

<sup>1</sup> Mathurā inscription of S 76, mentioned by Führer, *Progress Report* for 1895-96, Sāñchi inscription of S 78, edited by Bühler, *Ep Ind* Vol II p 369 f

<sup>2</sup> This is the reading suggested by Dr Fleet, *Journ Roy As Soc* 1903, p 326, but he is himself inclined to look upon this form as a mere variant of Vāsushka, if the existence of such a name should be proved, see *Journ. Roy As Soc* 1905, p 357 f

<sup>3</sup> *Journ. As Ser.* IX. Vol VII p 8 f

The characters are of the so-called archaic type of the Mathurā inscriptions, see especially the letters *da*, *śa* and *śha*, and the subscript *ya*. The language is the mixed dialect. The inscription is not dated. It records various gifts of a Brahman of the Śāgrava (*Sargrava*) *gōtra*, the treasurer of *śvāmīn mahākshatrapa* Śondāsa. For details I refer to the remarks below.

## TEXT.

1 Svāmīsyā mahākshatrapasya Śondāsasya<sup>1</sup> gamjavarēna brāhmaṇēna Śāgrava-sagōtrēna [p]<sup>2</sup>

2 raṇi imāśhām yamada-pushkaraninam paśchamā pushkaranī udapānō āramō<sup>3</sup> stambhō<sup>1</sup>

3 [śilā]pattō<sup>4</sup> cha-

## REMARKS.

1 As to the reading of this name see the remarks below.—2 Little is left of the *pa*, but the reading is certain. Restore *pushka*.—3 The outlines of the letters *ni udapānō āramō* are more or less touched up with pencil, but the reading is perfectly certain.—4 The reading *śilā* is certain, although the letters are entirely spoiled by being gone over with pencil.

## TRANSLATION

By the treasurer of the lord, the *mahākshatrapa* Śondāsa, a Brāhmaṇa of the Śāgrava (*Sargrava*) *gōtra*, a tank, the western tank of these twin tanks, a reservoir, a grove, a pillar and this stone-slab (*was caused to be made*)

## NOTES

As regards the language, the most interesting form is *imāśhām*. Apparently in the dialect of Mathurā the genitives plur. of the pronoun were, as in Pāli, *imēsaṃ* and *imāsaṃ*, and the author of the inscription translated the latter form into *imāśhām* as he was wont to render *imēsaṃ* by *imāśhām*. The nominative sing. masc. of the same pronoun is found at the end of line 2, but unfortunately nothing is left of it but the initial *i*. The word *pushkaranī* shows in the third syllable the vocalisation of the Pāli *poṭṭhakarani*. *Yamaḍa* corresponds to Skt *yamala* or *yamala*, as the word would be written in Southern manuscripts. The construction of the inscription is rather peculiar, the verb or participle on which the instrumentals *brāhmaṇēna*, etc., depend, being omitted.

The first point to command attention is the name of the *mahākshatrapa*, which is generally supposed to be Śondāsa. In the present inscription there is a distinct sign above the *so*. It must have been found also in the impressions used by Dowson and Cunningham, as the former reads *Śāndāsasya* (for *Śāmdāsasya*) and the latter *Sauḍāsasya* (for *Sauḍāsasya*), although the facsimiles show no trace whatever of *anusvāra* or *au*. The sign cannot be the stroke denoting *au*, as it does not touch the upper line of the *so*, but is separated from it by a distinct blank space. It can only be an *anusvāra* of the same bulky shape as that in *gamjavarēna* and in *pushkaraninām*.

The form Śondāsa has not yet been recognised anywhere else. In the second Brāhmī inscription at Mathurā mentioning this *mahākshatrapa*<sup>1</sup> Bühler read *Soḍāsasa*, but the photograph by no means excludes the reading *Śomḍāsasa*. Right above the *so* there is a white spot scarcely less distinct than that above the *ma* of *hēmatāmadēs* which Bühler read as *anusvāra*. In the Mathurā lion-capital inscription<sup>2</sup> Mr Thomas reads the name as *Suḍasa* and *Suḍasa*, and with regard to coins, Professor Rapson has stated in the *Journ. Roy. Asiatic Soc.* 1903, p. 289, note 3, that whenever the name is legible, the first *akṣhara* seems to be *śo*, and that the alternative forms *śu*<sup>o</sup> and *śau*<sup>o</sup>, given by Bhagvanlal and Cunningham respectively, cannot be

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 109, No. 2

<sup>2</sup> *Adobe*, Vol. IX. pp. 143, 144.

certainly read on any of the specimens of the British Museum. But even if a re-examination should prove the readings *Sodāsa* and *Suḍāsa* to be correct, this would not invalidate the reading of the present inscription. Everybody familiar with the records of this period knows how often an *anusvāra* is omitted in writing, and that on that account the reading *Somḍāsa*, even if found once only, carries more weight than the reading *Sodāsa* occurring ten times. In my opinion therefore *Somḍāsa* must be accepted as the general form of the name.

Scarcely less interesting is the designation of the donor. Dowson and Cunningham read *gaṇavaiśna*, and Buhler, *Vienne Or Journ* Vol V p 177, proposed to alter the unintelligible syllables *gaya* into *rajā*, 'during the reign'. The new reading *gaṇavaiśna* shows that *gaṇavaiśna*, 'treasurer,' which hitherto was known only from the *Rajataranī* V, 177 and Kshēmaśāstra, *Lāṭiprakāśa*, was an official title in India already in much earlier times. As recognised by Benfey,<sup>1</sup> *gaṇavaiśna* is the Persian *ganvār*, and the use of this title is a new proof of the strong Parthian influence that made itself felt in Northern India from the time of Aśoka to the beginning of the Gupta empire.<sup>2</sup>

The donor calls himself by his *gōtṛa* name Śāgrava, which in correct Sanskrit would be Śaigra. According to the *Gṛapīṭha* the Śaigra *gōtṛa* is referred to by Pāṇini in II, 4, 67 and IV, 1, 104. I have also no doubt that Professor Kern is right in identifying *Śaigra* with Pāli *Siggava*,<sup>3</sup> the name of the patriarch who conferred the *upāsampadā* ordination on the great Tissa Moggalliputta.<sup>4</sup>

No 34.—PATHARI PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF PARABALA,  
[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 917

By THE LATE PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, CIE, GÖTTINGEN<sup>5</sup>

Pathari in Long 78° 15' and Lat 23° 56', is the chief town of the Native State of the same name in the Bhopāl Agency of Central India.<sup>6</sup> Its antiquities were first described, in 1814, by Captain J. D. Cunningham, in the *Journal As Soc Bengal*, Vol XVII, Part I, p 305 ff. After stating that the locality of which he is treating includes two good-sized reservoirs or *tals*, and that the present town of Pathari and the smaller lake are distinguished by a single pillar and a solitary temple, Captain Cunningham on page 310 proceeds thus — 'Near to the western end of the smaller lake stands the wand or pillar, now called of Bheem Sen. It is composed of a single block about 36 feet in height and 2½ thick. The shaft is square in section for a height of 8 feet, and it then becomes circular. On one side of the square portion of the shaft there is a long inscription, much obliterated, and of which I failed to make even a tolerable impression.'

The pillar and its inscription were again noticed in 1880, by General Sir A. Cunningham, in his *Archaeol. Survey of India*, Vol X, p 70, thus — 'Inside the town, on the top of the slope, there is a tall monolith with a bell-shaped capital. The shaft is circular, rising from a base 8 feet

<sup>1</sup> See the *St. Petersburg Dictionary* s. v.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1903, p 289 ff., Professor Rapson has described a coin that shows a general similarity to those of *Somḍāsa*. With the exception of the last three *akṣaras* the inscription is not quite certain. Professor Rapson reads *brāhmanā[na] ga(?)da ra(?)tha(?) na*. Would it be too bold to conjecture that the *brāhmana* mentioned here may have some connection with the *brāhmana* Śaigra, the *gaṇavaiśna* of *Somḍāsa*, and that the reading must be altered accordingly?

<sup>3</sup> *Geschiedenis van het Buddhisme in Indie*, Vol II p 266.

<sup>4</sup> See *Dīpaṇ* V, 57, 69, etc.

<sup>5</sup> [The proofs of this and all subsequent papers by the late Professor Kielhorn have been read by me.—S. K.]

<sup>6</sup> Constable's *Hand Atlas of India*, Plate 27 D.

3 inches high and 2 feet 9 inches square. On the northern face there is a long inscription of 38 lines of small letters. It opens with an invocation to Lakshmi-Nariyana,<sup>1</sup> but the greater part of the record is so much worn as to be quite illegible. Many of the letters here and there are in good order, and from their shapes I would assign the monument to somewhere about A D 600. Close by this pillar there is a small temple, with Vishnu sitting on Garuda over the door-way.

In October 1894 I received from Professor Hultzsch two impressions of the inscription, prepared by Mr H Cousens, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, and an excellent photograph<sup>2</sup> of it, taken by the same gentleman, was given to me two or three years afterwards by Dr Fleet. From these materials I have already published a short account of the contents of the inscription and the tentative text of nine verses of it, in the *Nachrichten der K. Ges. der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* for 1901, Part I, p 519 ff. A repeated examination of the same materials now enables me to place before the reader, with some confidence, by far the greater part of this record, which, though troublesome to read, is not so illegible as it may have seemed to be on the original stone.

The inscription contains 38 lines of writing which covers a space of about 2 feet broad by 2 feet 7 inches high. It has certainly suffered greatly from exposure to the weather, especially in the middle and at the end of the lines all the way down, and for nearly the whole length of the last seven lines. But fortunately<sup>3</sup> all proper names of importance may be read with absolute certainty, at any rate all those that occur in lines 1—31, and the same remark applies to the date of the inscription at the end of line 31. The size of the letters is about  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch in the topmost lines, but less in the lower part down to line 31, while it is somewhat larger again in lines 32—38. The inscription was written and engraved with great care and skill. The characters belong to the northern alphabet such as, speaking generally, we find it in the Gwalior inscription of the reign of Bhôjadêva of the [Vikrama] year 943, published with a facsimile in *Ep. Ind.* Vol I p 159 f. With our present knowledge of Indian epigraphy, we should assign them at once to about the 9th century A D. They include the rare sign for *jh*, which has not come out well either in the impressions or in the photograph, in the word *jhaiti* towards the end of line 15. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. The text is remarkably correct, and in respect of orthography the only points worth noticing here are that the sign for *v* is used for both *v* and *b*, and that the words *aimesa* and *dhvamesa* are written *ans* and *dhvansa*, in lines 2 and 8.

The inscription consists of two parts. The first (and chief) part comprises lines 1—31, the second lines 32—38. This second part appears to be really a separate inscription, added by way of a postscript, which may record the installation of an image of Vishnu, but the exact purpose of which, owing to the damaged condition of lines 32—38, I have not been able to ascertain. What I may state with confidence is that, after the words *ôm namah* at the commencement of line 32, there are five verses, two in the Sragdharâ metre, one in the Vasantatilakâ metre, one in the Upajâtî metre, and the fifth perhaps in the same metre. So far as I can judge, the first and probably the second of these five verses contain some historical information, and it would therefore seem desirable to have a cast taken of this part of the inscription, which would enable one to decipher more of the text than I have succeeded in making out from the impressions and the photograph.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The first verse of the inscription commences with the words *Lakshmi-nramdhrapina*, which were apparently misread as *Lakshmi-Nariyana*.

<sup>2</sup> The accompanying facsimile has been prepared under the superintendence of Prof. Hultzsch from Mr Cousens' photograph. A facsimile of the impressions would have been quite useless.

<sup>3</sup> Exposed as the pillar has been to all the effects of the Indian climate for more than a thousand years it seems wonderful that of these small letters, which were not deeply engraved, many should have been preserved so well as we find them to be.

<sup>4</sup> I am sanguine enough to hope that it will indeed some day be possible to make out the names which are hidden now in the second part of our inscription. It will then perhaps also be found that this part likewise ends with a date in the 9th century of the Vikrama era, of which in my opinion there are traces in the second half of line 38.

The first part (lines 1—31) also commences with *Om namah* and ends with a date which will be given below. Between the two there are 32 verses, the text of more than two-thirds of which may be given with perfect certainty, while there is no doubt about the general meaning of any of the rest. The verses form a *prastāva*, the main object of which is to record (in verses 25 and 26) that the king Parabala of some Rāshtrakūṭa family founded a temple of Śaṇu (Haṇi, Vishnu), before which he erected the Garuḍa-crested pillar on which the inscription is engraved. The *prastāva* opens with four verses which invoke the protection of, and glorify, the god Vishnu, under the names of Murāri, Kṛṣṇa and Haṇi. It then (in verses 5—7) relates that formerly there was a king Jējja, under whom 'this Rāshtrakūṭa *vamśa*' was flourishing, and whose (unnamed) elder brother, after defeating thousands of Kārṇāṭa soldiers with their arrays of elephants, obtained the Lāṭa kingdom. Jējja's son was Karkarāja (v 11), who put to flight<sup>1</sup> the king Nāgavalōka and invaded his home (vv 14 and 15). And Karkarāja's son was Parabala, represented as ruling the land when the inscription was composed (V 18). The rest records that the pillar was actually set up by the king's chief minister, whose name is not clear in the impressions, and that the *prastāva* was composed by Harsha (v 29) and engraved by the *sūtradhāra* Sāhila (v 31), while the last verse 32 contains the usual prayer that the king's pious work and his fame may endure for ever. — The date at the end of line 31 is *śamvat 917 Chaitra-śukla 6 Śukrā, va* "Friday, the 6th of the bright half of Chaitra of the year 917". In this date the numeral figures for the year are particularly clear, and cannot be read in any other way. The figure for 9 is the same as *e g* in line 6 of the Dēḡgadh pillar inscription of the time of Bhōjadēva of the [Vikrama] year 919 (*Archaeol Surv of India*, Vol X, Plate xxxiii 2), and in line 22 of the Garmha plate of Jayādityadēva II of the [Vikrama] year 927 (*Journ As Soc. Beng* Vol LXX Part I Plate 1). The date must of course be referred to the Vikrama era. It is one of the earliest dates of that era which admit of exact verification and corresponds regularly, for the expired *Kārttikāśī* Vikrama year 917, to Friday, the 21st March A.D. 861, when the 6th *tithi* of the bright half of Chaitra ended 16 h 44 m after mean sunrise.

The *prastāva* will, I think, be admitted to contain some rather pretty verses<sup>2</sup>. Its author, so far as I can judge, was well acquainted, amongst other poetical works, with Māgha's *Susupāla vadha*, and in the composition of at least one verse he undoubtedly drew his inspiration from that poem<sup>3</sup>. I refer to verse 16, which may be compared with *Śis* XIX 52. The former is —

*Śakalīkṛta-sarvāṅgā nānābharanabhūṣitāḥ |*  
*drīṣyanti ripavō yasya nānābharanabhūṣitāḥ ||*

"With their limbs all cut to pieces (and thus)<sup>4</sup> decorated with manifold ornaments (*ābharana*), his enemies are seen to abide on various battle-fields (*raṇa-bhū*)"

And Māgha's verse is —

*Śastravranamaya-śrīmāḍ-alamkaranabhūṣitāḥ |*  
*dadṛśē śnyō Rāvanavad-alamkaranabhūṣitāḥ ||*

"Decorated with glorious ornaments (*alamkaraṇa*) which consisted in the wounds inflicted by weapons, another looked like Rāvaṇa, though abiding on a battle-field (*raṇa-bhū*) that was not connected with Lankā."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The original apparently mentions the place where Nāgavalōka was put to flight, but the name of it cannot be read with confidence. See verse 14 and the translation of it below.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *e g* verses 13, 15, 20 and 30.

<sup>3</sup> The *prastāva* somewhat pointedly ends with the word *śrīmatt*, which, in the case of an author who had studied the *Śṛyāṅka mahākāvya* does not seem to me to be without significance.

<sup>4</sup> Compare the following note.

<sup>5</sup> Mallinātha explains *sarvāṅgāṇa-rahita-śatātēna Ravana bhūḍyam Lankāśambhaṇḍa-virahitāḥ vyatirika ity-arthah | upamā vyatirika-gamakāṇām samkaraḥ |*



Here we not merely have, at the end of each half verse, the synonymous words *dhāraṇa-bhāṣita* and *alambharanabhāṣita*, either of them similarly used in a double meaning, but we also find a form of the same verb (*drśyante* and *dadṛśe*) in exactly the same position in both verses. At the same time the manner in which the verse of the *Sūyādāvāḍha* commences, clearly shows how we ought to interpret the first half of Harsha's verse the ornaments with which the enemies were decorated consisted in the wounds inflicted on them when their limbs were cut to pieces. I am aware that what I have pointed out here is not of any great value now, because we have lately learnt from another inscription that Māgha lived long before the middle of the 9th century A D

Among the contents of the *prastāva* there are three points of particular interest. The first obviously is, that the inscription is one — the only one hitherto discovered — of a Rāshtrakūṭa king Parabala, for whom it furnishes a date in A D 861. The second point is, that Parabala's father Karkarāja defeated, and invaded the territory of, a king Nāgāvalōka. And to these may be added the statement that an unnamed elder brother of Karkarāja's father Jājja, after defeating certain Karnāṭas, took possession of the Lāṭa kingdom.

As regards the first point, we knew indeed from the very earliest Sanskrit inscription brought to the notice of European scholars — the Mungur plate of Dēvapāla<sup>1</sup> translated by Sir Charles Wilkins in 1781 — that the Pala king Dharmapāla married 'Ranpādēvi, a daughter of the glorious Parabala, the ornament of the Rāshtrakūṭa family,' but as the name Parabala could not be traced in any subsequent inscription, scholars conjectured that it was a *virūḍa* of one of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Malkhēd, perhaps of Gōvīndarāja III or Amōghavarsha I, according to the notions which they had formed regarding the time of Dharmapāla. Now there can not remain any reasonable doubt that the Rāshtrakūṭa Parabala of our Pathari inscription is identical with the Parabala of the Mungur plate, a daughter of whom was married by Dharmapāla. But it does not follow that Dharmapāla's reign must therefore be taken to have commenced so late as the middle of the 9th century. Many Indian kings have had unusually long reigns, and at present we know nothing about the length of Parabala's reign, while all that we know for certain in this respect regarding Dharmapāla is that he reigned for at least 32 years. The zeal and activity displayed by the officials of the Archaeological Survey in the search for epigraphical documents encourage us to hope that before long we shall be in possession of materials that will definitely fix both the exact time of Dharmapāla's reign and the chronology of events generally which took place in Northern India during the 8th and 9th centuries.

The king Nāgāvalōka<sup>2</sup> who was defeated by Parabala's father Karkarāja seems to have been a ruler of some importance. I have no doubt that he is identical with that Nāgāvalōka who is mentioned in verse 13 of the Harsha inscription of Vīgraharāja,<sup>3</sup> in terms which would imply that he was the overlord, and who certainly was a contemporary, of the Chāhamāna Gūṭvaka I of Śākambhari, whom in my Synchronistic Table for Northern India I have roughly placed at the commencement of the 9th century. There has lately been discovered a copper-plate inscription of a Chāhamāna *Mahādāmanidādhvapa*, which records a grant that was made at Bhṛgu-kachchha in the increasing reign of victory of the glorious Nāgāvalōka, and which apparently is dated in the [Vikrama] year 813 (corresponding to about A D 756).<sup>4</sup> I owe a photograph of it to the kindness of Mr Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha, but would wait for impressions before expressing an opinion regarding its genuineness and value.

<sup>1</sup> See *As. Res.* Vol. I. p. 138, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI p. 253.

<sup>2</sup> I need hardly point out that this name looks like the well-known *virūḍas* ending in *valōka* of certain Rāshtrakūṭa kings (*Khadgvalōka*, *Vikramvalōka*, etc.).

<sup>3</sup> See above Vol. II. p. 121, line 12 of the text, where the actual reading of the original is *śrīman-Nāgāvalōka-pravaranyapa*.

<sup>4</sup> If the grant is genuine, the donation recorded in it was probably made on the 28th October A.D. 756.

Nor can I say anything definite at present regarding the conquest of the Lāta kingdom by the elder brother of Parabala's grandfather Jējja. The known names of chiefs connected with Lāta from about the middle of the 8th century and the available dates will be found above, Vol VIII App II p 4. It will be seen there that we have no date, and know little about Lāta, between A.D. 757 and A.D. 812, which is just the period in which, judging from the date of the present inscription, we should have to place Jējja and his elder brother.

In the text which follows I have indicated by marks of interrogation all passages about which I am myself doubtful, and have left blanks where I could have put in only a purely conjectural reading. Others may be able to supply what is wanting or to find the correct readings where I have failed to do so. I know that I have shunned no trouble and may perhaps be permitted to say—

Harshēna nūnam rachitā prāsastir=  
vidhēr=vasāśd=aśma-talē vīlīnā |  
prakāsīt=ēyam pramadāch=chhramēṇa  
satām mudam samtatam-ātānōtu ||

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Om<sup>2</sup> namah || <sup>3</sup>Lakshmi-nīramdhrapīna[sta]nakalāśa-la[sa]t-pallavā Vritra-śatrōs=  
ttalōkyasvāmya-dīkshāvidhu-varaguravō=[r]i-
- 2 shtanāśa-prachandāh | dōrdandāh Kēśikēsāgraha-ruchiraru[tā]ghushta  
h[?]marānsadāśā<sup>4</sup> Daityēbha-sthūlakumbha[stha]-
- 3 ladalana-d[ri]ghāh pāmtu vas-tō Murā-rēh ||[1\*] <sup>5</sup>Vā(bā)lārkkā[chochhav]i-  
chakrav[āka]vimala-vyāl[ā]hat-āvēśhitah<sup>6</sup> karna[ā]lamvi(mba)ta kumdalā<sup>7</sup>  
jaladhara-
- 4 chochhēdāvadāta-chochhavih | satkārītasvarakūta-nirggata iva snigdhēndranilōpala-  
stambhah<sup>8</sup> skandhaga-pedmarāgayugalah Krishnō=stu
- 5 vah śrēyasā ||[2\*] <sup>9</sup>Tribhuvanabhavana-stambhō nabhasalāmbhōdhi-satur=agha-  
dahana | vra(bra)hmāmdamanda(dā)lāmvi(bu)jadanda-ruchir-ijayati<sup>10</sup> Ha-
- 6 ri-charana ||[3\*] <sup>11</sup>Ahimakarachakra-kualayavilasatkamal-ālayah sa-dāna[vakā]yah |  
jalāndhir=iva Harir=avatāt=purāna-purushō=pi yah sadā nava-kā-
- 7 yah<sup>12</sup> ||[4\*] <sup>13</sup>Rāj=āśid=varachakrālāmcchita-karō lakshmi-sanāthah purā dṛiptāri-  
prava(ba)lavishat-pramathanas=ch-ā[dhā]ra-bhūtō bhuvah | vā(bā)hūdasta-  
mahidharō [nara]-
- 8 ka-hā tūmgadvipadhvasakrit=<sup>14</sup>Kamsārātu-samō=py=akrishnatānubhrich=chhri-Jējja  
āryyah stu[tā]h ||[5\*] <sup>15</sup>[Ra]mya-prasūt=achchhudas=tūmgah  
prithur=akamtakah | śri-Rāshtra[kū]-
- 9 ṭa-vamśō=yam sampiddhō yattra bhūbhṛti ||[6\*] <sup>16</sup>Jitvā [vikata]karighatā-  
pra[bhuta]ra-Karṇāśabhaśasahasrā[ṇi] | [prithu?] L[ā]ṭ-ākhyaṃ rāshtram  
lavdham(bdham) yasy=āgrajen=ājau ||[7\*] <sup>17</sup>[Vana]-

<sup>1</sup> From impressions and a photograph supplied by Mr Cousens

<sup>2</sup> Metre Śragdharā

<sup>4</sup> Read <sup>5</sup>śrānsadāśā

<sup>2</sup> Denoted by a symbol

<sup>5</sup> Metre. Śārdūlavikṛitā.

<sup>6</sup> Compare Śārngvishā-phaṃkavāṇhika, above Vol II p 4, v 22

<sup>7</sup> Originally -kumdalō seems to have been engraved.

<sup>8</sup> Compare Śitupdāvadha III 11

<sup>9</sup> Metre Āryā

<sup>10</sup> Originally -ruchir= was engraved.—Compare above Vol I p 40, verse 2 vra(bra)hmāmdamanda-lamāḍipalanda-lām vi(bi)bhṛat.

<sup>11</sup> Metre Āryāgiti.

<sup>12</sup> Compare Śitupdāvadha XIV 70: navaś budhā yam purāna-purusham prachakshat

<sup>13</sup> Metre Śārdūlavikṛitā

<sup>14</sup> Read <sup>15</sup>śasahasakrit=

<sup>16</sup> Metre. Śloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>17</sup> Metre: Āryā.

<sup>18</sup> Metre Mālinī.

- 10 mahisham-asahyam vājunō lōla-nēttā madagalita-kapōlā dantīnah sūham=  
ngram | [jvalitapavana?] -kirnā vaur-viśāh Kṛitāntam raua-sīrasī yam-ēkam  
mōnirē naika-rūpam || [8\*]
- 11 <sup>1</sup>Eko=p-itas=tata kurvvann-arātā-[ku]lam-ākulam | chāruchāmīkar-ōpē[tō n]ilā-  
rūpam vi(bi)bhā[ritā] yah ||[9\*] <sup>2</sup>[Prāpt-ōchobhrayā?] ~ ~ ~ ~ ~  
prakampā[n]-mukt-āl[bi]h svamahuma-pratūpādanāya | [dāsī?]nta[rāny-n]-  
12 pagatā vikalā dāsū yasya dhvajā iva sadā ripa[vō] bhramanti ||[10\*]  
Tasy-ātmapō ripuva(ba)l-[ā]nta ~ ~ ~ ~ h<sup>3</sup> sri-Karṅkarāja itī  
samayati lavdha(bdha)-kittih | P[ārth-āgran?]i-  
13 r-iva va(ba)bhūva<sup>4</sup> nirasta-salyō duśāsana-riva(ba)la-sāsana-bhīmasā[na]h ||  
[11\*] <sup>5</sup>Vī[kshipta?] -[vai?]m- . . . ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ nā | ya[t-ka]rēna  
ranāmbhōdhi-mathanē<sup>6</sup> Mandarāyitam ||[12\*] <sup>7</sup>Vidhvasta[vai]-  
14 riva[nitā]-nayanapranāli-samsakta-kajjalayutāsrujala-pra[vāhai]h | sēshichyamānam=api  
chandramarīchi-[hām] sphitam va(ba)bhūva [nann] yasya yasō-tichitram ||[13\*]  
<sup>8</sup>Durvārārāt-mattadvī[rada]-  
15 ghanaghatāḍpasanghatta-chandē samgrāmō [hrishta-yō]dhē [tura]gakhurajās-  
ohanna-dikchakrav[ālā] | [valga?]t-pādhvaj[āla]h kshatarudhī[rasa]ritprājya-  
sāmanta-chakrē chakrē Nāgavalōkam [jha]tī<sup>9</sup>  
16 lav[a]nē<sup>10</sup> yaḥ parāvṛitta-mūrtim ||[14\*] <sup>11</sup>Durvārāvaurivaravācana-  
kumbha[mukta]-muktāphalapra[kara]-nirmaladantamālā | Nāgavalōkanripa-  
[vėsma]ni viprakṛtēnē yasy-ōddhatam prahasat-iva kripāna-p[ālā] ||[15\*]  
17 <sup>12</sup>Sakalikṛita-sarvvāṅgā nānābhavanabhūshitāh | drīsyantē rīpavō yasya  
nānābharapabhūshitāh [16\*] <sup>13</sup>Yasy-ōtpalachchavī[mu]śā s[v]ajal-ōnnatēnā<sup>14</sup>  
khadgēna tungstara-bhū[mibhri]-  
18 [tām] sū[rassu] | dhārānīpāta-janītar-asṛjām<sup>15</sup> pravāhair-yuddhē  
mahāpralaya[kālā?]ghaua-[pratitih] <sup>16</sup>||[17\*] <sup>17</sup>Ahimakara iv-ādya tyakta-  
dōshānushamgō humakara iva jā[tā]h  
19 sūddha-mūrtih kalāvān | parava(ba)ladalan-ōgrō=nugra-chakshuh pratāpi  
Parava(ba)la itī puttras-tasya [sāst]=īha bhū[mim] ||[18\*]  
<sup>18</sup>[Tyaktvā?]māyām-adambhāñ=cha sakta-kārttasvarāh sadā | bhuñ[jatē] sri<sup>19</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh)

<sup>2</sup> Metre of verses 10 and 11. Vasantatilakā

<sup>3</sup> The original possibly has 'lōntaka' *eva mūrtih*

<sup>4</sup> Originally *vibhāsa* or *vibhāsa* was engraved

<sup>5</sup> Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh) — I am unable to restore the first half of this verse with any confidence, but the meaning probably is that the king's hand in battle took away fortune from his adversary Compare *Gupta Inscr* p 203, l 7

<sup>6</sup> Originally *raṇmābhōdhi* was engraved

<sup>7</sup> Metre Vasantatilakā. — Compare *Śivapūṣṭavādhā* XV 80

<sup>8</sup> Metre Sragdhara

<sup>9</sup> The *akshara* which is missing here I am unable to restore with confidence

<sup>10</sup> Of these three *aksharas* the first and the last seem to be certain, and the second is either *va* or *ev*

<sup>11</sup> Metre Vasantatilakā

<sup>12</sup> Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh) See above, p 250

<sup>13</sup> Metre - Vasantatilakā.

<sup>14</sup> The water of the sword-blade (*andhārd-jala*, *khadgādhārd-payas*, *khadgādhārdmāsa*) is often spoken of by poets, compare *eg Khidānt*, pp 84 and 183, and above Vol II, p 307, v 21

<sup>15</sup> The plural of *asṛj* is similarly used in *Śivapūṣṭavādhā* xvii, 55 (*asṛjāḥ*)

<sup>16</sup> I have little doubt that this is the correct reading; in the original a medial *s* was originally engraved before the *akshara* which I read as *gra*, but it has clearly been struck out

<sup>17</sup> Metre Mālini.

<sup>18</sup> Metre. Ślōka (Anushtubh).

<sup>19</sup> This word, being repeated at the commencement of the next line, is superfluous here. *Śrīphala* is used in the double sense of 'the fruit of his prosperity' and 'Bilva fruit.'

(V 18) Now his son Parabala rules here the land, he who has discarded addiction to sin and is therefore like the sun which has severed its connection with the night, who is born of pure body and is versed in all arts, and is therefore like the moon when she has risen with a bright form and with all her digits, who, terrible in cutting up the forces of adversaries, is gentle-looking, and full of prowess

(V 24) At the head of battle the fortune of royalty—her garland of pearls covered with the blood streaming from the temples of elephants that were split by the round-pointed shafts of her strong bow drawn with a twang of the string, and with rows of arrows resting on her creeper-like arms—conquered for him *pāṇḍhava* banners

(V 25) He caused to be built this temple of Śaṇi,<sup>1</sup> resembling the peak of the mountain of snow, the white flag on the bright top of which bears the lustre of the river of the gods

(V 26) And like the pillar which was formerly (erected?) on the mountain of Garudadhva(<sup>2</sup>),<sup>3</sup> exactly so was this large Garuda-bannered pillar caused to be erected by that king before (the temple of) Hari<sup>4</sup>

(V 27) Repeatedly deliberating whether this is Vishnu's foot making three strides, or the body of Sthān<sup>5</sup> shaped like a post, or (the serpent) Śēsha pulled out of a hole in the ground by the enemy of the serpent-king,<sup>6</sup> the gods on viewing it find out that it is a pillar of pure stone proclaiming the fame of king Parabala

(V 28) His prime minister was [Ksh<sup>7</sup>]i . . . , administrator of all laws, bright like gold and true of speech, to be saluted with (bowing of) the head by king Parabala. He set up before (the temple of) the destroyer<sup>8</sup> of Madhu this Garuda-marked pillar, which with its stone arm raised aloft defies all ages—a pillar of him who has paralyzed his foes<sup>9</sup>

(Lane 31) The year 917, Friday, the 6th of the bright half of Chaitra.

#### NO. 35 — ANMAKONDA INSCRIPTION OF PROLA,

The Chalukya-Vikrama year Forty-Two

By H KRISHNA SASTRI, B A

On a hillock to the south of Hanumkondā<sup>7</sup> (Anmakonda) near Warangal in the Nizam's State, stands the small temple of Padmākṣi which, unlike other buildings attributable to the Kākatiya period,<sup>8</sup> is devoid of any architectural pretensions. The rock close to which the temple stands, bears on a portion of its dressed surface, sculptures of

<sup>1</sup> I.e. Vishnu

<sup>2</sup> I am not sure about the meaning of these words, the text of which is doubtful in the original *Garuda dhvayddri* might be equivalent to *Krishnagiri*

<sup>3</sup> I.e. Siva

<sup>4</sup> These words clearly indicate that there was a figure of Garuda on the top of the pillar

<sup>5</sup> I.e. Vishnu

<sup>6</sup> In my opinion, this might refer either to the king or to the god Vishnu

<sup>7</sup> This is the form given in Mr Cousens' *Lists of Antiquarian Remains in H H the Nizam's Territories*, p. 46

<sup>8</sup> The thousand-pillared temple in the middle of the village of Anmakonda was built by Prōla's son Rndra in or about A.D. 1162-68 (*Ind Ant* Vol XI p. 9 f.) and contains some excellently sculptured door posts. The four gateways which now stand in the open air at Warangal might have belonged to the palace of the Kākatiya kings at that place (*Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1901-2, p. 4). Mr Cousens, however, thinks that the gateways must have belonged to a great temple in the centre of Warangal (*Lists of Antiquarian Remains in H H the*

some **Jaina** images seated in a row. In front of the temple is an inscribed quadrangular pillar of black granite bearing in relief within a countersunk square, at the top of each of its four faces, the figure of a squatting Jaina ascetic with his arms folded over his lap crosswise. On the east face of the pillar this figure is flanked by a cow and calf on one side and a dagger and shield (?) on the other. The north face of the pillar bears representations of the sun and moon on the right and left sides, respectively, of the squatting Jaina figure. From these sculptures and from the inscription on the pillar, which is published below, it appears that the Padmakshi temple was originally dedicated to the Jaina goddess **Kadalalāya** and that the pillar was set up there by the lady who built the *basadi* (Jaina temple). At present the Brāhmanas of Anmakonda, who have somehow got possession of the temple, worship the goddess in it under the name Padmakshi, which they believe to be synonymous with Durgā.<sup>2</sup> It is not clear how or when the ownership of the temple passed from the Jainas to the Brāhmanas.

Anmakonda, or, as it is called in the subjoined inscription, Anmakundā (l 16) or Ammakunde (l 75), was originally the capital of the Kākatiya kings and was situated in the **Andhra** country.<sup>3</sup> The neighbouring town of Warangal (Ōrumgallu in Telugu or **Īkasiṇāgara** in Sanskrit) became the seat of government about the end of Ganapati's reign and continued as such until the collapse of the Kākatiya family.<sup>4</sup> Anmakonda and Warangal are now stations

*Nizam's Territories*, p 47) The temples near the Rāmappā Lake in the Warangal district are (*ibid* p 49) of the same type as the great temple at Hanumakondā, but more profusely sculptured. The principal temple of this group appears to have been built in A D 1213-14 by Rudra of Recharla, who was a dependant of the Kākatiya king Ganapati. The village Upapalle in the Yelgandal district, is also reported to contain some ruined temples attributable to the Kākatiya period (*ibid* p 74). The *vimāna* of the Tripurantakēśvara temple at Tripurantakam in the Kurnool district was constructed in A D 1254-55 under the orders of the Kākatiya king Ganapati (Epigraphical collection for 1905, No 169). The Padmakshi temple at Anmakonda is the earliest known structural monument of the Kākatiya period and this may account for its being plain and devoid of the display of art which is quite characteristic of the later structures of the dynasty.

<sup>1</sup> Jaina remains are mostly to be seen in the western portion of the Nizam's Dominions, which borders on the Bombay Presidency. Anmakonda is almost on the eastern border; see the map accompanying Mr Cousens' *Lists of Antiquarian Remains in H. H. the Nizam's Territories*.

<sup>2</sup> *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1901-2, paragraph 7. The goddess Padmakshi to whom the temple is dedicated must be one of the twenty-four *Śasana-devīs* of the Jaina mythology. Ambā or Ambikā, the *Śasana-devī* of the 22nd Tithankara Neminātha, is supposed to be a form of Durgā. Padmavati was the *Śasana-devī* of Pārśvanātha (Dr Burgess' *Archaeol Surv of Western India*, Vol V p 45 f and p 46, note 2). It might, therefore, be supposed that the goddess consecrated by Mallama in the *basadi* at Anmakonda was either Ambikā or Padmavati—called, in Kanarese, Kadalalāya, the meaning of which I have not been able to trace.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol III, p 82, and footnote 4.

<sup>4</sup> The Ganapēśvaram inscription of the time of Ganapati states (v 9) that Rudra, son of Prola, destroyed many towns and founded quarters named after these towns in the city of Ōrumgallu and peopled them with their respective inhabitants, while in the devastated towns he built celebrated temples of Rudrēśvara and settled fresh inhabitants. If there be any truth in this statement, it may be inferred that Warangal, which was already in existence as an important city (see l 95 of the subjoined inscription also), was greatly improved by Rudra. Recharla Rudra, a general of Ganapati (see above, p 256, note 3) is said to have put to flight king Nāgati and founded the temple of Rudrēśvara at the city of Ōrugallu (Warangal)—perhaps after his own name Ōrumgallu or Ōrugallu, which was thus improved by the Kākatiya king Rudra, appears to have occupied only a subordinate position in the time of Prola. Rudra and Ganapati, while Anmakonda was the capital. No 278 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905-06 which belongs to the time of Rudra and is dated in Śaka-Samvat 1107, Viśvāvasu (= A D 1185-89) states that the *mahāmāndaliśvara* Kākatiya Rudradēva-Mahārāja was "the lord of Anmakonda, the best of towns." Nos 195 and 223 of the same collection belong to Ganapati and are both dated in Śaka-Samvat 1174, Paridhavin (= A D 1252-53). The former refers to Ganapati as "the lord of Anmakonda, the best of towns." In Śaka-Samvat 1175 Ganapati still called himself the lord of Anmakonda (Mr Butterworth's *Nellore Inscriptions*, O 28). But N° 231 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905, dated in Śaka-Samvat 1176, Ananda, distinctly states that Ganapati was ruling with Ōrugallu as his capital. Whether his successor Rudramadēvi (or, as she is called in inscriptions, Rudradēva-Mahārāja) reigned from the newly established capital Warangal or not, it is difficult to say. Her successor Pratāparudra ruled over almost the whole of the Telugu country and portions even of the Tamil country from his throne at Ōrugallu. He is generally known as Ōrugapati Pratāparudra, i.e. Pratāparudradēva of Ōrugallu.

on the Hyderabad-Beryada section of the Nizam's State Railway and seem to have been included about the beginning of the twelfth century A D in the district of Sabbi-sāyina 'the Sabbi one thousand,' which formed part of the Western Chālukya empire, and to have been conferred by Tribhuvanamalla-Vikramāditya VI on his feudatory the Kākatiya chief Tribhuvanamalla-Bēta<sup>1</sup> Sabbi-sāyina is not mentioned in other published records and, consequently, its extent cannot be defined until more lithic records from that part of the Nizam's Dommons are published<sup>2</sup>

The subjoined inscription<sup>3</sup> engraved on the four faces of the pillar above referred to, is written in bold and clear Kanarese characters of the twelfth century A D. The written surface measures roughly in breadth 1' 3½" on the east and west faces and 1' 2½" on the north and south faces, while in height it is 3' 6", 3' 5½", 3' 7", and 3' 3¼" respectively, on the east, north, west and south faces. The sculptures which the four faces of the pillar bear have been noted already. Verse 1, which contains the invocation, and the imprecatory verses (11 and 12) are in the Sanskrit language. Lines 89 to 91 contain an incomplete Sanskrit verse which is evidently meant to be a quotation. The rest of the inscription is in Kanarese prose (ll 6 to 24, 70 to 88, 91 to 93, and 111 and 112) and poetry (verses 2 to 10). The writing calls for very few remarks. The *anusvāra* is sometimes, as in ancient records, written at the top of the right side of the letter (ll 1, 3, and 4), and sometimes, as at present, written on the right side of the letter (ll 86, 98, 100 and 102). The *vīrāma* occurs once in ll 62 where it is marked by a wavy vertical line added to the top of the letter. The *ē*-sign, which is almost similar in form to the *vīrāma*, is also attached to the top of the letter, but is horizontal. In ll 40 and 55, however, the *e* of *de* in the word *perggade* and *ē* of *yē* in the word *hridayasvart*, are marked differently by a curved line attached to the left bottom corner of the letter and drawn horizontally to its right. In other cases this sign along with the *ē*-sign first described, marks the *ai*-sign. An attempt is made to distinguish the long *i* from the short *i* but it is not throughout kept up. Among consonants it may be noted, that the length of the horizontal stroke in the middle, which in the case of *pa* ought to be shorter than in that of *sha*, is in some instances lengthened so far as to make *pa* look almost like *sha*. The forms *kramā*<sup>o</sup> for *kramā*<sup>o</sup> in ll 20 and *yējā*<sup>o</sup> for *yājā*<sup>o</sup> in ll 103 are due to the peculiarities of Kanarese pronunciation.

The record begins with an invocation addressed to the feet of Jinendra (v 1) and refers in ll 6 to 24 to the reign of the *mahādājādihirāja, paramēśvara* and *paramabhaṭṭāraka*, the [Western] Chālukya king Tribhuvanamalla-deva [Vikramāditya VI] and his feudatory the *mahāmanḍalēśvara* Kākati Bēta (l 19), who had acquired the five great sounds (*pañcamahāśabda*) and who was 'the lord of Anmakundā (l 16), the best of towns'. The hereditary minister of Kākati Bētarasa (l 30) was the *dandādhipādītha* Varja (v 2). Verse 3 states that Varja brought his master the *maṇḍalika* Kākati Bēta (ll 32 and 37) to the feet of the Chālukya (l 33) emperor<sup>4</sup> (*chakrin*) (*viz* Vikramāditya VI) and made him rule the district of

<sup>1</sup> See verse 3 below.

<sup>2</sup> Sabbi or Chiebbi thūrya, a small district over which the Western Ganga king Pañchaladeva was ruling in A D 971, and which took its name from the village of Chabbi or Chhabbi in the Hubli taluka of the Dharwar district (Dr Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties*, p 307) seems to be different from the Sabbi-sāyina district which was ruled by the Kākatiya chief Bēta.

<sup>3</sup> No 106 of the Epigraphical collection for 1902. Mr Cousens refers to this as No 4 of the inscriptions at Hanumakonda and Warangal (*Lists of Antiquarian Remains in H. H. the Nizam's Territories*, p 48).

<sup>4</sup> In footnote 7 on p 91 of Vol VI above, Professor Lüders questions the propriety of the title *chakrin* (*chakravartin*) as applied to Vikramāditya VI, in an inscription at Sravana-Belgola, dated in Śaka Samvat 1081. He presumes that the title *chakrin* is based on the analogy of the epithets *sarvaśāchakravartin*, *pratyachakravartin* and *Chālukya-chakravartin* assumed respectively by three of Vikramāditya's successors, *viz* Sōmēśvara III, Jagadkammalla II and Taila III. The title *Chālukya chakrin* applied to Vikramāditya VI in the subjoined inscription leaves no doubt that this imperial *śrīrāja* originated with him,

Sabbi-sāyina (l 34 f) as a feudatory of that monarch. According to verses 4 and 5 Vajra's son by Yākamabbe (l 38 f) was the *pergade* Bēta, who became the minister of Kākatī Prōla (l 43). The only act of this Bēta which the inscription records, is that he constructed ten houses for gods (i.e. temples) in his native village (v 5). The wife of this minister Bēta—the son of Yākamāmbikā (l 53 f)—was Mailama (vv 6, 7 and 8). Lines 70 to 87 state that she built the Kadalālāya-basadi on the top of the hill (v 9) and that—in the Chālukya-Vikrama (l 76) year forty-two, which corresponded to the cyclic year Hēmalamba, on the occasion of the Uttarāyana-samkrānti, which fell on Monday, the 15th day of the dark half of Pausya, while the king Kākatīya Polalarasa (l 73), son of the *mandalika* Tribhuvanamalla (l 72) was ruling at Ammakunde (l 75),—she gave for the benefit of that temple six *matṭar* (l 86) of land below the tank built and named after herself, by her husband Bētana-pergade (l 81).<sup>1</sup> The pillar that bears the inscription was also set up by Mailama on the same occasion (l 87). Lines 88 to 99 register a gift of ten *matṭar* (l 98 f) of land to the same temple by the *mahāmandalāsvara* Mēlarasa of Ugravādi (ll 92 to 94), a member of the family of Mādha[va]varman (l 91) 'who possessed a fabulous army' of eight thousand elephants, ten crores of horses and numberless foot-soldiers'. The land which Mēlarasa granted was situated below the Kūchikere tank, which belonged to Ōumgallu (l 95). This town was under the control of Mēlarasa at the time of the grant. Lines 111 to 112 record the assignment of a *pāga* (*hāga*) coin to the temple sweeper Bōya-Padda, to be paid, apparently from the proceeds of either of the two grants mentioned above.

The late Professor Kielhorn kindly contributed the following remarks on the date of the inscription—"Ch V 42= Ś 1039 exp = Hēmalamba. The date regularly corresponds to Monday, the 24th December A D 1117. On this day the Uttarāyana-samkrānti took place 14 h 55 m after mean sunrise, during the 15th *tithi* of the dark half of Pausya, which commenced 0 h 38 m after mean sunrise, and ended 0 h 13 m before mean sunrise of the following day."

Seven inscriptions of the Kākatīya dynasty have been published so far.<sup>2</sup> The earliest of these belongs to the time of Rudra,<sup>3</sup> five to that of Gaṇapati,<sup>4</sup> and one to that of Prātāparudra. The first of these and the Kāñchi inscription of Ganapati<sup>5</sup> supplement one another in supplying the full name of the first historical person of the Kākatīya dynasty, viz. Tribhuvanamalla Bēta. The Chēbrōlu record of Ganapati<sup>6</sup> and the subjoined inscription give, instead of Bēta, the form Bēta. The former of these two records and the unpublished Pākhal inscription of about the time of Ganapati<sup>7</sup> mention a certain Durjaya in the Kākatīya ancestry—the one, as the father of Bēta and the other as the father of Prōla. The Pākhal inscription further states that

*chakrva* is also used in the sense of 'provincial chief,' above, Vol IV, p 96

<sup>1</sup> This tank is, perhaps, to be identified with the one at the foot of the hillock on which the Padmākshi temple is situated.

<sup>2</sup> Nos 534 to 589 and No 1066 of Appendix to Vol VII above

<sup>3</sup> This is his Anmakonda inscription of Śaka Samvat 1084, published in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI pp 9 ff. An unpublished record at Tripurāntakam in the Kurnool district (No 273 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905) gives for him the date Śaka Samvat 1107. The initial date of the next king Ganapati being now fixed at Śaka-Samvat 1121 (*Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-06, Part II, paragraph 48) it follows that Rudra must have ruled from at least Śaka 1084 to 1121. However, the events recorded in the Anmakonda inscription of Rudra presume a much earlier date for his accession than Śaka 1084.

<sup>4</sup> These range in date between Śaka 1135 and Śaka 1172. The earliest inscription of Gaṇapati found at Tripurāntakam is dated in Śaka-Samvat 1181 which was probably his 10th year. He must have been ruling the country round Bezwāda already in Śaka 1123, see below, p 262, note 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XXI p 197 ff

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol V p. 142 ff

<sup>7</sup> No 82 of the Epigraphical collection for 1902-03. This is not dated, but records the construction of the (Pākhal) tank by Jagadāla Mummaḍi, son of Bayyana-Nāyaka, a minister of the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati. One is tempted to connect Jagdalpur, the capital of the Bastar State in the Central Provinces, with the chief Jagadāla-Mummaḍi. The tradition that the kings of Bastar trace their descent from the Kākatīya king Prātāparudra (above, p 154 f) lends further support to the chief's connection with Jagdalpur.

**Karikāla-Chōla** of the solar race was one of the predecessors of Durjaya. The Kāñchi epigraph quoted above, which also traces the Kākatīyas, as the Chēlōlu and the Pākhal inscriptions do, to the Sun, Manu, Ikshvāku, and other mythical kings of the Raghu family, does not give the names of either Karikāla-Chōla or of Durjaya. The appearance of these two names in the Kākatīya genealogy is at present difficult to explain satisfactorily. But two facts which may be of some use in this connection have to be registered before passing on to the historical portion of the genealogy. As regards the mention of the mythical king Karikāla-Chōla as an ancestor of the Kākatīyas, attention may be drawn to the fact that the Telugu-Chōdas who invariably claim connection with this mythical Chōla king, became feudatories of the Kākatīyas in the time of Ganapati<sup>1</sup>. With regard to Durjaya, the name occurs among the ancestors of two of the contemporary local families of the Telugu country<sup>2</sup>. The first historical ancestor of the Kākatīya family was Tribhuvanamalla-Bēta. He appears to have been a powerful chief who held sway over some portions of the Andhra country before he became a feudatory of the Western Chālukyas and the governor of the Sabbi one thousand district. The surname Tribhuvanamalla which occurs here as well as in the Kāñchi and Anmakonda inscriptions, was probably borrowed from his overlord Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI.

Bēta's son and successor was Prōla, Prōdarāja or Polalarasa, whose surname Jagatikēśarin is known to us from the Kāñchi inscription of his grandson Ganapati. The importance of the subjoined epigraph consists in its being the earliest Kākatīya record and the only one of Prōla found so far. Like his father Bēta, Prōla appears to have continued as a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI<sup>3</sup>. The Anmakonda inscription of his son<sup>4</sup> Rudra and the Ganapēsvaram record of his grandson Ganapati, mention in detail the military exploits of Prōla. These have been fully discussed by Dr. Fleet and Professor Hultzsch<sup>5</sup>. One of the opponents of Prōla was Tailapadēva called "the crest-jewel of the Chālukyas" in the Anmakonda inscription. Dr. Fleet has identified him with the Western Chālukya king Taila III (A.D. 1150-51 to 1162-63). This implies a pretty long reign for Prōla from at least the Chālukya-Vikrama year 42 (= A.D. 1117), the date of the present record, to at least A.D. 1150-51, the first year of Taila III, unless we suppose that Prōla fought with Taila while the latter was yet a prince<sup>6</sup>. That Rudra, son of Prōla, successfully averted a usurpation of the Chālukya throne after the death of Taila III, by a certain Bhīma

<sup>1</sup> See *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1899-1900, p. 18, Genealogical Table of the Chōdas of the Telugu country, remarks under Ōpitisiddhi II and paragraph 53.

<sup>2</sup> The Kondapadmati chief Buddharāja and the mahāmandalēśvara Nambaya—two petty chieftains of the Telugu country on the southern side of the Krishna river—bore the surname 'the lion of the mountain—the Durjaya family' (above, Vol. VI p. 268 and footnote 6, and p. 269). We know from Telugu records that a family of chiefs known by the name Chāgi was contemporaneous with the Kondapadmatas. Nos. 253 and 271 of the Epigraphical collection for 1897 give two or three names in the ancestry of this family and call it the Durjaya-kula born from the feet of Vishnu. No. 265 of the same collection, which is dated in Śaka Samvat 1148 and which belongs to the time of Chāgi Ganapaya Mahārāja who was probably a member of this Chāgi Durjaya-kula, quotes a verse at the beginning in praise of the king which is almost identical with verse 7 of the Yenamadala inscription describing the Kākatīya king Ganapati (above, Vol. III p. 97 f., text ll. 31 to 36). Unfortunately the inscription is seriously damaged, otherwise, it might, perhaps, have been possible to prove that the local chiefs of the Chāgi Durjaya-kula were borrowing from the royal Kākatīya family of Warangal not only names, but some times even the description of the members of its family.

<sup>3</sup> This may be inferred from the use of the Chālukya-Vikrama era in the date portion of the subjoined record.

<sup>4</sup> The Pākhal inscription referred to above, states that Rudra was born in the family of Prōla, which is quite against the testimony of other Kākatīya inscriptions.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI p. 10 and above, Vol. III p. 83.

<sup>6</sup> The second alternative seems to be the more probable one, for Prōla is actually stated to have captured Taila in battle and to have released him out of 'loyalty and love' (*bhakti-danuragatā*). This may imply the existence of a sovereign on the Chālukya throne different from Taila. (*Chālukya-chōdamani* seems to have been a title of Western Chālukya princes who, before succeeding to the throne, generally served as governors of provinces.



whose capital was at Vardhamānanagari,<sup>1</sup> shows the extent of the power wielded by this feudatory family in the last days of the Chālukyas. Prōla's other enemies referred to in the Annamakonda inscription were Jagaddēva, Gōvinda (or Gōvindadandēsa, as he is called in the Ganapēśvaram inscription), Gunda and Udaya or Chōddōdaya. Jagaddēva has been identified with Tribhuvanamalla Jagaddēva, the Śāntara chief of Patī-Pombuchchapura, who was a feudatory, first of Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI. and then of his grandson Jagadēkamalla II. He must have "stood encompassing the city of Annamakonda" on behalf of the Chālukya emperor in order to avenge himself upon Prōla, who, it may be supposed, was trying to throw off his allegiance to the Chālukyas. It was, probably, as the first step in this direction, that Prōla inflicted the defeat on prince Taila III as stated above. Indeed, Prōla appears to have extended his military operations into the modern Kistna district as well. For, the next opponent of his was Gunda, the lord of the city of Manthana or Mantrakūta which is probably identical with the village of Mantana<sup>2</sup> in the Nazvid Zamindāri of the Godavari district. Gōvinda or Gōvindadandēsa, I would identify with the Gōvindarāja of the Abūir inscriptions,<sup>3</sup> who was the nephew of Anantapāla, the general of Vikramāditya VI.—and with the *dandandīyaka* Gōvindarasa, who in the Chālukya-Vikrama year 51, corresponding to A D 1126-27 was ruling the Kondapalli three hundred district according to an unpublished inscription at Tripurāntakam.<sup>4</sup> Here we are told that this *dandandīyaka* Gōvindarasa "burnt Bengipura (Vēngi?)" and conquered Gonka.<sup>5</sup> This Gonka is apparently identical with the Velanāndu chief Gonka II, father of Rājendra-Chōda.<sup>6</sup> Udaya or Chōddōdaya, whom Prōla first defeated and then reinstated in his dominions, is according to Professor Hultzsch perhaps "to be connected with Kulōttunga-Chōda-Gonka

Vīra Nolamba Pallava Permānadi Jayasīṅghadēva, younger brother of Tribhuvanamalla-Vikramāditya VI, had such a brnda. Perhaps Taila's defeat by Prōla took place while the former was a prince, somewhere in the latter part of the reign of Jagadēkamalla II.

<sup>1</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XI p 11. Vardhamānanagari is said to have been burnt by Rudra after marching 'a few steps' from his capital Annamakonda. Dr Fleet suggests, accordingly, that it should be looked for somewhere in the Nizam's dominions not far from Annamakonda. There are two places with either of which Vardhamānanagari may be identified. One is Vardhanapet, about 20 miles south west of Annamakonda and the other is Waddamarru, about 50 miles south west of Annamakonda in the direction of Kālāna. A later chief of Vardhamānanagari is mentioned in an inscription engraved on the fort wall at Raichur, as a feudatory of Pratāparudra. The record is dated in A D. 1294 which is the earliest date for Pratāparudra derived from inscriptions (*Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-06, Part II, paragraph 44). I quote this from a brief note on the inscription made by the Officer in charge of Archaeological Researches in Mysore in his Annual Report for the year ending 30th June 1907, paragraph 56.

<sup>2</sup> There is a place called Mantani in the Yelgandal district of the Nizam's State which is about 60 miles north of Annamakonda.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol V p 213 ff.

<sup>4</sup> No 258 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905.

<sup>5</sup> *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-06, paragraph 40.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol IV p 35. On p 38 of the same volume, Professor Hultzsch refers to the brnda *Chālukya rājya-bhavana mūlastambha* of Gonka II and states that he was a tributary to one of the two branches of the Chālukya dynasty. I think that, in spite of the fact that the Velanāndu chiefs became the feudatories of the Western Chālukyas subsequent to the death of Kulōttunga Chōda I (*ibid* p 37), the title borne by Gonka II was a formal hereditary title and did refer only to the Eastern Chālukya dynasty. No 227 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905 at Tripurāntakam in the Kurnool district records a gift by Velanāṅṅi Gonka in Saka Samvat 1028 (=A D 1105-07). This Gonka is identical with Gonka I in the Genealogical Table of the Velanāṅṅi chiefs. The inscription states that he bore the title *Chālukya rājya-bhavana mūlastambha*, but does not mention the overlord to whom he was subordinate. No 151 of 1897, however, which is dated in Saka Samvat 998, the cyclic year Nala, corresponding to the [7]th year of Vishnuvardhana Mahārāja [Kulōttunga Chōda I] registers a grant by Velanāṅṅi Gonkara (i.e. Gonka I), the commander of all forces (*samasta sēdādhīpati*) of the king. This shows that the title *Chālukya rājya-bhavana mūlastambha* assumed by Gonka I when he had become more or less independent in the Telugu country, meant that he was a supporter of the Eastern Chālukya kingdom. We also learn from No 151 of 1897 that Gonka I was the son of Gundambikā. He was a *trisaṭṭitara sahasarānt-nātha* 'the lord of the one thousand and three hundred country' (No 277 of 1905), while his grandson Gonka II was a *trisaṭṭitara shatsahasarānt-nātha* 'the lord of the six thousand and three hundred country' (No 274 of 1898).

of Velanāndu<sup>1</sup> Thus Prōla who, in his early career, was a Chālukya feudatory, appears to have gradually grown powerful and to have thrown off the imperial yoke in the latter part of the reign of the Western Chalukya king Jagadēkamallā II, preparing, thereby, the way for Rudra's extensive conquests, which according to the Anmakōnda inscription, reached in the east to the shore of the salt sea and in the south as far as Śrīsaīla<sup>2</sup>

The other facts mentioned in the subjoined inscription do not call for any remarks Mēlarasa of Ugravādī who belonged to the family of Mādhavavarman, is not known from other inscriptions A feudatory family of the time of the Vijayanagara king Krishnarāya, whose members claim to have been lords of Bezvāda and were ruling a portion of the Udayagiri-rājya, traces its origin to a certain Mādhavarman of the Solar race and the Vasuṣṭha-gōtra<sup>3</sup> It is doubtful if this Mādhavavarman could be connected with the mythical Madhavavarman referred to in the subjoined inscription as an ancestor of Mēlarasa of Ugravādī.

#### TEXT.<sup>4</sup>

##### East Face

- 1 Śrīmaḥ Jinēmdra-pada-padman-a-
- 2 śēsha-bhavyān-avyāt-trilōka-nri-
- 3 patīmdra-munīmdra-vamdyam | nīḥ-
- 4 śēsha dōsha-parīkhamdana chamda-kā-
- 5 ndam ratna-traya-prabhavam=udgha-

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol III p 83 If this surmise of Professor Hultzsch is granted, Chōdōlaya may be identified with the Velanāndu chief Kulōtunga Chōḍa-Gonka III (No 17 of the Genealogical Table of the Velanāndu chiefs on p 85 of above, Vol IV) whose inscriptions range between A D 1188 and A D 1157 And the word *Chōdōlaya*, which literally means 'one who is) born of Chōḍa' may very aptly be applied to Kulōtunga-Chōḍa-Gonka III, whose father Velanānti Bājendra Chōḍa is called Chōḍa of Velanāndu in one of his inscriptions at Pālākōlī, dated in A D 1185 (No 524 of the Epigraphical collection for 1893) and is referred to as king Chōḍi in an inscription at Nidubrolu, dated in A D 1182 (No 163 of the Epigraphical collection for 1897, text line 27 f), and probably also in the Ganapēśvaram inscription as king Chōḍi, the overlord of the Ayya chief Nārāyaṇa I who was the grandfather of Jāyana, the general of Ganapati This identification of Chōḍōḍaḍa with Gonka III whose latest date as stated above, is A D 1157, if correct, would render probable the statement made in the Anmakōnda inscription that Chōḍōḍaḍa died out of fear of Prōla's successor Rudra, who burnt his city

<sup>2</sup> This is no boast so far as the southern boundary of Rudra's dominions is concerned The existence of an inscription of his time at Tripurāntakam in the Kurnool district (No 273 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905) clearly shows that the actual southern boundary of his kingdom extended even beyond Śrīsaīla Rudra appears to have strengthened his position in the Telugu country by a political intermarriage in the race of Kandhōḍāya Chōḍa (above, Vol III p 83) Ganapati did likewise by taking to wives Nārāmbā and Pērāmbā, the two sisters of his general Jāyana (*ibid* p 84) A Tripurāntakam inscription (No 204 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905) states that Ganapati's sister Mēlāmbikā married Vakkaḍimalla Rudra, the second son of Buddha 'lord of Nātavāṭi-vishaya' The same relationship is established by an inscription at Bezvāḍa which is dated in Śaka-Samvat 1123 (above, Vol VI p 159, text line 8) where Nātavāḍi Rudra (not his father Buddha as Professor Hultzsch takes it) is called the *mayavāḍi* 'brother-in-law' of Ganapati Ganapati's daughter Ganapāmbā was given in marriage to the Kōṭa chief Bēṭa of Amarāvati (above, Vol III p 94) The Kōṭa chief Kēṭa II, whose mother Sabbamā was the sister of the Velanāndu chief Gonka III (above, Vol VI p 148), had five queens who were selected from the several petty families which at that time appear to have divided among themselves the country south of the Krishna river Two unpublished inscriptions from Amarāvati in the Guntur district (Nos 261 and 262 of the Epigraphical collection for 1897) give the names of these five queens as Viñjamaḍ of the family of the chiefs of Ougunimārga (perhaps identical with Ongērumārga over which Nambhaya of the Durjaya family was ruling, see above, Vol VI p 224); Sabbamā of the family ruling the country "to the west of the hill," i.e. the Kondapaḍmaṭṭa, Pārvaṭi of the family of the chiefs of Kōṇa-Kandavāḍi, Vāgamā of the family of the chiefs of Kākati and Komaramā, another princess of the Kondapaḍmaṭṭa family It is doubtful if the Kākati family here mentioned has to be connected with the Kākatiyas of Warangal or if it has to be distinguished as a purely local family which adopted the name Kākati in consequence of its relationship with the Kākatiyas either directly or indirectly

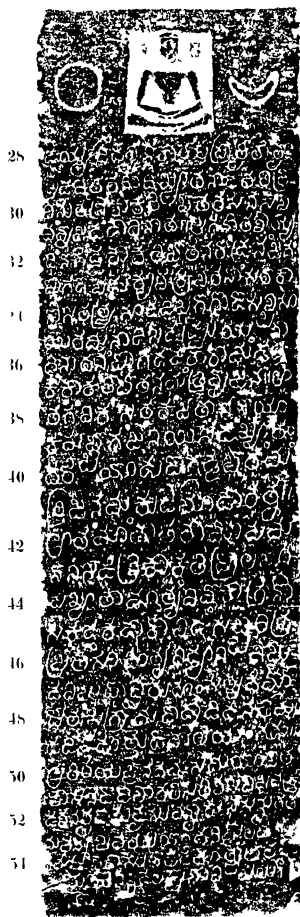
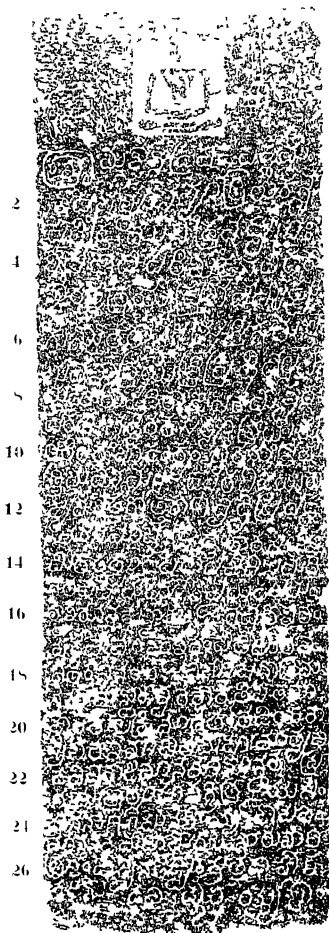
<sup>3</sup> *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1906-07, Part II, paragraph 78

<sup>4</sup> From two ink impressions prepared by me in 1902.

# Anmakonda inscription of Prola — Chalukya Vikrama 42

East face

North face

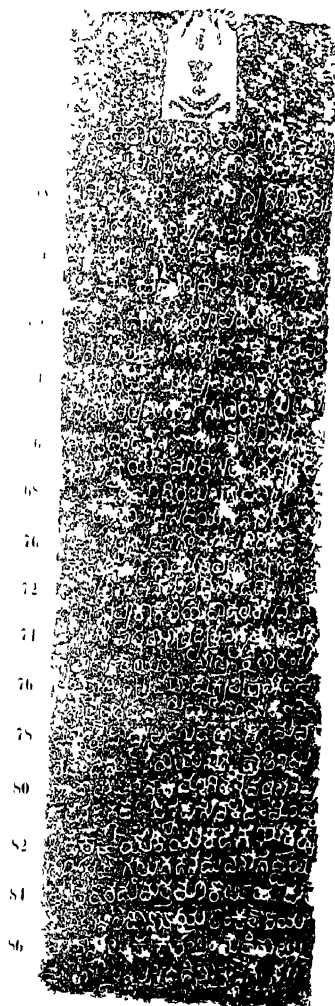


Sten Konow

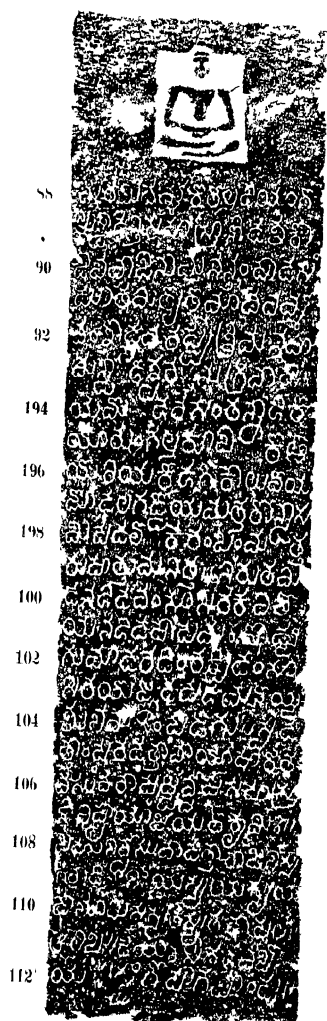
Scale 15

Collotype by Gebr Plettner

West face



South face



6 gun-aiikatānam || [1\*] Svasti samasta-  
 7 bhuvanāśaya śrī-pri(pri)thvivallabha  
 8 mahāśājadhirāja paramēśvara  
 9 paramabbhātāraka Satyāśraya-ku-  
 10 la-talakam Chāluky-ābhānaam śrīma-  
 11 t-[T]ribhuvanamalladēvara vijaya-rā-  
 12 jyam-uttarōttar-ābhividdhi-pravarddha-  
 13 mānam-ā-chamdr-ārka tārom salutta-  
 14 m-ne || [1\*] Tat-pādapadm-ōpajīvi samadhi-  
 15 gatapamohamahāśabda mahāmam[da]-  
 16 lēśvaian-Anmakundā-puavar-ēśvaram  
 17 parama-Māhēśvaram pati-hita-cha-  
 18 itam vīna[ya]-vibhūshanam śrīma-  
 19 n-mahāmandalēśvara[m] Kākatī-Bēta-[bhū]-  
 20 pāla-kula-kr(m)āgātam tadīya-iā-  
 21 jya-bhara-nrūpita-mahāmātya-pa-  
 22 davi-virājamāna mān-ōnnata pra-  
 23 bhu-mamtr ō[t]sāha-śakti-traya-sam-  
 24 panna-ā[gr] || Ghana-sauryy-ātōpa[di]m  
 25 māntanada mahimeyam chāru chāri-  
 26 tradim[d-o]pina telpim sat-kalā-kaśa-  
 27 ladi[n-o]david-āścharyya-[sau]m-

## North Face

28 daryyadim-d-a[rithi]nikāya-prārtthit ārttha-  
 29 [pra]da-vitarana-[vi]khyātan-ādam dharitri-  
 30 [vi]nutam śrī-Kākatī-Bētarasana sachi-  
 31 vam Vajra-damādābhūta || [2\*] Aganita-sauryya-  
 32 dim negadda(īda) Kākatī-Bēta-narēmdranam jagam  
 33 pomgale<sup>1</sup> Chalukya-chakri-charanam sale kā-  
 34 nsi tat-prasādādim bagegole Sabbī-sā-  
 35 yiraman-āsi[d-u]dgha-yaśō-  
 36 dhināthanam pogaladar-āro mamda[h]-  
 37 ka-Kākatī-Bētana mamtri Vajana || [3\*] Ā-  
 38 tamgam vikasita-kamjāt-anane Yā-  
 39 kamabbegam janyisidam khyātam  
 40 dhareyolu perggade Bētam mam-  
 41 tu-jana-makuta-chūddaratna || [4\*]  
 42 Ātam Mām[dh]āta Rām ōpama-  
 43 n-emsida śrī-Kākatī-Prōla-bhū-  
 44 pa-khyāt-āmātyam vivēk-āgram<sup>2</sup>  
 45 sakala-kalā-kōvidam saoh-charitra-  
 46 pritam sāhitya-vidyā-m[dh]i bu-  
 47 da(dha)-vibudh-ōrvviruham satya-dharm-ō-  
 48 pētam sva-grāmādōl-mādādan-ati-ma-  
 49 dadim hattu dēvālayamga<sup>3</sup> || [5\*]  
 50 Atāsaya-Jaina-dharmma samay-ōchita-  
 51 Śāsanadēvi Bhārati-sati śasi(śi)-bumba-va[ktra]-

<sup>1</sup> Read *pogale*.<sup>2</sup> In the translation I have taken this word to be synonymous with *vedky-agra*.<sup>3</sup> About the *u* here and ll 55, 68, and 69, which Dr Fleet thinks to be a form of the *urdma*, see above,

- 52 dasana clchhade śuddha-suvainna(nna)-kumbha-sannut-t-  
 53 nuvaranna(rnna)-pivara-[pa]yōdhai Mailla[ma Yā]-  
 54 [ka]māmbikā-su[ta]-tad-amātya-[Bē]ta-[hri]-  
 55 day-śvau mśchala-Lakshmi bhāvisalu[||][o\*]

*West Face*

- 56 Padadimd-ā-lulit-ālakam barega[m=am]g-o-  
 57 pāmgamam pāncha-ratnadin=amg-ōchitam-āge  
 58 nirmisi sura-stri bh[ā]gya-saubhagya-  
 59 samma[da]-saur[da]rryanman=āydu tīvi  
 60 padedam Kamjāta-samjātan-i su[dati]-  
 61 ratnaman=emdu Maḷamanan=ār=ābba[nui](nui)sa-  
 62 1=llōkadol || [7\*] Nuta-i ūpavati kalā[vā]-  
 63 ti rat-Ratū Śrī satū Ghatāntaki-satū Vā-  
 64 nī-satiy=emd=amātya-Bētana satiyam  
 65 kshitiy=ellam=eyde nūtiyisut=irku[m ||] [8\*]  
 66 Mudadimd=ene negalda [Ra]m-āspade Mai-  
 67 lama bhaktiyimde mādisi tanag=abhyuda-  
 68 yakaram=āguralu bettada [mē]gana  
 69 Kadalaśya-a-basadiyan=eseyalu[||][9\*]  
 70 Adarkke nitya-pūjagam dhūpa-dīpa-[m]vēdya-  
 71 kkam pūjārig=āhā[ra]l-vastādigalgam  
 72 śrīmat-[T]ribhuvanamalla-maṇḍalika-bhū[pā]-  
 73 la-putran-appa Kākatya-Polalarasana rā-  
 74 jyam=utta[r]-ōttar-ā[bhī]vri(vri)ddhi-pravarddhamānam-ā-  
 75 g=Amnakumdeyal-a-chamdi-ār[kā]-tāram sa-  
 76 luttum=ire śrīmach- Chālukya-Vikrama-va[r]sha-  
 77 da nālvatt-erade(da)neya Hēmaḷambi-[sam]-  
 78 vatsara Paushya-bahula 15 Sōmavā-  
 79 rad-amdin-Uttarāyana-samkrānti-nimi-  
 80 ttam dhara-pūrvvakam-āgi tan[na] vallabhan-appa  
 81 Bētana-perggade tanna pesaimdanu mādi-  
 82 sīda keṛey-ēriya kelagan=eiadum  
 83 hās are-ga[l\*]ngala nadu(du)vana gardhde(rdde)[ya]  
 84 mattar=eiadum mattam=ā-keṛeya pa-  
 85 du(du)vana nela doneya temkal-ereya  
 86 matter-nnālukum kaṣambam ma[ttā]i=ālu(ru)-  
 87 mam kottu nūrsidal=i-sā[sa]na-gambha ||

*South Face.*

- 88 Mattam=i dharmmakke tellatry-āge[||\*]  
 89 A[shṭau] danti-sahasāni daśa-kō-  
 90 i cha vājūām=[\*] anautam pāda-sam-  
 91 ghātam=ity=ētē Mādha[va\*]varmma-  
 92 vāmś-ōdbbavar-appa śrīman-mahā-  
 93 mandaśśvaran=Ugravā[dī]-  
 94 ya Mēlarasam tann=ā[h]ke-

<sup>2</sup> In the original the syllables *gdhāra* look like *gōhāmā*

- 95 y=Orumgalla Kūchikere-  
 96 y=ēriya kelag[e] kālūveya  
 97 modala garddeya mattar=ond-ā sa-  
 98 mipadale karambam matta-  
 99 ra hattuman=itta || Nirutam=i-  
 100 dan=alidavam sāsira-kavi[le]-  
 101 yan=ah[da] pāpamam [po]rddu-  
 102 gum=ādaradim rakshi[ai\*]dam sâ-  
 103 sira-ye(ya)jñada palaman=eydi  
 104 śubha[ma]m padegu[m\*] || [10\*] Sva da  
 105 ttam para-dattām va yō haetā  
 106 vasumdhārām [\*] śhaṣṭai=vvarsha-sahasr[ā]-  
 107 ō viśthayām jñyatā krimib || [11\*]  
 108 Bahubhi=vvasudhā dattā rājabbis=Sa-  
 109 gar-ādibhih [\*] yasya yasya ya-  
 110 dā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam || [12\*]  
 111 Allī basadiya kasam ge(ga)leva Bô-  
 112 ya-[Pa]ddamge pāga vomdu ||

## TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1) May the lotus-foot of the blessed Jinendra, which (like the lotus) is worthy of being praised by the lords of kings and the lords of ascetics (*residing*) in the three worlds, whose powerful doctrine completely destroys (all) sins (just as the powerful stem of the lotus completely cures the patient of his *dōsha*), which is the origin of the *ratna-traya*<sup>2</sup> (as the lotus is the birth-place of gems<sup>3</sup>) (*anī*) which has its attention fixed on excellent virtues (*guna*) only (as the stock of the lotus is made up entirely of delicate fibre), protect all Bhavyas!<sup>4</sup>

(Line 6 f) Hail! While the victorious reign of the glorious Tribhuvanamalladēva,—the asylum of the whole world, the glorious *Prithivīvallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhātīndrala*, the front ornament of the *Satyāśraya* family, the jewel of the *Chājukyās*,—was flourishing with perpetual increase (to last) as long as the moon, sun, and stars.

(L 14 f) A dependent on his lotus-feet (was) the prosperous *mahāmanḍalēśvara*, the chief *Kākatī Bētarasa* who had acquired the five great sounds, (who was) a *mahāmanḍalēśvara*, the lord of *Anmakundā*—the best of towns, a great devotee of *Mahēśvara* (*Śiva*), (one) whose actions were (directed) for the good of (his) master (and) whose ornament was modesty.<sup>5</sup>

(L 20 f.) Resplendent in (his) position as the hereditary prime minister (*mahāmātya*) entrusted with the administration of the kingdom of that king (i.e. Bēta), great of self-respect (and) possessing the triple qualifications of pre-eminence, counsel and energy,

(V 2) the *danḍādīndītha* *Vaija*, minister of the glorious king *Kākatī Bēta*, worshipped by (all the people of) the world for (his) liberality which bestowed desired objects on crowds

<sup>1</sup> *Dōsha* is a medical term and means, according to Dr Kittel, 'black or red spots on the tongue foreboding death' It may be that according to Indian medical science, the lotus-stem is a powerful agent in removing this *dōsha*

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol VIII p 134, note 3

<sup>3</sup> These are the lotus seeds which as sacred beads are worn round the neck and are called *tāsara-manī* (lotus-gems) in *Kansreśe*

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.* the Jain community, see Mr Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol II, p 59, paragraph 6

<sup>5</sup> The original appears to have *vinay*: in which case the phrase may be translated "the jewel among the well-behaved," but as *vinaya-vibhūṣana* is the form which generally occurs in inscriptions, I prefer to read *ya* instead of *y*

of supplicants, for (his) surpassing beauty which amazed (those who saw him), for his high proficiency in the sciences, for (his) refined goodness, for (his) charming behaviour, for the greatness of (his) pride<sup>1</sup> (and) for the display of (his) dauntless heroism,—became famous

(V 3) Who does not extol the minister of the *maṇḍalika* Kākati Bēta, Vaija, that master of prodigious fame, who by (his) immeasurable prowess made, amidst the applauses of the world, the renowned king Kākati Bēta to successfully visit the feet of the Chalukya emperor (*chakrin*), (and) to rule by the favour of that (emperor) the Sabbi (one) thousand (district) (in such a way) as to attract the attention (of the world)

(V 4) To him and to (his wife) the blooming lotus-faced Yākamabbe was born *pergade* Bēta who, famous (as he was) in the world, was a head-jewel in the diadems of the minister-class

(V. 5) He (Bēta), the exalted minister of the prosperous king Kākati-Prōla, who was counted as equal to Māndhātā and Rāma, the foremost among the wise, proficient in all sciences, an admirer of good behaviour, a mine of literary lore, a celestial tree to learned men possessing truth and virtue, built, with great delight, ten houses for gods (i.e. temples) in his own village

(V 6) The wife of the minister Bēta, the son of [Yā]kamāmbikā, (was) Mailama, whose face was (as pleasant as) the moon (and) whose lips were (red like) the *bimba* (fruit), the colour of whose body was praised as being fair (and her) full breasts as being golden pots, (who was) the (veritable) lady Bhārati, a Śāsanadēvi (*par excellence*) acceptable to the doctrines of the Jaina religion (and) decidedly, (the goddess) Lakshmi (but) without (the latter's) fickleness

(V 7) Who, who in this world does not extol Mailama saying "The lotus-born (Brahman) having produced, out of the five gems (such) as best suited the portion of the body (under creation), the (several) limbs with (their) adjuncts from the feet right up to those tremulous curls, (and) having filled (them) with happiness, grace, joy (and) beauty (which he) culled from among the celestial nymphs,—(he) loved (to see) this gem of womankind (—his own creation)"

(V. 8) The whole world would praise deservedly the wife of the minister Bēta saying "She possesses praiseworthy beauty, she is full of lustre, (she) is a Rati in dalliance, (she) is the lady Śrī (i.e. Lakshmi), (she) is the lady Ghatāntakī,<sup>2</sup> (she) is the lady Vānī (i.e. Sarasvatī)"

(V 9) The thus-praised abode of Rāmā (i.e. Lakshmi)—Mailama—having caused to be built with delight and devotion the resplendent *Kadalalāya-basadi* (temple) on the top of the hill in order that it may bring prosperity to her—

(L 70) for the daily worship, incense, lights (and) oblations (in the temple) (and) for food, clothing, etc., of the temple priest,—

(L 72) while the reign of Kākatiya Polalarasa, son of the glorious king, the *Maṇḍalika* Tribhuvanamalla, was continuously prosperous and successful, at Ammakunde, (to last) as long as the moon, sun and stars—in the forty-second year of the prosperous Chālukya-Vikrama years, corresponding to the Hēmaḷambi-samvatsara, on account of the Uttarāyana-samkrānti

<sup>1</sup> The word *māntana* is not found in Dr Kittel's *Kannada English Dictionary* Perhaps it is a poetical form for *mānatana*

<sup>2</sup> The Jaina saint Akalanika is said in the Mallishēna epitaph (above, Vol III p 200) to have overcome, along with the Buddhist, the Buddhist goddess Tārā who had secretly descended into a pot as dwelling place According to the *Āḍṇavāḍi katha* (Mr Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol II p 45) Akalanika was helped in his disputation against the Buddhist by the Jaina goddess Kūshmāṇḍinī and eventually kicked over the pot with his left foot and smashed it. In the present inscription Mailama is apparently compared to the goddess Kūshmāṇḍinī who helped Akalanika to smash the pot in which the goddess Tārā had taken her abode



(which happened) on Monday, the 15th day of the dark fortnight of Pausya (of that year)—

(L 80) gave to that (temple), with libations of water, two *mattar* of wet land (lying) between two flat slabs below the *band* of the tank built in her name by her husband Bêtanapergade, and four *mattar* of black-soil land (lying) south of the pond (*done*) on the west side of the same tank and six *mattar* of uncultivated land,<sup>1</sup> (and) set up this inscribed pillar

(L 88 f) And as a (subsidiary) gift to this charity the prosperous *mahdmanāḍāśvara* Mēlarasa of Ugravādi, who was born in the family of Mādha[vav]arma, (whose army consisted) of "eight thousand elephants, eight clores of horses and endless crowds of foot (soldiers) etc.," gave one *mattar* of wet-land at the head of the canal below the *band* of Kūchikere (tank) which belonged to Orumgallu (included) within his rule, (and) ten *mattar* of miscellaneous land close to the same (land)

(V 10) He that destroys this (charity) shall always incur the sin of having killed thousand tawny cows, (and) he that carefully protects it, shall ever enjoy (that) happiness (which is) acquired as the fruit of a thousand sacrifices (*yajña*)

[Ll 104 to 110 contain two of the usual imprecatory verses ]

(L 111 f) One *pāga*<sup>2</sup> (is assigned) to Bōya-Padda who removes the sweepings in that temple

## No 36.—BALAGHAT PLATES OF PRITHIVISHENA II

BY THE LATE PROFESSOR F KIELHOEN, C I E , GOTTINGEN

These plates were sent in May 1893 by the Deputy Commissioner of Bālāghāt, a district in the Nāgpur Division of the Central Provinces, to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, to which they now belong. In the letter which accompanied them, it was stated that they had been found in the district, 'some time ago, hanging to a tree in the jungle'. They were entrusted to me by Dr Hoernle in 1905, with the request that I should edit the inscription which is engraved on them. Other work has prevented my doing so before now.

The plates are five in number, each between  $6\frac{1}{2}$ " and  $6\frac{3}{8}$ " long by between  $3\frac{1}{8}$ " and 4" high, two of them contain no writing whatever, while of the three others (here described as plates i, ii and iii) the second is engraved on both sides and the first and the third on one side only. Though the plates have no raised rims and are not fashioned thicker near the edges, the engraving on them is throughout in a perfect state of preservation. The five plates are strung on a ring, which passes through a hole about  $1\frac{1}{4}$ " distant from the middle of the proper right margin of each plate. This ring is circular, about  $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick and between 3" and  $3\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. The ends of it are flattened off and joined by a bolt, which had not been cut when the plates came into my hands. On the ring described there slides a smaller ring, made of a band of copper, the ends of which are fastened by a rivet which also passes through, and firmly holds, a flat disc of copper about  $2\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter. Undoubtedly this disc was meant to serve as a seal and to bear some writing, but nothing has been engraved on it.<sup>3</sup>

The plates clearly were intended to record a grant of the Vākātaka king Prithivishēna II, but they actually give only the genealogy of the king and break off at the point where his order

<sup>1</sup> I have taken *karambām* to be synonymous with Tamil *karambu*, which, according to Dr Winslow, means 'hard and sterile ground'.

<sup>2</sup> This small coin, more popularly pronounced *hāga*, is equal to 'one-fourth of a *kana*'.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the descriptions of the three sets of plates of Pravarasēna II in *Gupta Inscr.* pp 285 and 248 and above, Vol III, p 268

commences. The four inscribed sides contain 35 lines<sup>1</sup> of well-engraved writing. The size of the letters is between  $\frac{1}{2}$ " and  $\frac{3}{4}$ ". The characters belong to the 'box-headed' variety of the southern class of alphabets and are similar to, but less angular than, those of the Duda plates of the Vakataka Pravarasēna II, published with a facsimile above, Vol. III p. 260. They include the subscript sign of the rare  $\eta$ , in *Ajñita*, l. 31, the sign of the *śivamāliya*, in *Kuntalā*, l. 30, and forms of the final *t*, in *samūt*, l. 4, and of the final *t* (which does not occur in the facsimile), in *vachanūt*, l. 35.<sup>2</sup> The conjunct *nn* is everywhere written by a sign which is really the sign for *nn* (in *sannivṛta*, l. 6, *utpannasya*, l. 23, and elsewhere), *vaṣaṅga* is denoted by two hook-shaped lines (*e g* in *sūnāh*, ll. 11 and 20), the signs for *ḍ* and *ḍ* are well distinguished *e g* in *-viśahūt*, l. 1, and *śhḍasy*, l. 2, and there are two forms of the letter *r*, *e g* in *-viśahūt*, l. 1, and *vachanūt*, l. 35. — The language is somewhat ungrammatical, Sanskrit, and the text is all in prose. In line 10 a passage of no less than 27 *akṣaras* has through carelessness been omitted by the writer. As regards orthography, the rules of *samāh* are constantly neglected (as in the three cognate grants), the (long) *ā* is several times written where the vowel should be short, and the (short) *i* is throughout employed for both *i* and *ī*, the vowel *ri* is used instead of *ri* in *-pauriśah*, l. 16, and *-vriyah*, l. 27, and instead of *ri* in *śi*, ll. 17 and 20. Besides, the dental and lingual nasals are confounded in *hānūya*, l. 12, *manō*, l. 13, and *-anusūnah*, l. 20, the word *ansa* is written as *ansa* in line 6, and *vamsa* as *vansa* in lines 24, 27 and 33, *śh* is doubled after *r* in *vaśśha*, l. 14, and *dh* before *y* in *-addhyaksha*, l. 35. With *°patir-ābhya°* for *°paty ābhya°* in line 28, where the *r* of *°patir-* looks like a *samāh*-consonant, we may compare *-bbalam-āsvaryya-* for *-bbalaśvaryya-* in line 15 of the Duda plates, above, Vol. III p. 261, where *m* is used in a similar way.<sup>3</sup>

With two exceptions, the text down to the word *Pravarasēnasya* in line 26 is practically identical with that of the three published grants<sup>4</sup> of the Vakātaka king Pravarasēna II; like those grants, it gives the genealogy of this king, commencing with Pravarasēna I, and enumerating after him his son's son Rudrasēna I, his son Prithvivishēna I, his son Rudrasēna II, and his son (from Prabhāvātiguṇṭa, the daughter of the Mahādyādhuṇḍya Dēvagupta) Pravarasēna II. Of the exceptions referred to, one is that our inscription commences with *Vimāśahūt*, 'from (his) residence Vēmbāra,' in the place of which the Chammak and Duda plates of Pravarasēna II have *Pravarapurūt*, 'from Pravarapura.' Our grant therefore was to have been issued from Vēmbāra, a place which I have not been able to identify. The other point of difference is that, while the grants of Pravarasēna II commence with *drishṭam*, or *drishṭam svast*, or *drishṭam siddham*, this inscription contains no such expression, but at the beginning of line 1, before the word *Vēmbāra*, leaves an empty space just where one would have expected something like *drishṭam*. The omission and the vacant space, in my opinion, are rather significant. Contrary to what I have said in my remarks on the Duda plates, above, Vol. III p. 259, I am convinced now that *drishṭam* (and the Prakṛit *ditham* of the Mayādevūn and Hirahadagall plates<sup>5</sup>) must really be taken in its ordinary sense of 'seen,' and that it is similar to the modern 'true copy' or 'examined' of official letters or Government orders.<sup>6</sup> Such a remark

<sup>1</sup> In preparing the accompanying facsimile, the last line on the first side of the second plate unfortunately was at first overlooked, it is really line 13, and the lines marked in the facsimile as lines 18–34 are really lines 19–35.

<sup>2</sup> There is a final *m* in line 27 (line 26 of the facsimile), but it seems to be out of place where it stands.

<sup>3</sup> Other passages where *m* looks distinctly like a *samāh*-consonant are *tina manka* for *tānāka* in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX, p. 309, line 10, and *prastāyastayā manyathā* for *prastāyastayā anyathā* in *Gupta Inter.* p. 267, line 13.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 267, note 2.

<sup>5</sup> Nos. 617 and 618 of my *Southern Ins.*

<sup>6</sup> Compare the remarks of the late Prof. Bühler, above Vol. I, pp. 9 and 10, and of Prof. Hultzsch above, Vol. VI, p. 88. Sir W. H. Sleeman, speaking of certain kings of Oude, in his *Journey through the Kingdom of Oude*, Vol. I, p. 179, says that to their orders a seal was affixed in their presence bearing the inscription *mohatva shud*, 'it has been seen.' Like *drishṭam*, *jūṭam* is used in the body of an inscription in *Journ. As Soc. Bengal*, Vol. LXXIX, Part I, p. 92, l. 21 (*jūṭam=maḥāmantri śrī-Mahākṛta*).

could of course have been affixed or prefixed to a document only when it was finished, and it is missing here because our grant was not completed. The engraver apparently acted just as a writer or copyist of the grant would have done.

After Pravarasēna II our inscription in lines 26-35 mentions his son, the *Mahārāja* Narēndrasēna, and after him his son — born from the queen (*mahādevī*) Ajjhitā-bhātārikā,<sup>1</sup> a daughter of the lord of Kuntala — the *Mahārāja* Prithivishena [II], a devout worshipper of Bhagavat (Vishnu). Narēndrasēna, 'from confidence' in the excellent qualities previously acquired by him, took away (or appropriated) the family's fortune, his commands were honoured by the lords of Kōsala, Mēkala and Mālava, and he held in check enemies bowed down by his prowess. Prithivishēna II is described as 'being a receptacle of splendour and forbearance, who raised (his) sunken family'. The name *Prithivishēnasya*, in line 35 is followed by *rajanāt*, 'at his command', but of the king's order only the words 'all superintendents' are given by these plates.

In the Vākātaka stone inscription published in *Archaeol. Survey of W. India*, Vol IV p 124 ff, the verses 10 and 11, which would have given the names of the successors of Pravarasēna II, are unfortunately much mutilated. The name of Pravarasēna's son and successor, 'who, having obtained the kingdom when eight years of age, ruled well,' has quite disappeared, and the son of that unknown king according to the published text was Devasena. As has been stated above, according to our grant Pravarasēna's son Narēndrasēna took away the kingdom (probably from an elder brother), married a daughter of the king of Kuntala, and was succeeded by his son Prithivishēna II. The stone inscription in verse 8 records the defeat of a lord of Kuntala by apparently Prithivishēna I, and in verse 18 speaks of Kuntala, Avanti, Kalinga, Kōsala, Trikūta, Lāta, Andhra . . . [as having been subjected by one of the later Vākātakas]. According to the present inscription Narēndrasēna had his commands honoured (or obeyed) by the lords of Kōsala, Mēkala and Mālava. The first and last of these three countries are well known. The situation of Mēkala (according to the Topographical List of the Brihatsamhitā in *Ind. Ant.* Vol XXII p 185, a mountain or a people) is indicated by the fact that the river Narmadā is called *Mālaka kanyā*, 'the daughter of Mēkala, and that that river springs from the hill Amarakantak (in Long 81° 48' and Lat 22° 40') in the ancient Chōdi country.<sup>3</sup>

Here and in the cognate plates the Vākātaka kings have the title *mahārāja* followed by the word *śrī* prefixed to their names, and before the title there stands in each case the genitive *Vākātakānām*, e.g. *Vākātakānām mahārāja-śrī-Pravarasēnasya*. Such passages have been hitherto translated as if the genitive *Vākātakānām* were governed by the title *mahārāja* 'the illustrious Pravarasēna, the great king of the Vākātakas,' or 'the *Mahārāja* of the Vākātakas, the illustrious Pravarasēna.' The matter is not of great importance, but it may be as well to state that from the grammarian's point of view such a construction would be objectionable. In my opinion, the genitive must be taken to qualify, not the title *mahārāja*, but the whole phrase *mahārāja-śrī-Pravarasēna*, and more especially the word *Pravarasēna*, the chief component of the phrase, so that the meaning would be 'the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious Pravarasēna of the Vākātakas,' i.e. 'of the family of the Vākātakas'.<sup>4</sup> I have already had occasion to point out that we similarly have the genitive *Mastrakānām* in the Valabhi plates, where there is no title by which this genitive could be governed, *Vishnukundinām* above, Vol IV p 195, l. 2, and

<sup>1</sup> The name *Ajjhitadēvī* we also find in the Kāritālā plates of the Mahārāja Jayasātha, *Gupta Insor.* p 118.

<sup>2</sup> The reading of the original text is not absolutely certain here.

<sup>3</sup> Compare *Archaeol. Survey of India*, Vol XVII, Plate I, and the verse cited by Dr Bhandarkar above, Vol IV, p 280.

<sup>4</sup> The same remark applies to the genitive *Bhāratavandana* in line 10 of the inscription.

*Kadambāndm* in *Ind. Ant.* Vol VI p 26, l. 5 and Vol VII p 35, l. 4, and above, Vol VI p 14, l. 4, and p 18, l. 5

The inscription, not having been finished, contains no date of any kind, but it may be assigned with probability to about the second half of the 8th century A D

### TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

#### First Plate

- 1 . . . <sup>2</sup>Vēmbāra-vāsakād-agnishtëm-āptōryyām-ōkthya-
- 2 shōdasy-ātrātra-vājapēya-brihaspatisava-sādyā-
- 3 skra-chaturāśvamēdha-yājñah<sup>3</sup> Vishnuvridhha-sagōtra-
- 4 sya samrāt<sup>4</sup> Vākātākānām-mahārāja-sri-<sup>5</sup>Pravarasē-
- 5 nasya <sup>6</sup>sūnōs-sūnōh atyanta-Svāmi-Mahā-
- 6 bhaurava-bhaktasya<sup>7</sup> ansa-<sup>8</sup>bhāra-saunivēsita-<sup>9</sup>Śiva-
- 7 ling-ōdvahana-Śiva-superitusha samutpādita-
- 8 rājavanśanām<sup>10</sup>=parākram-ādhigata-Bhāguratthy-āmala-<sup>11</sup>
- 9 jala-<sup>12</sup>mūrdhnanbhishuktānān-dasāśvamēdh-āva-

#### Second Plate, First Side

- 10 bhṛitha-snātānām-Bhārasivānām-<sup>13</sup>mahārāja-sri-<sup>14</sup>Rudrase-
- 11 nasya sūnōh atyanta-māhēśvarasya saty-ārjajava-
- 12 kārunya(nya)-śaurvya-vikrama-naya-vinaya-māhā-
- 13 tmya-dhimatva pātragatabhaktitva-dharmmāvajayitva-<sup>15</sup>man[ō]-<sup>16</sup>
- 14 nairmmāly-ādri-<sup>17</sup>guna samuditasya varshsha-śata
- 15 m-abhivarddhamāna-kōsa-danda-sādhana-santāna-putra-
- 16 panti(tri)ṇah Yudhishtira vritrē-<sup>18</sup>Vvākātākānām-mahā-
- 17 rāja-sri(śrī)-Prithuvishēnasya sūnō[h\*] bhagavata-
- 18 s=Chakrapāṇē[h\*] prasād-ōpārjita-sri-<sup>19</sup>

#### Second Plate, Second Side.

- 19 samudayasya Vākātākānām-mahārāja-sri-<sup>20</sup>Rudra-
- 20 sēnasya sūnōh <sup>21</sup>pūrvvarāj-ānuvritta-mā[r\*]gg-ānu(nu)sā-

<sup>1</sup> From the original plates

<sup>2</sup> At the commencement of this line there is an empty space sufficient for about three *akṣharas*. One would have expected here the word *drishtam*, with which the three grants of Pravarasēna II begin

<sup>3</sup> This sign of *vasarga* is clearly visible in the original. Here and in other places below the rules of *samāh* have not been observed

<sup>4</sup> The plates of Pravarasēna II have *samrāt* (?), *sashrat*, and *samrātah*. Read *samrājah* (or *samrājō*).

<sup>5</sup> Read *śrī*-

<sup>6</sup> The *akṣhara* *sū* is clear in the original

<sup>7</sup> Here is a mark in the original which looks like the upper half of a *vasarga*

<sup>8</sup> Read *ansa*.

<sup>9</sup> In this word and everywhere below the conjunct *nn* is denoted by a sign which is really the sign for *nn*.

<sup>10</sup> Read *śāśvānām*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *Bhāguratthy amala*.

<sup>12</sup> Read *mūrdhābhish*; compare *Gupta Inscr.* p 237, l. 6.

<sup>13</sup> Here the words *mahārāja-sri-Bhāvanāga-dāuhsitasya Gautamputrasya putrasya Vākātākānām* of the cognate plates have erroneously been omitted

<sup>14</sup> Read *śrī*.

<sup>15</sup> Read *dhimattva-pātrdgatabhaktitva-dharmmavajayitva*

<sup>16</sup> Read *manō*

<sup>17</sup> Read *nairmmāly-ādri*

<sup>18</sup> Originally *vri* was engraved.

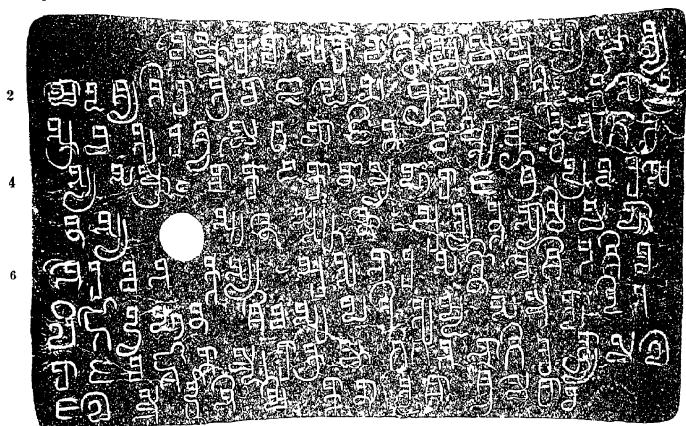
<sup>19</sup> One would have expected *pradādd-updō*—Read *śrī*.

<sup>20</sup> Read *śrī*

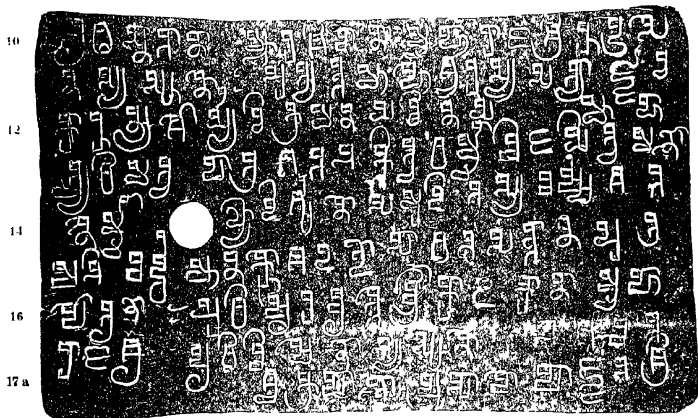
<sup>21</sup> Of the three grants of Pravarasēna II, only the Siwanī grant has the passage from here to *śāśvānām*, see *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 246, lines 14 and 15.

# Balaghat plates of Prithivishena II

1



11 a

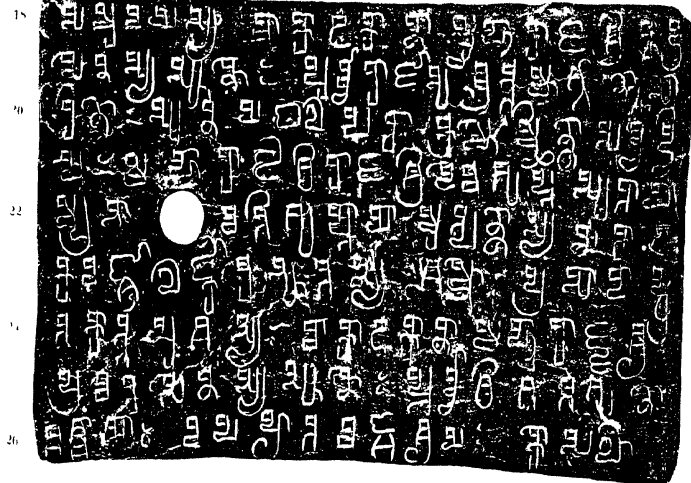


E. Hultzsch

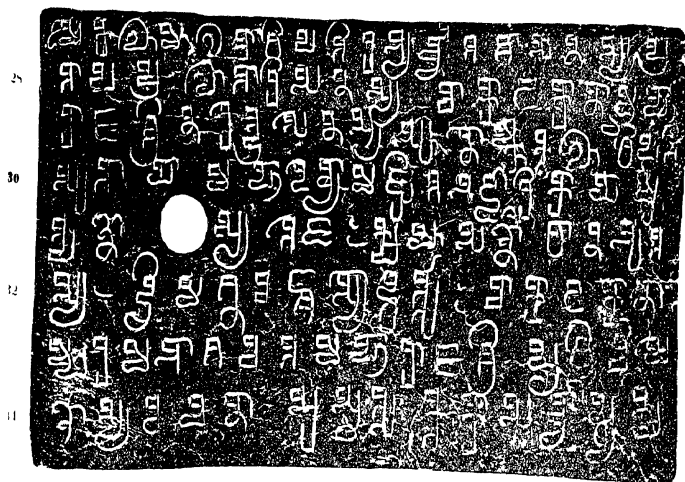
Scale 95

Collo type by Gebr Plettner, Halle-Saale

u b



iii a



- 21 rīpaḥ sunaya-bala-parākram-ōmohinna-<sup>1</sup>sarvvadvi-  
 22 shah mahārājādhirāja-śrī-<sup>2</sup>Dēvagupta-sutāyā-  
 23 m=Prabhāvatīguptāyāu-utpannasya Vākātā-  
 24 <sup>3</sup>kavanś-ālan-kārabhūtasya Śambhōh prasādād=dhra(dhri)-  
 25 <sup>4</sup>ta-kārttayugasya <sup>5</sup>Vākātākānā[m\*]=mahārāja(ja)-śrī(śrī)-  
 26 Pravarasēnasya sūnōḥ pūrvvādhigata-guṇa-  
 27 <sup>6</sup>vī]śvā[sā ?]d=apahṛita-vanśāsṛiyah<sup>7</sup> Kōsalā-<sup>8</sup>

## Third Plate

- 28 Mākalā<sup>9</sup>-Mālav-ādhipati-abhyarohchata-<sup>10</sup>śāsanasya pra-  
 29 tāpa-pralāthāsanasaya<sup>11</sup> Vākātākānām-mahā-  
 30 rāja-śrī-<sup>12</sup>Narēndrasēnasya sūnōḥ-Kuntalādhipati-  
 31 sutāyā[m\*]=mahādēvyām-Ajjhita-bhattārikāyām-u-  
 32 tpannasya tājah-kshamā-sannihānabhūta-<sup>13</sup>  
 33 sya<sup>14</sup> dvimagna vanśasy<sup>15</sup>=ōddhartuh Vākātākānā-  
 34 m-paramabhāgavata-mahārāja śrī<sup>16</sup>.Prithivishē-  
 35 ṇasya vachanāt<sup>17</sup> asmatsantakā<sup>18</sup> sarvv-ādhyakṣa

## No 37 —ORISSA PLATES OF VIDYADHARABHANJADEV.

BY THE LATE PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E., GOTTINGEN

There is no information as to where or when these plates were first obtained. In 1887 they belonged to Mr C T Metcalfe, Commissioner of the Orissa Division, and the inscription which is engraved on them was published in that year, with a facsimile, by the late Dr. Bājēndralāl Mitra, in the *Journ As Soc. Beng*, Vol LVI Part I, p. 154 ff. In November 1895 the plates were presented by the Commissioner of Orissa, through Mr C L Griesbach, to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and they have now been entrusted to me by Dr Hoernle, with the request to re-edit the inscription.

There are three substantial copper-plates, the edges of which are slightly raised, and of which each measures between  $6\frac{1}{8}$ " and  $6\frac{1}{2}$ " long by between  $3\frac{3}{8}$ " and  $3\frac{1}{2}$ " high. They slide on a copper ring, which passes through a hole, which is about  $\frac{1}{8}$ " distant from the middle of

<sup>1</sup> Read -*śchēhinnā*.<sup>2</sup> Read -*śrī*.<sup>3</sup> Read -*kavanś*.

<sup>4</sup> Instead of this *ta*-the Chammak and Siwani grants of Pravarasēna II have *ti*-, which seems to me preferable.

<sup>5</sup> Here some *akṣara* (perhaps the initial *ś*) was engraved, but has been erased.

<sup>6</sup> The reading is doubtful. The first *akṣara* of the line is *vi*, the superscript *s* of which, though faint, is distinctly visible in the original, and the second appears to be *ś*. The third *akṣara* looks more like *ś* than *ś*, and is followed by a sign which looks like a form of final *m*, and has probably been struck out. The *ś* and what follows is clear.

<sup>7</sup> Read -*vanśāsṛiyah*.<sup>8</sup> Read *Kōsalā*.<sup>9</sup> Perhaps *Mākalā*-has actually been engraved, read *Mākalā*.<sup>10</sup> Read -*paty-abhyarohchata*.<sup>11</sup> Read -*pravatīśāsanasya* (?)<sup>12</sup> Read -*śrī*.<sup>13</sup> Read -*śāśā*.<sup>14</sup> Here again there is a mark which looks like part of the *ś*-sign.<sup>15</sup> Read *m*(?)*magna-vanśasya*.<sup>16</sup> Read -*śrī*.

<sup>17</sup> This final *s*, the sign for which is very small, is really visible in the original plates. In *Epist. Inscrip. Ind.*, 1. 17, the text has *vachanāt* [*ś*].

<sup>18</sup> Read -*śantakā*-, and compare above, Vol. III. p. 261, l. 18.

the proper right margin of each plate. The ring, which had already been cut when the plates came into my hands, is between  $\frac{1}{8}$ " and  $\frac{3}{8}$ " thick and about 3" in diameter, and on to it is soldered a roughly circular metal seal, between  $1\frac{1}{8}$ " and  $1\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter. The seal contains in relief on a countersunk surface, in the upper half, a couching lion facing to the proper right, and in the lower half the legend

śrī-Vidyādhara-  
bhāṣajadēvasya

in northern characters which are between  $\frac{1}{16}$ " and  $\frac{1}{4}$ " high

Before the plates were used for the grant now engraved on them, they had already served for another grant, the four last lines of which, though faint, are almost completely legible on the first side of the first plate, and of the writing of which more or less distinct traces remain also on the other sides of the plates. The characters of this earlier grant belong to what I have elsewhere<sup>1</sup> called the Gañjām variety of the northern alphabet, and the lines with which it ended, compared with the end of the Gumsūr grant<sup>2</sup> of Nētrībhaṣya, published in *Journ. As Soc Beng* Vol VI p 689 f and Plate xxxiii, would seem to show that the grant was issued by a chief of the same family. The four lines (on the first side of the first plate), so far as I am able to read them, are —

- L 1 Svayam-ādīśitō rājā dūtakō-tra [Mār]tamdah || Likhitam-cha<sup>3</sup>  
sāndhvi-  
2. grahika-Ārka[dēvāna]<sup>4</sup> || Lāñchitam [rā]ñī-srī-Mānīkya-mahādē-  
3 vyā || Ūtkīrnam ch-āksha[śā]h-Kumāra[dattēna] || samvat . .  
4 di<sup>5</sup> . . . ||

The grant now recorded on these plates is engraved on the second side of the first plate and on both sides of the two others. The engraving is deep and well done, and in a perfect state of preservation. In three places (in lines 10, 22 and 35) there is some doubt about the actual wording of the text, either because the engraver altered what he had originally engraved, or because portions of the letters of the earlier grant spoken of above are mixed up with the new writing, the rest may be read without any difficulty. The size of the letters is about  $\frac{1}{8}$ ". The characters belong to that variety of the northern alphabet which we find, *eg* on the Buguda plates of Mādhavarman, treated of above, Vol VII p 101 f. Of the consonant signs the most characteristic are those for *h* (*eg* in *Harasya Śēshāhēr*, l 4), *ṣ* and *ṭṭ* (*eg* in *prāṣṭa*, l 9, and *-vghaṭṭā*, l 6), and *n* (*eg* in *-vāna-prāna*, l 1), of which the last, in combination with palatals, also serves for the palatal nasal (*eg* in *Bhañjāmālā*, l 14, *-ukiañ-cha*, l 27, and *lāñchhitam*, l 35). Among other conjuncts attention may be drawn to the signs for *lesh*, *gg*, *ghh*,

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol VII, p 101

<sup>2</sup> The published text, which was furnished to Mr Prinsep by Kamalākānta Vidyālmkara, is quite untrustworthy. According to Mr Prinsep's lithograph of Lieutenant Kittoe's copy, the passage with which we are concerned here, so far as I can make it out, would be *svayam-ādīśitō rājā dūtakō-tra bhāṣa-srī-Stambhādīśa lēkhitañ-cha sādhitvagrakīñā Kā[kka]kka mikīrnam ch-ākshatāle Durggadātēna || lāñchitam . . . samvat (?) Māgha-sudh . . .*

<sup>3</sup> Read *līkhitañ-cha*

<sup>4</sup> Read *grahik-Ārka*

<sup>5</sup> Read *samvat*, the three *āksharas* by which this word is followed are illegible

<sup>6</sup> This *di* is followed by a sign which possibly is a letter-numeral for 10, and before the sign of punctuation there is another sign which looks like the symbol for *ōm*. The two signs show fairly well in the accompanying facsimile. I may add that there are letter numerals also in the last line of the Bāmaghāt grant of Ranabhaṣya, published with a facsimile in *Journ. As Soc Beng* Vol XL Part I p 165 f, and in lines 35 and 36 of one of the Gañjām grants of Daṇḍamahādēv, above, Vol VI p 189 and Plate

<sup>7</sup> The same sign for *h* (which is not given by our paleographic Tables) we find in the Buguda plates of Mādhavarman, in the Gumsūr plates of Nētrībhaṣya, and on the second side of the plate of Daṇḍamahādēv, above, Vol VI p 188. It was also used in the grant originally engraved on these plates. A similar form of *h* we find in several varieties of the southern alphabet.



*dbh* and *mbh* (e.g. in *-vakeśhōbha-daksham*, l 1, *°vargga*, l 10, *-Digbhañjadāsvasya*, l 12, =*udbhā-* at the end of line 4, and *-Stambhādēva*, l 86). There is a special sign for final *ṭ*, in *-ānyat*, l 18, *nyat*, at the commencement of line 19, *yāvat*, l 21, and *°rādāhāt* for *°rādāhāt*, l 22. Of initial vowels the text contains only *a* (for *ā*), *ṣ*, *u* and *ḍ*, in *achandrāḍ*, l 21, *wa*, l 11 and 6, *ṭis*, l 33, *Upamany[u]*-, l 23, *urikurnna*, l 38, and *ētaḍ*, l 19. As regards medial vowels, *ṭ* is sometimes denoted by a short superscript stroke or by a small hook on the right of the consonant-sign, as in *lābhañja*<sup>1</sup> at the commencement of line 13, and in *Bhañjāmala*<sup>2</sup>, l 14, and there are two signs<sup>3</sup> of the subscript *u*, one of which may be seen e.g. in *jayatu*, l 1, and *bhuvana*<sup>4</sup>, l 2, and the other in *-sura*<sup>5</sup>, l 7, *-rīpu*<sup>6</sup>, l 10, *Vaṣṣulvaka*<sup>7</sup>, l 8, and *-vachubhar*-, l 27, etc., the former of the two signs is used also to denote medial *ū*, for which there is no separate sign in these plates. Two forms of medial *ḍ* may be seen e.g. in *Śēśadhēr=ā(ṣ)va yē*, l. 4, and *pra(prā)lēyāchala*-, l 5, and similarly two forms of medial *ḍ*, e.g. in *ḥiritayō vilō*<sup>8</sup>, l 35. The sign of *anusvāra* is sometimes placed after the consonant-sign, as in *°padam yathārham*, l. 17. The signs of *vṛāma* and *avagraha* do not occur, and a sign of punctuation is found only in lines 20 and 25 (where in either case it is out of place) and at the end of the grant. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. There are two verses in lines 1-8, and four imprecatory verses in lines 27-35, the rest of the text is in prose. As regards orthography, the sign for *v* denotes both *v* and *b*, *visarga* at the end of a word is ten times omitted, and single consonants are used instead of double ones in *chatusimā* for *chatusimā*, l 19, =*anurōdhā cha* for =*anurōdhāch=cha*, l 26, and five or six times in the words *data* and *datt* for *datta* and *datt*, (lines 25, 28, 29, 31, 32 and perhaps 23). There is besides some confusion of the short and long vowels, especially in the case of *i* and *ī*, where *ī* is used instead of *i* no less than nine times (e.g. in *nīkasha*, l 3, *rīpu*, l 10, *salila*, l 21, etc.), and *ū*, as has been already stated, is everywhere written by the sign for *u*. A few times the writer or engraver has omitted an *akṣhara*, as in *Vidyādharañja*<sup>9</sup> for *Vidyādharañja*, l 15, the chief name of the inscription which is correctly given on the seal, and altogether the grant has been written rather carelessly.

The inscription is one of the devout worshipper of Mahāśvara (Śiva), the ornament of the spotless family of the Bhañjas,<sup>2</sup> the *Mahārāja Vidyādharañjadēva*, also called king *Dharmakalāśa* (P), who was a son of *Śilābhañjadēva*,<sup>3</sup> grandson of *Digbhañjadēva*,<sup>4</sup> and great-grandson of *Baṇabhañjadēva*; and its object is to record a grant which was issued by the king from *Vaṣṣulvaka*.<sup>5</sup> Like the Gumsūr grant of *Nētribhañjadēva Kalyāṇakalāśa*, it opens with two verses which glorify the (third) eye of Hara (Śiva) and invoke the protection of the waves of the divine Gaṅgā. In lines 15-27 the king informs the *Sāmantas*, *Bhōgins*<sup>6</sup> and others, the [lords of] *vishayas*, and the people generally who dwell in the *Ramalaṅva*, *vishaya*, that with pouring out of water he gave the village of *Tundurāva* in that district,

<sup>1</sup> Which of the two signs is used, depends on the consonant to which the sign is attached, thus, *k* and *ṣ* always take the curve-shaped sign and *p* and *ṭ* always the straight or hook-shaped sign. In line 17, where the curve-shaped *ṭ* is attached to *p*, the *akṣhara* intended to be denoted is *pṛ* (of *pṛjayaṭi*), not *pu*, the same remark applies to the *ṭ* of *śrādhāṭi*<sup>2</sup> (for *nirādhāṭi*) in line 11. But in the case of *bhu* and *bhā*, *ṭ* and *ḍ* are both denoted by the same (curve-shaped) sign.

<sup>2</sup> Compare e.g. *Gaṅgāmalakulatilaka*, above, Vol III p 18, l 12, and *Kadamod(mā)malakulatilaka*, ibid p. 223, l. 22.

<sup>3</sup> In line 5 of the Gañjām plates mentioned in Mr Sewall's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol II p 33, No 218 (and of which Dr Fleet has given me an impression), the name is spelt *Śilābhañjadēva*. Above, Vol III, p. 853, l 38, a place *Śilābhañjadēva*, which was in *Ódra-dīta* (Orissa), is mentioned.

<sup>4</sup> The name *Digbhañja* also occurs in the Bāmaghātī plates of *Baṇabhañja*, where there can be no doubt about the reading of it.

<sup>5</sup> The original has *vayaya-Vaṣṣulvakaḍ*.

<sup>6</sup> Compare e.g. above, Vol VI p 298, l 13: *-sāmantas-bhōgika-vishayapati*; ibid p. 142, l 25 (in one of *Daṇḍimādhārī*'s grants) we have the term *bṛṣhadbhōgins*.

rent-free,<sup>1</sup> to the *bhāṭṭa* Dārūkhāṇḍī—a son of Śūridēva<sup>(2)</sup> and grandson of Gauricchandra—of the Upamanyu *gṛā* and Bahvricha *sākhā* (of the Rgveda), and he enjoins future kings (*rājaka*) to protect this gift, and (in lines 27-35) quotes four imprecatory verses from the *dharmaśāstras*.

The inscription (in lines 35-38) ends with four statements, introduced severally by the participles *lāñchhitam*, *pravṛṣitam*, *likhitam*, and *utkīrnam*. About the meaning of the two last there can be no doubt: the grant was written by the *sāndhvirgrahika* (or minister of peace and war) Khambha, and engraved by the *akṣhaśilīn*<sup>3</sup> (or goldsmith) Kumārachandra. The term *pravṛṣitam* I have not found in similar surroundings in any other grant, but since this word takes the place here of the phrase *vayam=ādishtō rājā dātākō=tra* of the Gumsūr grant of Nēṭṭribhaṭṭa and of the earlier grant on these very plates<sup>4</sup> (where that phrase in both cases appears in company with *lāñchhitam*, *likhitam* and *utkīrnam*), I think that it must likewise be taken to refer to the business of the *dātaka* and that the words *pravṛṣitam* Kṣāvaṇa must be translated 'brought (to the donee's) home by (the messenger) Kṣāva'. The passage commencing with *lāñchhitam* I am unable to explain properly. According to Dr Fleet, above, Vol. VII p. 227, *lāñchhana* denotes the device used on the seals of copper-plate charters, etc., and *lāñchita* therefore probably means 'furnished with such a device' or 'marked with a seal' (*mudrayā mudritam*).<sup>5</sup> We find the word in the Bugda plates of Mādhavavarman, above, Vol. III p. 46, l. 50, *lāñchhitam Jayasīnghena*, in the Gañjām plates of Prithivīvarmadēva, above, Vol. IV p. 201, l. 35, *lāñchhitamān-cha śrī-mā(mā)hādēvyā*, in the grant which was originally engraved on these plates, above, p. 272, *lāñchhitam [rājā]nī-śrī-Mānīkya-mahādēvyā*, 'marked with a seal by the queen, the glorious Mānīkya-mahādēvī', and it occurs also in the Gumsūr grant of Nēṭṭribhaṭṭa, where the words by which it is followed cannot be made out with confidence.<sup>6</sup> In the present case our text appears to give us *lāñchhitam śrī-Trikalīṅga-mahādēvyā*, 'marked with a seal by the glorious Trikalīṅga-mahādēvī',<sup>7</sup> which would be similar to what we find in the earlier grant on these plates, but these words are followed by *tējaśikēna*, which may be corrupt and the meaning of which is quite obscure, and after that again we have the instrumental *śrībhāṭṭa-Stambhādēva-mantrīnā*, 'by the minister, the *bhāṭṭa* Stambhādēva',<sup>8</sup> which, for want of the meaning of the obscure word, I see no way of connecting with what precedes. It is curious that in at least two of the passages where the word *lāñchhitam* occurs the marking with the seal is stated to have been performed by a queen.

Our inscription contains no date of any kind, and for the present it seems impossible to fix its age even approximately, because we know nothing that is certain about the chiefs of the Bhāṭṭa family during the Middle Ages,<sup>9</sup> and possess no dated inscriptions with the same alphabet. With all due reserve I would say that the inscription may perhaps be assigned to the 12th or 13th century A.D.

<sup>1</sup> In the wording of the grant the expressions which are characteristic of the locality to which the grant belongs are *sambaddha* (in line 19, used in the sense of *sambaddha*), *sāśādhra-purāṣarṇa viddhā*, and *akṣarāṣṭra* (for which by mistake *karatāṣṭra* has been engraved). Compare e.g. above, Vol. III p. 46, l. 28, and Vol. VII p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> On this word, which in Sanskrit is generally spelt *akṣhaśilīn* (e.g. in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII p. 276, l. 24, and Vol. XVIII p. 146, l. 26), see now Prof. Hultsch, above, Vol. VII p. 107, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 272 and note 2.

<sup>4</sup> According to Yājñavalkya I 319, the *śāstra* of a king should be *resamudrāparivṛṭṭam* (i.e. *re-sa-mudrā* *Garuda-vardhāni-rāya-parivṛṭṭam-śāstram*). And above, Vol. III p. 302, l. 74, there is a verse according to which a charter becomes faultless when it is *mudrā-suddha*, 'faultless as regards the seal,' etc.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 272, note 2.

<sup>6</sup> Similar names are *Chōḷa-mahādēvī* and *Gaṅga-mahādēvī*.

<sup>7</sup> In the Gumsūr grant of Nēṭṭribhaṭṭa the *bhāṭṭa*, the illustrious Stambhādēva, is mentioned as *dātaka*.

<sup>8</sup> A traditional date in the Śaka year 764 (A.D. 832) is given for one of the Bhāṭṭa (Bhūṣu) chiefs in Mr. Sowell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 3.

As regards the localities, the inscription mentions Vañjulvaka, from where both this grant and the Gumsūr grant of Nētrabhañja were issued, the Ramalavva *vishaya* and in it the village of Tuṇḍurāva. I have not found the names of these places on the sheets of the *Indian Atlas* where I have looked for them

TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

## First Plate, Second Side

- 1 Ōm<sup>2</sup> [||\*] <sup>3</sup>Jayatu Kusumavā(bā)na-prāpa-vikshōbha-dakṣham svaki-
- 2 <sup>4</sup>raṇaparivēśhōrjityā-<sup>5</sup>jīrṇēndulēkham [||\*] tribhuvanabhavan-ā-
- 3 ntar-dyōtābhāsvat-pradīpam<sup>6</sup> kanakānī(nī)kasha gauram vibhru<sup>7</sup> nētram
- 4 Harasya [||\*] <sup>8</sup>Sēśāhār-ava<sup>9</sup> yē phanā[h\*] pravilasanty-udbhā-
- 5 svarēndu-tvisha[h\*] pra(prā)lēyāchala-śṅgakōtta(ta)ya iva tva-
- 6 āganū ya(yē)=tyunnatā[h\*] [||\*] nrittātōpa-vighattitā iva bhujā rā-
- 7 janti yē Śā[m]bhavās=tā sarvvāgha-vighātina[h\*] surasa-
- 8 rit[t\*]ōy-brmmayaḥ pānt[u] vah [||\*] Svasti [||\*] Vijaya-Vañjulvaka.<sup>10</sup>

## Second Plate, First Side.

- 9 d=astī<sup>11</sup> śrī-vijaya-nīlayaḥ prakatagunagana-gra-
- 10 sta-samastarī(n)puvargga[h\*]<sup>12</sup> <sup>13</sup>śrī-Dharmma ?jkalasā-nāmā rā-
- 11 jā nirdhuta<sup>14</sup>-kalikalushakalmesha[h\*] śrī-Ranabhañjadēva-<sup>15</sup>
- 12 sya praputra[h\*] śrī-Digbhañjadēvasya<sup>16</sup> naptā śrī-Śi-
- 13 lābhañjadēvasya sutāḥ paramamāhēśvarō mātāpi-
- 14 tri-pādānndhyātō Bhañjāmalakula<sup>17</sup>-tilakō mahārā-
- 15 ja-śi-ī-Vidyādha[ra\*]bhañjadēvasya<sup>18</sup> kuśali Ramalavva.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From the original plates<sup>2</sup> Denoted by a symbol<sup>3</sup> Metre Mālinī.<sup>4</sup> Originally *raṇaparī* was engraved, but the *i* of *pa* has been struck out.<sup>5</sup> Read *śaṣṭyūjyaya*—Compare *Paṇḍurāva* in 74 *svakṛapaparivēśhōbhāda-tānydh pradīpā*.<sup>6</sup> Read *pradīpā*<sup>7</sup> Read *bāhru*; this word is synonymous with *pingala*, and Śiva is *piṅgādikṣha*. Compare also above, Vol VI p 200, l 1 of the text—The Gumsūr grant has *chdra*. [In a letter which never reached the author I suggested that *vāhru* is correct and should be translated "brow less"—S K]<sup>8</sup> Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita<sup>9</sup> Read *śva*.<sup>10</sup> These four *akṣaras* are quite clear in the original Dr Rājēndralāl's text has *Vajaleakā*. The Gumsūr grant appears to have *Vājyuleakā*, which by Kamalākānta was misread *Vāśāhākhātū*.<sup>11</sup> Read *t* | *Acti* *śrī*.<sup>12</sup> The *varga* which I have added here and below before *śrī* is not absolutely necessary<sup>13</sup> The words in these brackets are conjectural. As will be seen from the facsimile, four *akṣaras* were originally engraved here, but they were partly struck out or altered, and the difficulty is enhanced by the fact that remnants of letters which were originally engraved on these plates are mixed up with the new letters. I consider it certain that the first *akṣara* is intended to be *śrī* (for *śrī*), and that the last contained the conjunct *mm*—The corresponding passage of the Gumsūr grant is *Acti jagatī-nīlayaḥ prakataguna-grasta-sarvvapugaveṇa* *śrī-Kalyāṇakalasa nāma rājā*<sup>14</sup> Read *nirdhūta*<sup>15</sup> In the facsimile the first *akṣara* (*ra*) of this name might be read *era* (and was read so by Dr Rājēndralāl), but in the original it is distinctly *ra*, and what looks like *e* is a remnant of what was originally engraved on the plate<sup>16</sup> This name is clear in the original; and so is the next. Dr Rājēndralāl read the two names *Dvabhāñja* and *Śilābhāñja*<sup>17</sup> Dr. Rājēndralāl read *Bhañjanala-kula*.<sup>18</sup> Read *dēvasa*.<sup>19</sup> The first three *akṣaras* of this name are clear in the original; the last might be read *edha*. Dr Rājēndralāl read *Ramalabhāñja*, but regarded the letters as doubtful.

## Second Plate, Second Side

- 16 vishay-â yathâmvâsi-sâmantâ-bhōgi-bhōgyādī<sup>1</sup>-vi-  
 17 shaya-janapadam yathârham mânayati pu(pâ)jayati vō(bô)-  
 18 dhayati-âdisâti <sup>2</sup>ch-ânyat sarvvatâh <sup>3</sup>ivam=asmâkam-a-  
 19 nyat<sup>4</sup> êtad[v]ishaya-samvandha-<sup>5</sup>Tund[u]râvagrâma<sup>6</sup> chatasimâ-  
 20 paryantah<sup>7</sup> grâmô=yam || mâtâpitrôr-âtmanas=cha puny-â-  
 21 bhivriddhayê <sup>8</sup>achandrârka-samam kâlam yâvat salī(h)ladhâ-  
 22 râ-purabsarêna vidhinâ guṇ-ânurâdhât<sup>9</sup> karatvêna<sup>10</sup>[bhōgya p]  
 23 Upamanya-<sup>11</sup>lgôtiâya datê-pravarâya<sup>12</sup> Ba(ba)hvrcha-âyâkha-<sup>13</sup>

## Third Plate, First Side

- 24 ya Gôrichandrah<sup>14</sup> naptâ Suridêvasya suta bhâtta-Dâru-  
 25 khandi || nâmnâ prâpâditô=smâbhis=tad=êshâ dat=ddha.<sup>15</sup>  
 26 rmma-gauravâd=asmâkam=anuidh<sup>16</sup> cha bhavishyad-râjakai[h\*]  
 27 piatpâlaniy=êty=<sup>17</sup>uktâñ=cha dharmma-sâstair-vvahubhir=vva-  
 28 sudhâ data<sup>18</sup> râjabhi[h\*] Sagar-âdibhir=yasya yasya yadâ  
 29 bhu(bh)mis=tasya tasya tadâ phalam [[h\*] Sva-dattâm para-datâ<sup>19</sup> vâ  
 30 yô harêta vasundharâm [h\*] sa vâsthâyâ[m\*] kpmi<sup>20</sup> bhutvâ pi-

## Third Plate, Second Side

- 31 ttribhi[h\*] saba pachyatê [[h\*] Mâ bhu(bh)âd=aphala-sankâ vah para-dat=ê.<sup>21</sup>  
 32 ti pâthuvâh [h\*] sva-dânat=phalam=ântyam<sup>22</sup> paradat-ânupâla-

<sup>1</sup> The akshara bhô of bhōgyādī has not come out well in the facsimile, but is quite clear in the original. In my opinion, the word bhōgi, before bhōgyādī is superfluous and has been engraved by mistake, and for the following vishaya-janapadam I should have expected something like vishayapatti-janapadamecha

<sup>2</sup> Read cha! Anyat—The Gumsûr grant apparently has —âdisâti cha sarvvatâh ivam=asmâkam=anyat vidâtam=astu bhavatâm=êtad=eshaya-

<sup>3</sup> Originally ivam= was engraved, but the v of it has been struck out

<sup>4</sup> This second =anyat is superfluous

<sup>5</sup> Read samvandha- (for =samvādha-)

<sup>6</sup> Read °grâmas=chatuśśimâ-

<sup>7</sup> Read paryantê The following grâmô=yam and the sign of punctuation are superfluous

<sup>8</sup> Read °ddhaya d-chandrârka-sama-kâlam, the following yâvat is superfluous

<sup>9</sup> Read °râdhât

<sup>10</sup> Instead of karatvêna, we require akarativêna, which (like akartkitya) occurs often in other inscriptions and is quite distinct in the lithograph of the Gumsûr grant (though Kamalâkânta's text gives akararatvêna) The following two aksaras are conjectural In the Gumsûr grant akarativêna is possibly followed by dhâjyôbhîh (for which the text has dhânyâdri)

<sup>11</sup> Read Upamanyu-

<sup>12</sup> As the word datta below is several times written data, this might stand for datî- (or perhaps dattâ-) pravardya, but I am unable to explain the expression In Ind Ant, Vol. XII, p. 256, l. 48, we have Upamānyava-sagôrdya; Aślīyana savrahmachārīn' bhāṭṭapavara-Vāṭhkarāṭmīrdya, where bhāṭṭapavara is equally obscure The Upamanyavas had three pravara — Vāsisṭha, Ābharadvasu and Indrapramada; compare Y. Müller, History of Ancient Sanskrit Lit., p. 385

<sup>13</sup> Read -âkha-

<sup>14</sup> Gaurichandrasya naptâ Sûri(p)âtasya sûtâya bhāṭṭa-Dârukhândi-nâmni

<sup>15</sup> Read dativ=ddha-

<sup>16</sup> Read °dhâch-

<sup>17</sup> Read =êti; Uktâñ=cha dharmma-sâstrâh; Bahubhir=—Metre of the verses up to the commencement of line 38 Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

<sup>18</sup> Read dattâ

<sup>19</sup> Read -dattâh

<sup>20</sup> Read kpmi=âdhât

<sup>21</sup> Read -dattâ-

<sup>22</sup> Read =dânat/yâh paradati-, as e.g. above, Vol. III, p. 45, l. 48, p. 343, l. 26, etc. Instead of dnanityam other grants have dnanityam (above, Vol. III, p. 343, l. 19, p. 353, l. 45), or anantam (Vol. III, p. 357, l. 50), or atyantam (Vol. VIII, p. 142, l. 25)

# Orissa plates of Vidyadharabhanjadeva

1 a



Collotype by Gebr. Pletner, Halle-Saale

1 b



2

4

6

8

11 a



10

12

14

E. Hultsch

16

18

20

22

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ (१) ॥  
 दत्तं तु वदतु ॥ (२) ॥  
 यदंशोऽपि नित्यं ॥ (३) ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ (४) ॥  
 दत्तं तु वदतु ॥ (५) ॥  
 यदंशोऽपि नित्यं ॥ (६) ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ (७) ॥  
 दत्तं तु वदतु ॥ (८) ॥  
 यदंशोऽपि नित्यं ॥ (९) ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ (१०) ॥  
 दत्तं तु वदतु ॥ (११) ॥  
 यदंशोऽपि नित्यं ॥ (१२) ॥

24

26

28

30

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ (१) ॥  
 दत्तं तु वदतु ॥ (२) ॥  
 यदंशोऽपि नित्यं ॥ (३) ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ (४) ॥  
 दत्तं तु वदतु ॥ (५) ॥  
 यदंशोऽपि नित्यं ॥ (६) ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ (७) ॥  
 दत्तं तु वदतु ॥ (८) ॥  
 यदंशोऽपि नित्यं ॥ (९) ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ (१०) ॥  
 दत्तं तु वदतु ॥ (११) ॥  
 यदंशोऽपि नित्यं ॥ (१२) ॥

32

34

36

38

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ (१) ॥  
 दत्तं तु वदतु ॥ (२) ॥  
 यदंशोऽपि नित्यं ॥ (३) ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ (४) ॥  
 दत्तं तु वदतु ॥ (५) ॥  
 यदंशोऽपि नित्यं ॥ (६) ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ (७) ॥  
 दत्तं तु वदतु ॥ (८) ॥  
 यदंशोऽपि नित्यं ॥ (९) ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ (१०) ॥  
 दत्तं तु वदतु ॥ (११) ॥  
 यदंशोऽपि नित्यं ॥ (१२) ॥

- 33 na(nē)[i]\* Iti<sup>1</sup> kamaladalāmvu(mbu)vmdu-lōlā[m\*] śriyam=anuchi-  
 34 ntya man[n]shya-jivitam=cha<sup>2</sup> [i\*] sakalam=i(i)dam=udāhṛtāñ-cha vndhvā<sup>3</sup>  
 35 na hī [pu]rushah para-kirtayō vilō[pyāh[i\*]]Lāśchhitam śri-Tri[ka ?]i<sup>4</sup>  
 36 āga-mā(ma)hādēvy[ā] tējadikēna<sup>5</sup> śri-bhātta-Stambhādēva-mant[r]i(tri)ṇā<sup>6</sup>  
 37 pravṛtsita[m\*] Kāsavēna<sup>7</sup> likhitam <sup>8</sup>sānddhivagrhi-śri-Khambhē-  
 38 na urtkaruna<sup>9</sup> ch=ākshasāli(li)-Kumāracharndēna<sup>10</sup> tha<sup>11</sup> [i]

## No 33—GHATIALA INSCRIPTIONS OF KAKKUKA, SAMVAT 918

By D R BHANDARKAR, M A, POONA.

The subjoined inscriptions are all engraved on a column standing *in situ* in Ghatiyālā, twenty-two miles west-north-west of Jōdhpur. The column is not far distant from an old ruined Jaina structure, now called *Mātā-kī-sāl*, which contains an inscription edited by Prof Kielhorn in the *Journ R As Soc* 1895, p 516. Further particulars in connection with these ruins will be found in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for the year ending 31st March 1907. Inscription No 1 is engraved on the eastern, and the remaining ones on the western, face of the pillar. The inscriptions are so weather-worn that it is not possible to take good impressions. With patience and perseverance, however, almost the whole of the inscriptions can be deciphered with certainty on the original stone itself.

Inscription No 1 contains 20 lines of writing, which covers a space of 2' 3½" high by 1' 6" broad. The characters agree with those of the inscription found in the *Mātā-kī-sāl*. The language is Sanskrit. The first seven lines are in prose. Lines 8—16 contain five verses. Then the date is given in prose in l 17. Then a verse occurs which is followed by a line in prose. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is only once denoted by the sign for *v*, in *kuṭumvakam*, l 8, consonants are doubled after *r*, *visarga* followed by *s* has been once changed to that letter in *dēvyās=utō*, l 7, the dental nasal has been used instead of an *anusvāra* before *s* in *°vansa*, l 1, *t* is doubled in conjunction with a following *r*, and *visarga* has been omitted once before the following *sta* in *ayam=ustambhata stambhō*, l 16.

The inscription opens with obeisance to Vinīyaka (Ganapati). Then is set forth in prose a genealogical list of the feudatory Pratihāra family which is brought down to Kakkuka, to whose reign the inscription belongs. It agrees with the lists furnished by the inscription in the *Mātā-kī sāl* and the epigraph of Bāuka found in the Jōdhpur city wall. It is followed up by five verses, the first two of which merely contain conventional praise of Kakkuka without giving any historical information. The third verse says that Kakkuka obtained great renown in the countries of Travani, Vālā and Māda, amongst (the people known as) Ārya, in Gurjjaratṛā, and in Parvata in the Lāta country. Most of these names are repeated in verse 16 in the other

<sup>1</sup> Metre Pushpitāgrā.<sup>2</sup> Read -jivitam cha<sup>3</sup> Read dūddhva<sup>4</sup> Read śri-Trikālā. A sign of the medial *t*, which was prefixed to the akshara *tri*, has been struck out. In the place of *ka* (?) another letter was originally engraved.<sup>5</sup> With the exception of the *d* in brackets, the nine *āksharas* at the beginning of the line are clear in the original.<sup>6</sup> The *ed* at the end of the line and the *ved* at the commencement of the next line, which show in the facsimile, seem to me to be remnants of the inscription which was previously engraved on these plates.<sup>7</sup> The *āksharas* *śas* of this word contain certain marks which were not engraved by the engraver of the present inscription and which were struck out by him.<sup>8</sup> Read *sānddhivagrhi-śri- or sānddhivagrhi-śri-.*<sup>9</sup> Read *uttkaruna*<sup>10</sup> Read *°chandrēna*<sup>11</sup> For this mark, which is distinctly *tha*, compare *eg Ind Ant Vol XVII, p 140, note 4b*

inscription of Kakkuka in the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl*. Thus, Travani is the same as Tamanî there, and also occurs in this unaltered form in verse 18 of the Jôdhpur inscription of Bâuka. Similarly, Valla is mentioned in both these inscriptions. Mâda is given in the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* inscription in conjunction with Maru (*Maru-Mâda*) Jêsalmâr is still called Mâda, and Maru proper can only be the Shêo, Mallânî and Pâchpadrâ districts of the Jôdhpur State. Ârya and Gurjaratrâ are doubtless the Ajja and Gurjaratrâ of the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* inscription. Ârya is undentifiable, but is perhaps the same as that mentioned in Varâhamihira's *Brihat-samhitâ*, Cap. V, v. 42. Gurjaratrâ, as has been shown by me elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> comprised the districts of Dîdwânâ and Parbatsar of the Jôdhpur State. Lâta, as was also pointed out by me, embraced about this time the larger portion of the present Gujârât of the Bombay Presidency.<sup>2</sup> Parvata, which is apparently said to be in Lâta, is unknown to me. Does Parvata, however, here simply mean a mountain and refer to some such inroad of Kakkuka as that mentioned in the expression *gâhâna gôhândim gûrmm* in verse 17 of the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* record? Or perhaps Parvata may be taken to be a distinct country, and connected with the *Pârvaityas* of the *Brihat-samhitâ*, Cap. XVII v. 16.

Verse 4 of our inscription tells us that Kakkuka erected two columns, one at Rôhmîsaka and the other at Maddôdara. Exactly the same information is conveyed by verse 21 of the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* record, excepting that for Rôhmîsaka we have there Rôhmîsakupâ. Rôhmîsaka is undoubtedly the same as this Rôhmîsakupâ or the Rôhmîsakupaka of our inscription No. 2, and is to be identified with Ghatyâjâ. Maddôdara, it can scarcely be seriously doubted, is Maṇḍôr, five miles north of Jôdhpur, which is locally believed to have been a seat of Pratihâra power and is full of very ancient ruins, and where a fragment of a Pratihâra inscription was discovered by me last season.<sup>3</sup> The next verse informs us that the column on which the inscription has been incised was erected by Kakkuka. Precisely the same information is given by verse 21 of the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* inscription. Then follows the date Samvat 918 Chaitra-sudi 2 budhê Hasta-nakshatrê, the same as that mentioned in the latter inscription. And further we are told that here a market was established, and the village peopled with *mahâyana*, i. e. big folk. The very same thing is alluded to in verse 20 of the *Mâtâ-kî-sâl* record. The inscription really ends here so far as the purport of it is concerned, but a verse follows which has something of the character of a *subhâshata*. Its chief interest, however, lies in the fact that it was composed by Śrî-Kakkuka himself, as the line in prose at the end informs us.

Inscription No. II contains 11 lines of writing covering a space of 1' 3" high by 1' 2½" broad. Excepting the opening words *Om siddhîh*, it is in verse up to 1.9, and the rest in prose. The palæography and orthography do not call for any remarks other than those made in connection with inscription No. I. The first verse invokes the blessings of Vinâyaka (Ganapati) who, we are told, was placed on the column to ensure prosperity, and, as a matter of fact, the

<sup>1</sup> *Journal As Soc* Vol. XXI, pp 414-415.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, pp 418-414

<sup>3</sup> Another ancient name of Maṇḍôr is Māṇḍavyapura mentioned in verse 10 of the Jôdhpur inscription of the Pratihâra Bâuka. In the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for the year ending 31st March 1907, p. 80, I have said that though this inscription stone was found in the city wall of Jôdhpur, it must originally have been at Maṇḍôr, as all stones for the fortification of the fort had been brought from the latter place. This conclusion is confirmed by the first *pâda* of the verse just referred to, which is *Māṇḍavyapura-durgasam*. The word *asam* shows that the stone originally was at Māṇḍavyapura, i. e. Maṇḍôr. Māṇḍavyapura, again, is spoken of both as a city and fort, and Maṇḍôr remained so till the prince Jôdhâ removed his capital from there to Jôdhpur. Even to this day some of the portions of the ramparts of Maṇḍôr have been preserved. As the verse in question states that certain Pratihâra brother princes erected ramparts round Māṇḍavyapura fort, it is plain that it was in the possession of the feudatory Pratihâra princes. This is also corroborated by the fact mentioned in the text that last season I found a part of a stone inscription belonging to the Pratihâras. In it the name of Kakkâ could be distinctly read, and some reference to his son made therein could also be traced. But who that son was — whether Kakkuka or Bâuka — is not certain. The name Māṇḍavyapura occurs even so late as V E 1319 in the Sâdhâ hill inscription of Châchigadêva (above, Vol. IX., p. 78, l. 86).



pillar is surmounted at the top by a quadruple image of Ganapati, facing the cardinal directions. The next verse informs us that the village of Rôhinsakûpeka (Ghatiyâla) had formerly become unsafe on account of the Âbhîras (Ahirs),<sup>1</sup> and had consequently not been a place of residence for good people. Verses 3 and 4 tell us that Kakkuka, the favourite son of Kakka, of the Pratihâra race, constructed a market place decorated with variegated streets, went to the houses of Brâhmanas, Kshatriyas (*prakriti*)<sup>3</sup> and Vaiśyas, and, promising them means of livelihood, established the *mahâjana*, the big folk there. We thus fully understand what the *Mâtâ-ki-sâl* epigraph and our inscription No. I mean by saying that Kakkuka established a *haffa* and *mahâjana* at Rohimsaka or Rohimsakûpa. Owing to its being infested by the Âbhîras, whose predatory instincts even to the present day are not quite extinct, the place must have become deserted, but it was re-peopled by Kakkuka by inducing men of the three principal castes to come and reside there, after he had defeated and ousted the Ahîrs. The verse following expresses a wish for the permanence of the prosperity of the *mahâjana*, and of the fame of Kakkuka. Then follows the date Samvat 918 Chaitra Sudî 2 which, though the further details of it are not given, is, it will be seen, identical with that specified in our inscription No I and the *Mâtâ-ki-sâl* epigraph. Next, we are informed that the inscription was written by a *Maga*, called Mâtîravarî, and was engraved by the goldsmith Krishnêśvara, doubtless the same who incised the Jodhpur inscription of the Pratihâra Banka. It is followed up by the name of the *sûtradhâra* or mason who probably dressed the stone and erected the column, but the name is lost.

The fact that Mâtîravarî is called a *Maga* is very interesting. On the original stone the letters *ma* and *ga* are quite distinct, and, though *na* is not so distinct, it is clear enough. No reasonable doubt need, therefore, be entertained as to Mâtîravarî being spoken of as a *Maga*. *Maga* is another name for the *Śikhavîpiya* Brâhmanas, about whom the late Professor Weber wrote a very learned and exhaustive paper. Round about Jodhpur there is a class of Brâhmanas known as *Sêvaks*, most of whom are religious dependants of the Ôśvâl Śrâvaks. They call themselves Śâkadvîpa Brâhmanas, and know that their story is told in the *Nâmagrantha* of the *Sârya-purâna* and also in the *Bhaviṣya-purâna*. That the Śâkadvîpiyas were originally foreigners has been clearly shown by Professor Weber. But it is only our inscription that furnishes a specific date, viz. V. E. 918, when we can positively assert that Magas lived and were known by this very name in Râjputânâ at least.

Inscription No. III is of two lines containing nothing but verse 5 of Inscription No I. Inscription No. IV consists of four lines containing two verses. They possess the flavour of *subhâshitas*, and have each one and the same last *pâda*, saying that six things are dear to Kakkuka. What those six things are has been specified in the verses themselves.

## No I.

TEXT.<sup>5</sup>

- 1 श्री विनायकाय नमः ॥ चासीयतीहारवग्गुह<sup>4</sup>
- 2 सहजः<sup>6</sup> श्रीहरिचन्द्रः [1\*] अनेन राज्ञीचक्रियमद्राया जा-
- 3 तः श्रीमान्सुतः श्रीरज्जिलः [1\*], अस्माच्छ्रीनरमतः [1\*] अ-

<sup>1</sup> For some remarks on Ahîrs, see *Journ. Bo As Soc* Vol. XXI. pp 430-433, for fuller information still, see my monograph contributed to the *Ethnographical Survey of Bombay*.

<sup>3</sup> *Prakriti*, which is the same as *payat* in verse 20 of the *Mâtâ-ki-sâl* inscription, here doubtless signifies the Kshatriya class, as it is distinguished both from the *vya* (Brâhmanas) and *vanik* (Vaiśya) classes. This is rather an unusual sense of the word, and so far I have not seen it used in this sense anywhere else.

From the original stone.

<sup>4</sup> Read 'वग्ग'.

<sup>6</sup> Read 'सहज'.

- 4 तः श्रीनागभटः [1\*] भतः श्रीतातः [1\*] भतोपि श्रीयशोवर्धनः [1\*]  
 5 अस्माच्छ्रीचन्द्रकः [1\*] भतश्च श्रीशैलुकः [1\*] अस्माच्छ्रीभो[?]टः [1\*] भतः  
 6 श्रीभिक्षादित्य [1\*] भतः श्रीगुणान्वितः श्रीकक्षः [1\*] अनन  
 7 रात्रीश्रीदुर्लभदेव्यास्तुतो जातः श्रीकक्षुकः ॥  
 8 सन्तः कुटुम्बकं<sup>1</sup> यस्य स्थिरः कामः सितं यशः ।  
 9 विपुला चपलं<sup>2</sup> बुद्धिराग्रही गुणसंग्रहे ॥ [१\*]  
 10 न्यायभंगे भवेत्कीपो रागीपि जनपाल[न] ।  
 11 गुरुभ्यश्च भय यस्य भूषणं दीनरक्षण ॥ [२\*] शिन  
 12 प्राप्ता महाख्यातिस्त्रवण्यां वक्षमाडयोः । भार्ये-  
 13 षु गुर्जरन्नायां लाटदेशे च पर्वते ॥ [३\*] तेन महोदरे स्त-  
 14 भस्तथा रोहिन्मके कृतः । उभावप्युन्नतिं भीती स्वपक्षा-  
 15 विव जन्मदौ ॥ [४\*] श्रीमल्लकुकवीरेण कुलदीपेन  
 16 धीमता । अयमुस्तम्भित<sup>3</sup> स्तम्भो यशःस्तम्भ इवोन्नतः ॥ [५\*] संव-  
 17 त् ८१८ चैत्रशुदि २ बुधे जस्तनक्षत्रे । अक्ष हष्टो महाजनस्य  
 18 स्थापितः ॥ श्री [1\*] यौवनं विविधैर्भोगैर्मध्यमं च वयः  
 19 श्रिया । वृद्धभावश्च धर्मेण यस्य याति स पुण्यवान् ॥ [६\*]  
 20 अयं श्लोकः श्रीकक्षुकेन स्वयंकृतः<sup>4</sup> ॥

No 11

TEXT.<sup>5</sup>

- 1 श्रीं सिद्धिः [1\*] दिवा रात्रौ च संध्यायां — — —  
 2 — सकुलं । सिद्धिं करोतु सर्वत्र स्तम्भधामा वि[ना]-  
 3 यक. ॥ [१\*] रोहिन्मकूपकग्रामः पृथ्व्यासीदना-  
 4 श्रय. । असेव्य. <sup>6</sup>साधुनीकानां आभोरजनदारुण. ॥ [२\*]  
 5 विचित्रविधिसंपूर्णं<sup>7</sup> हृष्ट कृत्वा गृहाणि च । विप्रव-  
 6 णिप्रकृतीनां गृह गत्वा प्रियं च ॥ [३१] श्रीमल्लकस्य पुत्रेण  
 7 सप्रतीहारजातिना । कक्षुकेन स्थितिं दत्वा स्थापितोऽक्ष महा-  
 8 जनः ॥ [४\*] महाजनस्य सङ्गृहिः लाभः<sup>8</sup> पूजा सुखं भृतिः । श्री-  
 9 कक्षुकस्य कुन्दाभा कीर्तिर्भवतु शाश्वती ॥ [५\*] संवत् शते ८१८ चै

<sup>1</sup> Read कुटुम्बकं<sup>2</sup> Read ०युपम्भितplaced over *kpi*<sup>9</sup>

from the original stone

<sup>3</sup> I do not understand the position of चपल here<sup>4</sup> Read स्वयं कृतः; the *anuvada* of "gam" must have been inadvertently<sup>5</sup> Read ०श्रीकानामाभोर.<sup>6</sup> Read सङ्गृहिर्नामः.

- 10 असुदि २ [१\*] लिखितं मने[न] मातृविषा [१\*] उक्तीर्ष्य हेमकारिण  
[क]ण्ये-  
11 श्रेण ॥ सुत्तधरोक्ष नि . . . . . विष्णु ॥

No. III.

TEXT.

- 1 श्री[मल्ल]कुक्कीरेण कुलदीपे[न] धीमता । अ-  
2 यमुत्तन्धित स्तम्भी यश[ः\*]स्त[म्भ] इवीकृतः ॥

No. IV

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 श्री[१\*] वल्लकी काकलीगीतं शरत्तन्द्रश्च मासती ॥  
2 विनीता स्त्री सतां गोष्ठी ककुक्स्य \*पृथाणि षट् [११\*]  
3 न्यायमार्गो \*गुरोर्भर्त्ता[ः\*] पुत्रे स्नेहः कृतघ्नता ॥  
4 प्रिया वाम्नागरी वेषः ककुक्स्य पृथाणि<sup>4</sup> षट् ॥ [२]

## No. 39.—SARANGARH COPPER PLATES OF MAHA-SUDEVA.

By HIRA LAL, B.A., NAGPUR.

Sarangarh is the capital of a feudatory State of the same name in the Chhattisgarh division of the Central Provinces, 32 miles south of Raigarh, the capital of another State and a station on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway. The chiefs of these two States are Rāj-Gōpda. The plates in question are in the possession of the Rāj family and first came to my notice in the beginning of the year 1903 at my last visit to Sarangarh. As they were looked up and the keys were not available at the time, the then Superintendent of the State, Rai Sahib Ālam Chand, promised to send them to me when I asked for them, but my reversion to the executive duties before I could return to head-quarters, followed by Papdit Ālam Chand's retirement from service, left them where they were, until the present Superintendent, Munshi Akbar Khān, took active steps in the matter at the instance of Rai Bahadur Pandā Baijnath, B.A., Diwān of the Bastar State, and sent them on to me on the 7th January 1903. Thus the recovery of the plates first discovered over forty years ago is as much due to the interest of the above gentlemen as to the readiness of Rāja Jawāhar Singh to lend them for examination.

The exact date and the details of the first discovery are not now forthcoming, but the plates are said to have reached the Bengal Asiatic Society on the 7th December 1864.<sup>5</sup> Dr Rājendra Lal Mitra published them in that Society's Journal in 1866, where he stated that they were presented to the Society by Lieutenant G. Bowie of the Sambalpur Police Corps, but when Dr. Fleet wrote his Gupta inscriptions about 1888, and searched for the plates, he could not

<sup>1</sup> From the original stone<sup>2</sup> Read प्रियाणि.<sup>3</sup> Read गुरीर्भर्त्ता.<sup>4</sup> Read मित्राणि.<sup>5</sup> See *Journ. Beng. Ac. Soc.* vol. XXV, p. 110 ff.

find them. He then recorded that as the published version was not sufficiently reliable to be reproduced he was unable to include this inscription in his volume<sup>1</sup>

The fact appears to be that the plates were never presented to the Society. They were simply lent by and finally returned to the owner, the Śārangarh family, whose State was in those days included in the Sambalpur district, now transferred to Bengal

These facts combined with the absence of a facsimile copy of the record in Dr Rājendra Lal's notice, together with certain misreadings of the text, afford, I venture to think, sufficient reasons for re-editing this inscription.

There are two copper plates, each measuring  $6\frac{1}{4}'' \times 3\frac{1}{4}''$ , and the weight of the two together is 12 ozs,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  drs. About 1' from the proper right margin each plate has a hole, roundish on one side and squarish on the other, the diameter being about  $\frac{1}{8}''$ . These were intended for stringing the plates on the ring, the loss of which has deprived our inscription of its last portion, which must have been engraved on a third plate. The lost plate must have contained about 5 or 6 lines<sup>2</sup> which can almost be restored from other inscriptions of the same king, and of Mahā-Jayarāja, all of which are composed in exactly the same wordings, the names of villages granted and the donees being of course different. In our inscription only some of the imprecatory verses are lost as also the date at the end, which of course cannot be restored. Judging from other inscriptions of this king the date must have been in regnal years, so that it could not have been of much help beyond fixing the priority or otherwise of our inscription as compared with others.

The plates recovered are in an excellent state of preservation. One is inscribed on one side and the other on both in characters of the box-headed variety of the Central Indian alphabet. The letters are very neatly and well formed, their average size being about  $\frac{1}{4}$ '. The accompanying plate gives a facsimile copy, from impressions kindly taken for me by Mr T. G. Green, Superintendent of the Government Press, Nagpur.

The language is Sanskrit prose except the usual imprecatory verses, here attributed to Vyāsa. As regards orthography, there is very little to be noticed beyond what has been already done by Dr Konow with regard to another inscription of the same king recently found at Khariar.<sup>3</sup> As the composition is almost identical, the peculiarities are common to both. The *upadhānīya* occurs in line 3 in *-pradaḥ-parama-*. The same sign, viz. 2 dots, has been used for *visarga* and a pause. Ordinarily *mātrās* for *u*, *ri* and *ḥi* alone are attached at the foot of letters, but in this inscription there is a curious example in line 12 where the sign for *ḥi* in *anumōḍitah* is partly exhibited by a top and partly by a foot stroke, all other *ḥi*'s being represented by the top strokes for *ḍ* and *ḥ*, compare *vikkramāṅganata-* of line 1.

The inscription was issued from the town of Śarabhapura and records the grant of a village named Chullapaṇaraka situated in the *bhukti* or subdivision of Tuṇḍaraka by the Queen and the royal family of Rāja Mahā-Sudēva and assented to by him, to a number of learned priests, viz. Bhāskaravāmi, Prabhākaravāmi, Barbhariavāmi, Bōtasavāmi, Dattasavāmi, Viśṇuvavāmi, Phalguvavāmi, Svāmikīrttasavāmi and Śaṅkaravavāmi, all of the Kausika *gōtra*. One of these, Viśṇuvavāmi, is apparently identical with the donee of the Khariar plates. He also belonged to the Kausika *gōtra* and received a village in the Khariar *zamindāri* from this king. Neither these two nor the third charter of this king, which was obtained from Raipur, throw any light on the dynasty to which he belonged or on

<sup>1</sup> *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 198, footnote 2.

<sup>2</sup> Eighteen lines of our inscription remain; the Khariar plates have 28 lines, the Kāraṅ plates of Jayarāja 24, and the Raipur plates of Sudēva 23, but these last ones are much smaller in size than the others. Our plates are slightly bigger than all the three sets.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 170 and ff.



2 2  
6 6  
4 4

11 a

8 8  
10 10  
12 12

11 b

14 14  
16 16  
18 18

his date. Dr Konow has conjectured that the Śarabhapura kings might have been Rāshtrakūtas. They were ascendant in the Central Provinces about the 8th century to which period the characters of our inscription belong. But Dr Konow, for reasons pointed out by him, regards the identification as yet very doubtful.

Of the geographical names occurring in the inscription Śarabhapura, which recurs in the other two grants of Mahā-Sudēva, and in the Ārang plates of Mahā-Jayarāja, has not yet been identified. I identify Tunḍaraka with the present Tāndrā, about 6 miles south of Secrī Nāīyan on the Mahānadi and about 35 miles west of Sārangarh. It is now included in the Balōḍā Bazar tahsil of the Raipur district. The village Chullandāraka must have been somewhere close to Tāndrā, but I am at present unable to trace it. If it exists we would now find the name in a form like Chulāndur, a characteristic Chattisgarhi name, some similar ones which I remember being Machāndur, Palāndur, Kachāndur, etc. It appears to me that another village granted by Mahā-Sudēva in his Raipur charter was not very far away from Tāndrā. It is called Śrīśāhikā,<sup>1</sup> which I take to be the present Sīrāhī, also included in the Balōḍā Bazar tahsil, and situated about 25 miles south-west of Tāndrā. Mahā-Jayarāja of the Ārang plates, who belonged to the same dynasty, also seems to have granted a village in the same part of his kingdom, viz Pamvā,<sup>2</sup> which I identify with Pāmgarh,<sup>3</sup> about 21 miles north of Tāndrā and included in the Jāngir tahsil of the Bilāspur district. Pamvā and Śrīśāhikā are stated to be included in the Pāvarāshīra or Eastern country, and we know from the Khariar plates that to the south the kingdom extended at least up to Khariar. This leads to the inference that the territories of Mahā-Sudēva included a large portion of Mahā-Kōsala, or roughly speaking Chattisgarh division.

TEXT.<sup>4</sup>

## First Plate.

- 1 Ōm<sup>5</sup> svasti [I\*] Śarabhapurād-vikram-ōpanata-sīmanta-makuta-chūdāmāni-  
prabhā-pra-  
2 sākāmbu-dhōṭa<sup>6</sup>.pādayugalō ripu-vilāsinī-sīmanti-ōddharapa-bēturu-vvasu-  
3 vasudhā-gō-pradaḥ-paramabhāgavatō mātā-pitrī<sup>7</sup>.pād-ānuddhyātā<sup>8</sup>-śrī-Mahā-Sudē-  
4 va-rājāḥ Tunḍaraka-bhuktīya-Chullandārakē prativāsi-kuṭumbinas<sup>9</sup>-sa-  
5 māñśpayati [II\*] Vīditam<sup>10</sup>-astu vō yathā<sup>11</sup>-śyam grāmāḥ tridaśapati-sādana-  
sukha-  
6 pratishphākarō yāvad-ravi-śasi-tārā-kurapa-pratuhata-gbōrāndhakāram ja-

## Second Plate ; First Side

- 7 gad-avatishthātō tāvad-upabhōgyas-sānidhis-ōpanidhir-sahājabhaṭapraprāśya-  
8 sarvva-kara-visarjyātāḥ rājya-mahādēvi<sup>12</sup>-rōjakulāḥ mātāpitrō<sup>13</sup>-ātmanas<sup>14</sup>-cha pu-  
9 ny-ābhivṛddhaya<sup>15</sup> udakapūrvvām<sup>16</sup> 10 Kōṭika-sagōtra-trisahasraavidya-Bhāskarasvāmī-  
11 Prabhākarasvāmī-Barbharasvāmī-Bōtasvāmī-Dattasvāmī-Vishvasvāmī-  
12 Phalgusvāmī-Svāmīkirttisvāmī-Śaṅkarasvāmīnā[m\*] tāmbraśāsanēn<sup>17</sup>-āstisi-  
13 śitō bhūtv-āsmābhir-anamōditāḥ [II\*] Tē yāyam-ēvam-upalabhy-mahām-ājñāsraya-

<sup>1</sup> Gupta Inscriptions, p. 197.<sup>2</sup> Ibid, p. 192.<sup>3</sup> The adjunct garh seems to have been added when a mud fort, which still exists, was built there.<sup>4</sup> From the original plates.<sup>5</sup> Expressed by a symbol.<sup>6</sup> Read -dhēnta-. [It is possible that the sign read as ḍ here and in Kōṭika, l. 9, should be read as aw. The two mātās are separated by an interval, which is not the case where ḍ is intended. This remark also applies to the other plates of this king.—S. K.]<sup>7</sup> Read -pitṛ-.<sup>8</sup> Read -ātmanas-.<sup>9</sup> Read -rōjakulāḥ.<sup>10</sup> Read Kōṭika-.

## Second Plate; Second Side

- 13 na-vidhōyā bhātvā yathōchitān bhōga-bhāgam-upanayantas=sukha[ni\*]  
 pratavatsyatha [1\*]  
 14 Bhavishyatās=cha bhūmipān=anudarśayati || <sup>1</sup> Dānād=viśiṣṭam=anupālana[ni\*] pa-  
 15 rāgam<sup>2</sup> dharmamēshu mīchitādhyān=pravradanti dharmmam || (I) tasmā[ā\*]  
 dvijāya suvi-  
 16 śuddha-kula-śrūtāya dattām bhuvam bhavatu vō matir=ēva gōptum ||  
 Tad=bhavadbhi-  
 17 r=apy=ēshā dattir=anupālayitavyā [1\*] Vyāsa-gītāmś=ch=ātra ślōkām=udāhara-  
 18 ntī || <sup>3</sup> Agnēr=apatyam prathamam suvarṇam (II) bhūr=vvaishnavī sūryasūti<sup>4</sup>

TRANSLATION.<sup>5</sup>

Om! Hail! From Sarabhapura. The illustrious Mahā-Sudēva Rāja, whose two feet are washed by the water which is the flowing forth of the lustre from the crest jewels in the tiaras of the chiefs who have been subjugated by (his) prowess, who is the cause for the doing away with the parting of the hair of the women of his enemies, who is the giver of riches, of land and of cows, who is a devout worshipper of the Bhagavat, who meditates on the feet of his mother and father—issues a command to the householders living in Chullanḍaraka in the territorial sub-division (*bhukti*)<sup>6</sup> of Tundaraka:—

Be it known to you that this village, the source (by this grant of it) of (our) ensuring the happiness of the abode of (Indra), the lord of the gods—which has been conveyed by a copper charter accompanied with (pouring) of water, by the Royal Consort<sup>7</sup> and the Royal Family to Bhāskaravāmi, who knows the three thousand<sup>8</sup> (verses?) Prabhākaravāmi, Barbbharivāmi, Bōṣavāmi, Dattavāmi, Viṣṇuvāmi, Phalgunavāmi, Svāmīkīrttavāmi,<sup>9</sup> (and) Śaṅkaravāmi (all) of the Kanika *gōtra*, to be enjoyed as long as the world endures, having the terrible darkness dispelled by the rays of the Sun, the Moon and the Stars, together with its treasures and deposits, not to be entered by the district officer<sup>10</sup> and soldiers, (and), free

<sup>1</sup> Metre Vasantatilaka<sup>2</sup> Read *parṇad*.<sup>3</sup> Metre Indravajrā.<sup>4</sup> The remaining portion of the verse is: *ś-cha gdaś! dattā=trayas=śāśa bhavanti lōka gaḥ kṛdhasa* *gām oha mahān cha dadyāt* !<sup>5</sup> I have freely adopted the language of other translators of similar inscriptions, especially of Drs. Konow and Fleet<sup>6</sup> *Bhukti* was an old territorial division, the exact meaning of which has not yet been ascertained. It occurs in other inscriptions (see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 218, note 5) and sometimes becomes permanently attached to names such as Jājābhukti, the ancient name of Baudelkhand, which was corrupted into Jājasthi in Al Beruni's times (see above Vol. I, p. 218, and Sachau's *Al Beruni's India*, Vol. I, p. 202).<sup>7</sup> Mr Venkaya suggests to take Rājyamahādēvi as the name of the queen.<sup>8</sup> The original is *trīśasāra vāya*, which Dr. Bāṇendralāl has taken to be a part of the proper name Bhāskaravāmi, but I think it is an adjectival phrase enlorging his learning which extended to the knowledge of three thousand of—what is not stated. Probably he knew three thousand *ślōkas* of some very important and difficult work, considered as a great achievement in those times.<sup>9</sup> [The proper form of the name is certainly *Kirītīndras*, but the second part of the preceding name has been repeated by mistake —S. K.]<sup>10</sup> The word is *chdā*, usually translated 'irregular troops,' which translation I adopted in my Beal and Nagholi plates. Dr Vogel, some time ago, kindly drew my attention to this point giving a more plausible explanation of the word. He wrote to me:—<sup>11</sup> On my first visit to the ancient Hill State of Chambe (Panjab) I learnt that the head of a pargana there has the title of *chdā*, which is evidently derived from Sanskrit *chdā*. The *chdā* collects the villages who have to do work (forced labour) on behalf of the State; he arranges for load carriers and supplies in case the Rāja or some traveller visits his district. I have little doubt that the *chdā* of the copper plates is the same as the *chdā* of the Chambe State. In the Chambe copper plates published in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey (1902-03) I have therefore rendered the word by 'district officer.' It was clearly a



from all taxes,—has been sanctioned by us, for the increase of the religious merit of (our) parents and of ourself. Being aware of this you should be obedient to their commands, and should dwell in happiness rendering in proper manner (their) share of the enjoyment

And he enjoins upon future kings:—The ancients whose minds are fixed upon religion say that the virtue that arises from the preservation (of a grant) is greater than (that which arises from making a grant); therefore your mind should verily incline to preserve land that has been given to a Brāhmap of very pure family and holy learning. Therefore this gift should be preserved by you also.

And they cite on this point the verses that were sung by Vyāsa.—Gold is the first offspring of fire; the earth belongs to the God Vishnu and (cows are) the daughters of the sun. (therefore the three worlds are given by him who gives gold, and a cow and land)<sup>1</sup>

NO. 40.—PATIAKELLA GRANT OF MAHARAJA SIVARAJA  
[GUPTA] SAMVAT 283.

By R. D. BANERJI.

This inscription, which is edited here for the first time, was discovered several years ago by a peasant in a cornfield in the zamindari of Patiaikellā in the district of Cuttack in Orissa. It is the property of an Ōṛiyā Brāhmap, who, I hear, regularly worships it. The Rāja of Patiaikellā made it over to Bābu Nagendra Nātha Vasu, the Honorary Archaeological Surveyor to the Mayūrbhañja Estate. Nagendra Bābu made it over to me some six or seven months ago for decipherment.

The inscription is engraved on a single plate of copper, measuring  $7\frac{1}{4}$ " by  $2\frac{3}{4}$ ". To the left there is an oval projection,  $1\frac{1}{4}$ " long, to which a lump of brass or bell metal is attached. On the top of this lump there is an oval cavity, showing traces of the seal. But no letters or symbols are discernible at present. Both sides of the plate are inscribed. Altogether there are eighteen lines of writing in this grant. The writing was fairly well executed, but its preservation is not very good. One corner of the plate is missing and has carried away portions of the dates with it. Fortunately the date can be made out correctly from the portions still remaining. In this grant the date was given twice. First of all we read in the second line *tryadhikāsittiyuttara* . . . and secondly at the end of the eighteenth line *Samvat 200* . . . Thus tens and hundreds are all fairly certain. I am indebted to Dr. Koaow for the reading of the symbol for two hundred.

The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets and are in every respect similar to those of the Muṇḍēśvari inscription of Udayasena, from the Shāhābād district. The Muṇḍēśvari inscription is dated in the [Harsha] year 30 (635 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> The peculiarities of the characters of our grant are as follows:—

- (a) Among the ligatures the only noticeable feature is to be found in the *ā* mark, which is expressed in two different ways while attached to the same letter *na*. Cf

privilege of importance that the head of the district was not allowed to interfere with the granted land, in other words, he was not allowed to collect labourers or to demand supplies, etc., on behalf of the State."

<sup>1</sup> These words which must have been engraved in the third plate have been supplied to make sense.

<sup>2</sup> The Muṇḍēśvari inscription has been found in two pieces. The second portion was presented to the Indian Museum so far back as 1891. The first portion containing the date was found among the *dhāras* around the temple and sent to the Indian Museum in 1904. For the Muṇḍēśvari temple, see *List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal* (1896), p. 870. Dr. Bloch has referred to this inscription twice. See *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Bengal Circle*, 1902-08, p. 20, and *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1901-03, pp. 42-43. The inscription will be published below, pp. 289 and ff.

- punyābhīrāddhāyā* in l. 8 with *vr̥hadbhōgikādhikarāṇy-ēva*, l. 7. The *ē* mark is unusual in *-pārvaṇn=d-* in l. 9.
- (b) It is interesting to note that this Uttack grant shows a greater affinity to the Muṇḍēśvarī inscription than does the Gañjām grant of Śaśāṅka,<sup>1</sup> while the latter shows a marked affinity to the Bōdh Gayā inscription of Mahānāman of the Gupta year 269.<sup>2</sup> Thus the *ya* in the Bōdh Gayā inscription and the Gañjām plate is bipartite, while in the Muṇḍēśvarī inscription and the present grant it is of the usual early Gupta type, *i.e.* tripartite. Similarly the lingual *sha* in our grant and the Muṇḍēśvarī inscription shows a cursive base line unlike the acute angle type of the Bōdh Gayā and Gañjām inscriptions. This form of *sha* is also to be found in the Nepal inscription of the year 316.<sup>3</sup>
- (c) The presence of the acute angle is noticeable only in the dental *sa* and *ma*, as is also the case in the Muṇḍēśvarī inscription. But some letters show a well-defined acute angle at their lower extremities in alternative cases, *cf.* the *dha* in *-hārādāhigama-* (l. 5) with that in *-dīdhīti-* in l. 3, and *vr̥hadbhōgikādhikarāṇy-* in l. 7.
- (d) The characters of our grant differ from those of the Muṇḍēśvarī inscription in so far as the lingual *na* in the latter is exactly similar to the *na* of the early Gupta type, while the *na* in our grant has larger space between the right and left curves.
- (e) The characters of this grant show a greater affinity to the Gōlmāḍhītōl inscription of the Gupta year 316 than to the contemporary Nepal inscriptions. The paleography of the epoch beginning with the last half of the 6th and ending with the first half of the 7th century A.D. can nowhere be studied with greater advantage than in Nepal. The inscriptions of the Harsha year 34, the Gupta year 316, the Harsha years 39 and 45 show very clearly the change which came over later Gupta characters in the last half of the 6th century and the 50 years following that. Thus the Gōlmāḍhītōl inscription of the year 316 shows in its characters very little departure from those of the Maṇḍasār inscription of Yaśōdharman.<sup>4</sup> The Patan inscription of the year 34<sup>5</sup> exhibits a further step onwards, as it is more allied to the Gañjām grant of Śaśāṅka than our grant or the Gōlmāḍhītōl inscription. The next inscription, that of the Harsha year 39<sup>6</sup> and the short record of the year 45 of the same era, are inscribed in characters which are very much akin to the Bōdh Gayā inscription of Mahānāman and the Madhuban and Banāskhera grants of Harshavardhana.
- (f) The letters *da* and *ṭa* resemble each other very closely. Thus, *vr̥hadbhōgikādhikarāṇy-*, l. 7, looks like *vr̥haḥbhōgikādhikarāṇy-*.
- (g) There is little difference between *va* and *oḥa*. Thus, *-chala-taraṅga-*, l. 1, looks like *-vala-taraṅga-*, while *Śivardījaḥ*, l. 5, looks like *Śichardījaḥ*.

As regards orthography two or three departures are noticeable, such as *-maṅgura-*, l. 1, *-vanṭa-* and *-āṭṭī-*, l. 2, *gēhattō*, l. 8.

The object of the inscription is to record a grant made by a feudatory chief named Śivārāja to a number of Brāhmaṇas during the reign of his suzerain Śaṅguyayyana of southern Tōsal. Śaṅguyayyana is styled *Paramamāhēśvara-Paramabhāṭṭaraka-Paramādēvatādhīdēvata*, which clearly shows his imperial position. The title of the suzerain and the name of the

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. VI., p. 148.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 274, pl. XLII.

<sup>3</sup> Bendall's *Journey to Nepal*, p. 72, pl. VIII.

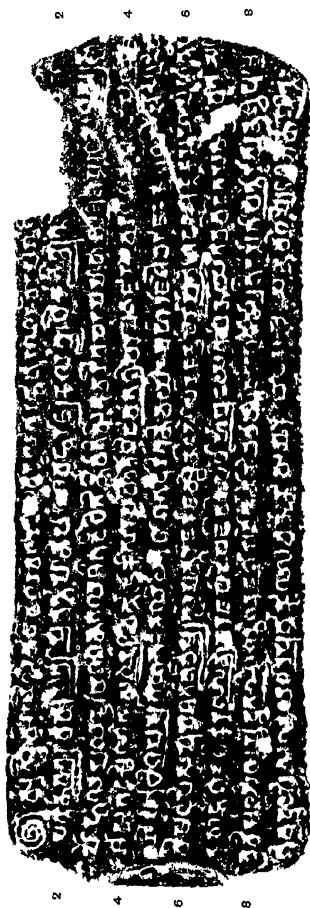
<sup>4</sup> Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 160, pl. XXII.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX., p. 169, and Bendall's *Journey to Nepal*, p. 74.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX., p. 170, and Bendall's *Journey to Nepal*, p. 77, pl. X.



*First Side*



*Second Side*



donor points to Śaivism, but the names of several donees such as Viṣṇuvāmi, Rāvatisvāmi, Gōpālasvāmi, etc., show a Vaiṣṇava taint. The document was issued from Vōrttanōka, which was the Imperial capital (l. 4) as well as the residence of the feudatory chief (l. 8). The grant consisted in the village Tāṇḍralvalu. It was given to several Brāhmins belonging to separate *gōtras* and *charanas*. The date has already been discussed. There can be little doubt about the fact that it is a Gupta year. Thus our grant was incised after the Bōdh Gayā inscription and before the Gañjām grant, the Nepal inscription of the year 316, and the Mandēśvari inscription. The second line mentions the kings of the Māna race, *Mānavantārāyākālā*. This dynasty has been mentioned in two 12th century inscriptions only, viz the Nawādā inscription of the Śaka year 1059,<sup>1</sup> which has been recently purchased by the Archaeological Survey and brought to the Indian Museum, and in the Duddhant rock inscription.<sup>2</sup>

I am afraid it is beyond my power to identify the geographical position of the village mentioned in the Patīakellā grant. Neither the *viśhaya* nor the *bhukti* or the *maṇḍala* has been mentioned in the grant, but in lines 5-6, we find *asminn=ēva viśhayaś*, which probably indicates that the name of the *viśhaya* was also Vōrttanōka.<sup>3</sup> I now edit the inscription from the original plate.—<sup>4</sup>

## TEXT.

## First Side.

- 1 Om<sup>5</sup> svasti [!]\* salila-nidhi-vēlā-vala[yita-cha]la-tarang-ābharapa-ruchura-maṅgura
- 2 pattanavatyā[m] vasumatyā[m] pravarttamāna-Māpa-vanśa-rājya-kālā tryadhik-āsittya-  
utta[ra] . . .
- 3 Maudgal-āmala-kulā gagana-tala-śitadidhiti-nivātā sita-charitā Paramamāhēśvara-  
śrī-Sāgguayayanā<sup>6</sup>
- 4 śāsata dakṣhiṇa-Tōsalyā[m] Vōrttanōkāt-paramadēvat-ādhiḍaivata-śrī-paramabhattā-  
raka-charapa-kamal-āmala-kṣau-
- 5 pi<sup>7</sup>-hār-ādhipa-prahata(h)-kālyug-āgata-durita-niḥaya(h)(yō) mahārāja-  
Sivarājah kuśalī asminn=ēva
- 6 viśhayaś samupegat-ābhaviśhyat-sāmanta-rāja-rājasthānīy-ōparika-kumārāmātya-  
tadāyuktaka-mahāmahattara-
- 7 vṛhadbhōgikādhikarapāny=ēva rājapādōpajīvi yathārha[m] śrāvayati mānayati cha  
viditma=a[stu] bhavātām ya[th=ā]-
- 8 ttra viśhayaś sambaddha-Tāṇḍralvalu<sup>8</sup>-grāma(mō) Vōrttanōk-<sup>9</sup>[āvavāsa-  
gō(P)]hattō-smābbhiḥ mātāpitrōr=ātmanas=cha pūpy-ā-
- 9 bhuviddhayaś salila-dhārā-pūrvvakēṇ=āchandr-ārka-sama-kāly-ākṣhayamvi(nīvi)-  
dharmanmēpa<sup>10</sup> nānā-gōttra-

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. II., p. 333

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. II., p. 346

<sup>3</sup> [The locality cannot be far from Tōsalī, which we know from Tōsalī's Dhanī edicts, and which must be located in the neighbourhood of Dhanī. It seems more likely to explain *asminn=ēva viśhayaś* as *Tōsalī-viśhayaś* than as *Vōrttanōkaviśhayaś*—S. K.]

<sup>4</sup> [It has proved impossible to get good impressions of the plate. The subjoined reproductions are the best that could be obtained.—S. K.]

<sup>5</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>6</sup> [I am unable to see *Sāgguayayanā*, but I cannot suggest a satisfactory reading, I think I see *Śamōdhayaśy=nu*—S. K.]

<sup>7</sup> [I read *āmala-śrēpi*—S. K.]

<sup>8</sup> [I see *Tūṇḍilvalva grāma*—S. K.]

<sup>9</sup> [I read *Vōrttanōkēś ch=āchandra* . . . but cannot make out the rest—S. K.]

<sup>10</sup> Read *-kālām=akṣhaya-*. Compare above, Vol. VI., p. 139, Vol. VII., p. 101, note 1.

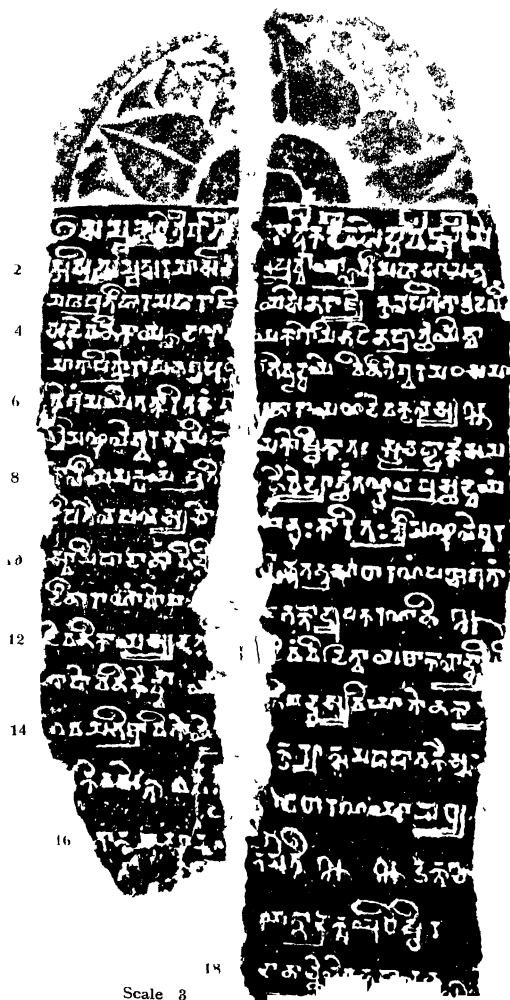
## Second Sīde.

- 10 charanēbhya Anuruddhasvāmi-Gōmīdēvasvāmi-Śūrasvāmi-Vōppasvāmi-Pitṛsvāmi-  
 11 Harungasvāmi-Chandrasvāmi-Bhadrāsavāmi Chhēdisvāmi-Pushyasvāmi-.karasvāmi-Rōhīṇī  
 svāmi-  
 12 Vu(Bu)ddhasvāmi-Mahāśēpasvāmi-Vishpusvāmi-Yadusvāmi-Mātradasvāmi-Nāgasvāmi-  
 Bhōgasvāmi-  
 13 Ana[nta P]svāmi-Prabhākarsvāmi-Nāva .rasvāmi-Dīpīsvāmi-Jam[vu]svāmi-Gōmīsvāmi-  
 Valasvāmi-  
 14 Jyēshthasvāmi-Adarśanadēva-Dhanadēva-Kumārasvāmi-Jyēshthasvāmi-Rēvatīsvāmi  
 Prāya(?)svāmi-  
 15 Pushyasvāmi-Chhēdisvāmi-Vappasvāmi-Śrāvasvāmi-Gōpālasvāmi-Gōmīsvāmi-ēbh yas-  
 tāmra-  
 16 -patti-kṛtya sampradattaḥ [I\*] Pūrvvarājakṛitō dharmm[ō]-nupālaniyati(ya itī)  
 matvā bhavadbhūḥ[I\*] Dharmmasāstrēshv=api tṛyatō [I\*]  
 17 Va(ba)hubhū-vvasudhā dattā rājabhūḥ -Sagarādībhūḥ [I\*] yasya yasya yadā  
 bhūmī=tasya tasya [tadā phalām] [I\*] [Shashṭim] varsha-  
 18 sahasrāni svarggē tishthati bhūmidaḥ [I\*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny-  
 ēva narakō vasēt [I\*] Samvat 200 . . . . .

## TRANSLATION.

In the [two hundred] and eighty-third year of the rule of the Māpa family on the earth, full of cities, which has the shores of the ocean as its bracelet, the moving waves as its trinkets and the radiant *maṅgura* fishes as its . . . . In the spotless family of Mudgala, when the great worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), the illustrious Sagguyayyana, whose character was white and who was undisturbed like the moon in the sky, was ruling in southern Tōsalī, *Mahārāja Śivarāja*, whom the accumulation of sins could not approach on account of his obtaining from the lotus-like feet of the Paramabhattāraka, the God of Gods, the spotless position of a ruler of the earth, being in good health, from Vōrttanōka honors all present and future feudatory chiefs, *Rājasthānīyas*, *Uparīkas*, officers of the heir-apparent, *Tadāyuktakas*, great nobles, tax-collectors and other dependants of the king in this *viśhaya* in due form and proclaims:—"Be it known to you that the village Tanḍralvalu, belonging to this *viśhaya*, from (the residential house at?) Vōrttanōka, for the increase of the merit of my father and mother and myself, after having poured out water, to last as long as the Sun and the Moon subsists, everlastingly, as a permanent endowment, is given by writing on copper plates to Anuruddhasvāmi, Gōmīdēvasvāmi, Śūrasvāmi, Vōppasvāmi, Pitṛīsvāmi, Harungasvāmi, Chandrasvāmi, Bhadrāsavāmi, Chhēdisvāmi, Pushyasvāmi, .karasvāmi, Rōhīṇīsvāmi, Vu(Bu)ddhasvāmi, Mahāśēpasvāmi, Vishpusvāmi, Yadusvāmi, Mātradasvāmi, Nāgasvāmi, Bhōgasvāmi, Ana(na)-svāmi, Prabhākarsvāmi, Nāvasvāmi, Dīpīsvāmi, Jam(vu)svāmi, Gōmīsvāmi, Valasvāmi, Jyēshthasvāmi, Adarśanadēva, Dhanadēva, Kumārasvāmi, Jyēshthasvāmi, Rēvatīsvāmi, Prāyasvāmi, Pushyasvāmi, Chhēdisvāmi, Vappasvāmi, Śrāvasvāmi, Gōpālasvāmi, Gōmīsvāmi, belonging to various *gōtras* and *charanas*. A law laid down by former kings should be observed, thinking so (you should observe my gift). It is heard in the laws (two of the ordinary benedictory verses follow). Samvat 200.







NO 41.—MUNDESVARI INSCRIPTION OF UDAYASENA.  
THE [HARSHA] YEAR 30

Br R. D BANERJEE

This inscription was discovered among the débris which had accumulated around the temple of Mundêsvari in the Bhânu subdivision of the Shâhshâd district<sup>1</sup> It seems that sometime after the incision of the inscription some ignorant person sawed it lengthwise in halves. The two halves of the inscription were discovered and brought to the Indian Museum at different dates The second half seems to have been discovered by the late Babu Purna Chandra Mukhârjî so far back as 1891-92 The first half, which is the more important part of the inscription, as it contains the date, was discovered in 1902<sup>2</sup> Impressions on tin foils were then sent to Dr Bloch The inscription was finally brought to the Indian Museum in the beginning of 1904 The two halves have now been joined together and placed on a masonry pedestal in the Inscription gallery of the Museum

The stone measures 2' 8" by 1' 1" and contains eighteen lines of well executed writing In the first half of the inscription the first fifteen lines are clear, but the sixteenth line has been much damaged and the seventeenth and eighteenth lines have been lost altogether With the exception of the last two lines, which contain one of the usual imprecatory verses, the whole of the inscription is in prose.

In a previous paper I have fully discussed the palæography of this inscription<sup>3</sup> The only orthographical peculiarities are the substitution of *ba* for *va* in *sambatsara*, and the use of *n* instead of *m* before *ś*. Letters with a superscribed *râpha* have been doubled Final forms of *m* are to be found in ll 2, 4 and 18, and of *t* in 1 15 The sign of *avagraha* has not been used at all, though it would have been in its place in ll 14 and 18 Note also the form *kâritakam* in l 6

The inscription records a grant of two *prasthas* of rice and a *pala* of oil to the god *Mañjalêvara* by a *kulapati*<sup>4</sup> named *Bhâgudalana*. It is dated in the year 30 in the reign of the *Mañdhâtamanta*, *Mahâprathâra*, *Mahârâja* *Udayasena*, who is not known from other sources Judging from the affinity of the characters of this inscription with those of the years 34 and 39 from Nepal,<sup>5</sup> the era is most probably that established by Harshavardhana The mutilation of the central portion of the inscription by sawing the stone into two halves has caused a series of gaps Some of these can be filled up, but lines 11 and 15 are quite unintelligible. I now edit the inscription from the original stone

TEXT

- 1 Om<sup>6</sup> Samba(mva)tsarê trîṣṣati[tamê] Kârttika-divasê dvâvîṣṣatimê
- 2 asmîṇ=samba(mva)tsara-mâsa-[diva]sa-pûrvvâyâm śrî-Mahâśamanta-
- 3 Mahâprathâra-Mahârâj-[-Ôda]yasena-râjyê kulapath-Bhâgudalana-7
- 4 s-sa dâvanikâyam dapṇa[nâ]yaka-Gôṃbhaṣṭhena prârthayitvâ
- 5 mâtâpitrôr=âtmanas=cha pu[nyâ]bhuvîrddhaya Vinitêsvara-mathasamâ-
- 6 vêsam matham=âtat=kâritakam [śrî-]Nârâyana-dêvakulasya

<sup>1</sup> *List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal* (published by the Public Works Department, 1895) pp 270—371  
*Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* (1902-03), pp. 42-43

<sup>2</sup> *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Bengal Circle*, 1903, p 20

<sup>3</sup> See above, p 285 f.

<sup>4</sup> A teacher who maintains ten thousand pupils at his own cost is termed a *kulapati*. See *Vâchaspathyâ bhûdhanam*

Bendall's *Journey to Nepal*, pp 72-73

<sup>6</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

The final *na* of this word has been added above the line

- 7 śrī-Maṇḍalésvara-svāmi-[pādā]ya kōshthikātaḥ ā-chandr-ārka-sama-  
 8 kāliyam-akshayaṁ prati[dinaṁ] naivōdyārttham tapūla-prastha-dvayam  
 9 dīpa-taila-palasya ch=ō[pani]bandhaḥ kārttaḥ śrī-Maṇḍalésvara-  
 10 svāmi-pādānām vichchhi[tti-vi]śrānta-tantra-sādhārapam pañohāsatām  
 11 dīnārāpān gōba . . . ja-bhaktādy-upakaraṇāni<sup>1</sup>  
 12 dēvamkāyasya datta[m<sup>2</sup>=ētaḍ=ō]vaṁ viditvā yathākāl-ādhyā[sabhi]-  
 13 r=āpōvamkair<sup>3</sup>=vvā ya[thām]baddhasya vighātō na kā[rya]  
 14 ēvam=abhiśrāvītō yō[=nyathā]kuryāt=sa mahāpātakaśa[ha]  
 15 [nara]kē vasēt ēvam . . . vadhārapayā madhya . . .  
 16 . . . . . bhāka . . . tam=ati || Ukta[ñ= cha]  
 17 . . . . . yatnād=raksha Yudhishthira  
 18 . . . . . dānāch=ohhrēyō=nupālanaṁ

## TRANSLATION

Hail In the year 80, on the twenty-second day of Kārttika, on the above-mentioned year, month and day, in the reign of the great feudatory, the *Mahāpratihāra*, the *Mahārāja* [Udayasēna, the *kulapati* Bhāgudalana, having applied to the Council of gods (PBrahmanas) through the *daṇḍanāyaka* Gōmibhaṭa built this *maṣha* of the *dēvakula* of Nārāyaṇa, to increase the merit of his father and mother and of his own self, near the temple of Vinītésvara. For the lord Maṇḍalésvara provision has been made every day, as long as the Sun and the Moon last, everlastingly, to provide two *prasthas* of rice for the votive offering and a *pala* of oil for the lamp from the treasury. Fifty *dināras* current up to the frontiers . . . . . of the Lord Maṇḍalésvara- . . . . . with rice and other ingredients. Knowing it to be a gift of the Council of gods, the merchants who trade on the waters(?) and who arrive at the proper time<sup>4</sup> should not hinder this arrangement. Having heard this, whoever acts to the contrary shall live in hell with great sins . . . . . O' Yudhishthira, preserve with care . . . . . preservation is preferable to gifts.

## No 42 —INSCRIPTION ON THE UMBRELLA STAFF OF THE BUDDHIST IMAGE FROM SAHET MAHET.

By T. Bloch, Ph D.

The stone bearing this inscription was discovered by Rākhāl Dās Banerji in April, 1908, in the Lucknow Museum. As Dr. Vogel tells me, it is a red sandstone slab, 3' 1" high, 11½" wide, and 4½" thick. "It is broken off at the top, just where the octagonal portion begins. Here the four corners are provided with an ornament in the Mathurā style. The lower portion of the slab is carved with a seated female figure, apparently unfinished. The back of the column is cut off straight." The photograph of the stone, supplied to me by Dr. Vogel, shows that this carving has been done at a later time, perhaps when the stone was intended to be used for some building. It has destroyed a good many letters in the second half of the inscription, while the first half has become almost entirely obliterated by sharpening knives on it.

However, enough remains to make it absolutely clear that the inscription was identical with the dedicatory epigraph on the pedestal of the large standing Bōdhisattva from Sahet

<sup>1</sup> The sign at the end of this line has been added in order to fill up the vacant space.

<sup>2</sup> [I would read *dattādy=ētaḍ*.—S. K.]

<sup>3</sup> [I read *āpōvamkair*.—S. K.]

<sup>4</sup> [I would translate, those who come and worship from time to time or the ascetics of the *tapōvana*.—S. K.]





Mahēt, which has been edited by me, above, Vol VIII pp 180-181. This fact is of considerable interest. First it shows that I was right in explaining the word *dāndaś=cha* in line 2 of the Sahēt Mahēt image inscription as "a staff for supporting the umbrella over the head of the Bōdhisattva" (l c p 180). Secondly,—and this is by far the most important point connected with this inscription,—we now know for certain that the Sahēt Mahēt statue was found by Cunningham *in situ*, or, in other words, that no possible doubt can be raised against the correctness of Cunningham's identification of Sahēt Mahēt with Śrāvastī.<sup>1</sup> For although the records of the Lucknow Museum are not as clear as one would have expected them to be in regard to the provenance of the stone, Dr Vogel has pointed out to me some very conclusive evidence, which in my opinion makes it certain that the stone was found by Dr Hoey during his excavations at Sahēt Mahēt in 1885. The only possible doubt that could be, and has been, raised against the bearing of the Sahēt Mahēt, now Calcutta Museum, statue upon the question of the identity of Sahēt Mahēt with Śrāvastī, turned around this point: did Cunningham find the Bōdhisattva image at Sahēt Mahēt in its original position, or had it been shifted to this place from somewhere else? Strange though such a transportation would appear to us *prima facie*, it still has been, as far as I know, an assumption that seemed to recommend itself to certain scholars. I am afraid their position has now become definitely weakened by the discoveries above referred to.

Unfortunately no further help is given to us by the new inscription for restoring the missing words in the beginning of the inscription on the pedestal of the Bōdhisattva statue in the Calcutta Museum. Only the two letters *vapu* in the beginning of line 2 show that I was right in restoring the second word in the Calcutta inscription as *dēvaputrasya*, and further in ascribing the Calcutta statue to the time of either Kanishka or Huvishka. However, this is a very small matter, for which hardly any additional proof was required owing to the occurrence of the name of the *Trāpīṭaka* Bala, the donor of the Calcutta image, in a Mathurā inscription of the year 33 of Huvishka.<sup>2</sup>

I now edit the inscription from impressions and a photograph, kindly supplied to me by Dr. Vogel.

#### TEXT.

1. . . . . [dē]
2. vapu[trasya] . . . . .
3. . . . . [v]ihār[ī]-
4. [sya] . . . . . [bhikshu]-
5. sya [Balasya trāpīṭa]kasya
6. dānaḥ Bōdhi[sā]tvō chh[a]trāḥ<sup>3</sup> dāndaś=cha
7. Śāvastiye [Bhagavatō] chār[ka]m[ā]ś Kōsamba-
8. [kūṭiyā] śāhā[r]y[ā]ś[nā]m Sarvā[s]t[ī]vādina[m]
9. [pa]r[ī]gra[hā].

#### •No. 43 — TWO BUDDHIST INSCRIPTIONS FROM SARNATH.

By STEN KONOW.

During the excavations in Sarnath in February 1907, I found a fragment of a stone umbrella lying between the bases of two small brick *stūpas* to the west of the main shrine exca-

<sup>1</sup> Dr Vogel informs me that Paṇḍit Dayā Rām Sahni has discovered additional proof, that even in the days of Gōvinda-chandra of Kanauj, the traditional identity of the two places was still alive. See *Journal R As Soc* 1908, pp 971 and ff.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol. VIII, p. 182.

<sup>3</sup> It is doubtful, if the word was written *chāḍtrāḥ*, as in the inscription on the pedestal. However, the next word clearly is *dāndaś=cha*, and not *dāḍḍāś=cha*, as it is spelt on the pedestal of the statue.

vated by Mr Oertel in 1905. On the inner cavity of the fragment a Brâhmî inscription was engraved in four lines, the fourth running along the rim. The inscription, which is complete, covers the whole inner surface of the fragment, and the umbrella had therefore probably been broken when it was engraved.

The fragment is  $17\frac{1}{2}$ " long and  $5\frac{1}{2}$ " broad, and the umbrella to which it belongs must have had a diameter of nearly six feet. The letters are deeply cut, and their height varies from  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{3}{4}$  inches.

The characters are Brâhmî of the second or third century A.D. The forms of *ma* and *sa* are ancient, and the same is the case with *ya*. The shape of individual letters is not, however, constant. Thus the *na* of *amâni*, l. 1, differs from the *na* in *gimâni*, l. 4, the *du* in *dukkha* in lines 2, 3 and 4 has different shapes, the *dha* of *nirôdha*, l. 3, is angular, while it has been rounded in l. 4, etc. The form of the compound *kkha* is of some interest, the *hha* being open at the bottom. In *bhikkhavô*, l. 1, however, the bottom line has apparently been added by mistake under the following *vô*. The two *kkhas* in l. 2 differ from each other and on the whole, the form of this ligature is not the same in any two places.

The language is the Pâli of Buddhist literature, but with several misspellings, and other mistakes. Thus in l. 2, we find *dukkhavô* instead of *bhikkhavô*, and *ariyasachcham*, l. 3 *ariyayachcham*, and in l. 4 *arisachcham*, all instead of *ariyasachcham*. These slips taken together with the uncertainty in the formation of the individual letters, can only be accounted for by the supposition that the inscription was cut by an engraver who did not understand the original. The occasional introduction of the Sanskrit *samâdhau* = *samulaya* *ariyaya(sa)chcham*, l. 3, points in the same direction.

The inscription contains a short enumeration of the four *ariyanicchhas*, the fundamental doctrines of the Buddhas. These four truths form the essence of the famous Benares sermon, and our inscription is accordingly very appropriate in the spot where the Buddha first "turned the wheel of the law." In this connection it is of interest to note that the great majority of the statues unearthed in Sârâth represent the Buddha in the *Dharmachakramudrâ*, delivering his first sermon. The enumeration of the four noble truths or axioms is of the same conventional kind which is so common in Pâli literature, and though I have not found the exact quotation, I do not doubt that the passage cut on the stone is meant as a quotation from the Canon. Our inscription therefore, furnishes a valuable *epigraphical* proof for the existence of a Pâli Canon in the second or third century A.D. It is also of interest as the first old Pâli inscription found

North India. I here take the word Pâli to mean the language of the Southern Canon, the only use of the word which I consider as justified.

#### TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Chatti[â]r-amâni bhikkhavô ar[is\*]yasachchamî
- 2 kutamâni chhattâni dukkha[m] d[hi] (bh)kkhavô arâ(m)yasachcha[m]
- 3 dukkhasamudaya<sup>2</sup> ariyaya(sa)chcham dukkhanirôdha<sup>3</sup> ariyasachcham
- 4 dukkhanirôdha-gâmmi cha<sup>4</sup> paṭipadâ ari[ya\*]sachcham

#### TRANSLATION.

Four, ye monks, are the noble axioms. And which are these four? The axiom (about) suffering, ye monks, the axiom (about) the cause of suffering, the axiom (about) the suppression of suffering, and the axiom (about) the path leading to suppression of suffering.

<sup>1</sup> Taken from original stone.

<sup>2</sup> The stone perhaps has *nirôdha*.

<sup>3</sup> Re *igam*.

<sup>4</sup> The act of going seems to be *chāka*.







Another inscription written in Pali was discovered during the excavations carried on by Mr Marshall and myself in the winter of 1908, on the back of a slab containing conventional representations of scenes of the Buddha's life. I publish it here from impressions prepared in my office. The writing covers a space of 12" x 9", and the height of the individual letters is  $\frac{1}{2}$ "-1'.

The characters belong to the 4th, or, perhaps, the 3rd century A D. The tripartite *ya* is almost identical with the *ya* of the Allahâbâd *prasasti*, while the *sa* has the older form with a hook, and not with a loop. The date of the inscription is of interest for the history of Buddhist iconography.

The language is mixed Pali, the forms -*prabhavâ* in line 1, and -*śramanô*, l. 6, not belonging to the dialect. The inscription contains the common formula *yâ dhammâ*, etc.

#### TEXT.

- 1 Yâ dhammâ hôtu-prabhavâ
- 2 tēsam hētum tathāga-
- 3 tō avōcha tēsam cha
- 4 yō nirodhō ò.
- 5 vām vādī mahā-
- 6 śramanô.

#### No. 44.—SPURIOUS LAPHA PLATE OF THE HAIHAYA KING PRITHVIDEVA SAMVAT 806

By HIRA LAL, B A, NAGPUR

At the request of Mr. C. U. Wills, I.C.S., Zamindârî Settlement Officer, Bilâspur District, I have examined a copper plate in the possession of a Zamindâr at Lâphâ, named Dahrâj Singh, who is over sixty years of age and whom I had the pleasure to meet. He was good enough to lend it to me for taking an impression to accompany this note. He informed me that the plate was given to one of his ancestors, who first came from Delhi and took service at Ratanpur as one of the gate-keepers of the Ratanpur Fort and also as a guard of the Râni's palace. He used to live in the Bhûjîmûdâpârâ, one of the quarters of Ratanpur town. This portion of the town was eventually given to him as a *mû'âfi*, and afterwards the present copper plate grant is said to have been given bestowing on him 120 villages belonging to the Lâphâ Fort. The present Zamindârî contains only 75 villages and the Zamindâr informed me that before Mr. Chusholm's settlement in the year 1868, there were only 60 villages in it.

The plate is rectangular, measuring  $9\frac{1}{4}$ " x  $4\frac{1}{2}$ ", having a smooth surface, inscribed on one side only. There are two small holes on the top. The writing covers  $7\frac{1}{2}$ " x  $3\frac{1}{2}$ ", leaving out the *Śrî* at the top.

The record consists of 8 lines surmounted by a prefatory one, the middle portion of which is spaced down, apparently for ornamental purposes. This line and the word *Śrî* at the top together with *Śrî* 5 at the commencement and *śubham=astu* and the date in figures at the end are in prose. The rest is in verse, consisting of 5 *anushûbh śloka*s which are numbered, except the ast. There are altogether 206 letters including 9 figures.

The style of writing is Ōṛiyâ, and there are not less than 25 letters which are distinctly borrowed from the alphabet of that language. All the *mâtrâs* or vowel signs have been marked according to what is in vogue in the present Ōṛiyâ writing. The letters *ya*, *da* and *va* have been invariably written in the Ōṛiyâ form. The language is Sanskrit with spelling mistakes. Thus in verse 2 we find *vârasîmantu-* instead of *ivârasîmantu-*

The inscription purports to record the gift of 120 villages appertaining to the Lamphā (Lāphā) fort to a noble named Lungā, who had come from Delhi, by the Haihaya king Prithvi dēva, on the 1st day of the dark fortnight of Māgha in Śaivāt 808. For what services the gift was made and on what conditions, is not stated, but it was to be hereditary and it was given because the king's "mind was pleased with the *Kauraviya*"<sup>1</sup> which apparently means that he was pleased with the Kaur tribe, to which the donee belonged, presumably for their military services. What strikes one most at the first glance is the freshness of the metal, the clean cut and the modern characters, and this rouses suspicion. The intermixture of Ōṛiyā letters is in itself suspicious. They might, however, be old and indicate that the plate is an old one. On looking for the date such an idea gets partially confirmed, but the suspicion again revives as soon as we learn from the Zamindār that, since the grant was made, only 27 generations have supervened. The Zamindār thinks the date to be of the Vikrama era, so that the plate would be about 1,159 years old. This would give, on the average, 43 years to a generation, which is absurd. A critical examination of the record affords as easy an evidence of its being spurious. The characters are in reality all modern, having been taken from the Hindi and Ōṛiyā alphabets. The inscriptional alphabet of the Chhattisgarh Haihayas has a peculiarity of its own, not easily describable, but which distinguishes it from the modern alphabet. The most distinctive letters are *cha*, *ja*, *dha*, *bha* and *śa*, but in all instances where these letters occur in the present plate, they have no such distinctive features. The style of the record is also modern. I have not come across any Haihaya inscription with a *śrī* at the top, which modern writers usually put in. Again the word *śrī Kṛṣṇa* *handra*, which is apparently meant as an invocation, is a modernism, similar phrases being *śrī-Rāma*, *śrī-Gaṇḍa*, etc. In all Haihaya inscriptions, the invocation is *Om namah Śivāya*, i.e. I bow down to Śiva. The forger, who, I believe, had seen many of the Haihaya inscriptions, forgot the distinctive Haihaya invocation owing to the story of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa being uppermost in his mind, and he thought that as Kṛṣṇa was so well pleased with Mayurāditya, the supposed ancestor of the Haihayas, an invocation to that deity would be most appropriate. The next phrase, calling the record *vijaya-lēkha* or the victorious writ, meaning royal record, is another novelty of the Ōṛiyā type, in which, as in Dravidian languages, the addition of *vijaya* or victory to every act done by a high personage is a matter of etiquette. A *Rāja* does not go, he conquers; *vijaya karuchhanit*, he does not eat, he conquers the kitchen, he does not answer the call of nature, he conquers the latrine, and so on. I have not come across any other grant being distinguished as *vijaya-lēkha*. The next phrase refers to a seal, which is nowhere to be found. The prefatory phrases done, the record proper again begins with a modernism, viz *śrī* 5. This reminds one of a Hindi letter-writer which was used in schools, some years ago, in which there was a couplet to the effect that 6 *śrīs* should be recorded for a preceptor, 5 for a master, 4 for an enemy, 3 for a friend, 2 for a servant, and 1 for a wife or son. This must have occurred to the writer's mind, more particularly because he was, as I suppose, a school-master himself and was probably teaching the *Paṭrahaṭṭhaṇī* to his pupils.

Now with regard to the date, the Vikrama year 808 or 749 A.D. is impossible. It goes back to a period when probably the Haihayas had not at all come to Chhattisgarh. From inscriptions we have a date 1114 of Jājallādēva I, who was fifth in descent from Kalingarāja, the first Haihaya, who is said to have conquered Dakṣiṇakṣāla. Taking then the date of Kalingarāja to be 1000 A.D., the present grant would have been made by the Haihayas 250 years before they began to rule in Chhattisgarh. Even if we suppose that it refers to the Kalachuri era, it would be equivalent to 1054 A.D., i.e. almost contemporaneous with the commencement of Haihaya rule. Prithvirāja was fourth in descent from Kalingarāja and was the father of Jājallādēva I. The date of this plate would place a difference of 80 years between

<sup>1</sup> [Perhaps *Kauraviya* is intended.—S. K.]

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 24.



五

श्री हनुमन्तु चवत्तुनम्

विजयशेखरि

[illegible]

father and son, if we suppose that both records were written in the first year of their reigns This is again improbable These kings moreover had not then gone to Ratanpur

On the whole, I come to the conclusion for reasons stated above that this grant to Lungá is a lungá affair and was perpetrated somewhere between 1860 and 1870 by a Sanskritist of Ratanpur, whom I do not desire to name out of respect for his Sanskrit learning I suppose 'chill penny' induced him to undertake a work which he would not have otherwise done The record does not show any adequate cause for the grant being made, and it is noteworthy that exactly double the number of villages of those which the Zamindari contained before Mr Chisholm's settlement were recorded as granted by the Haihaya Rāja. It may be noted that when this record was written the change of the tribal name of the donee or his descendants from Kavar to Tawar had not been mooted or at least had not been seriously taken up, otherwise we should not have had the phrase *Kauraviya-prasannadhī* in verse 3 There is a family genealogy of the Lāphā Zamindār, written in the year 1927 or 1870 A D, which shows that the tribal name had then been changed to Tawar

# TEXT.<sup>2</sup>

Sri.

Śrī Kṛṣṇachandra

vijayalēkhā

Śrī-lōkhaka-mudrā chatrasā

- 1 Śrī 5 || Svasti śrīman-mahārājādhrājā kṣhī-nvēkarāt<sup>3</sup> || (1) Prithvidēvo na-
- 2 hōddarśi-mauliyudbhāsi-padāmva(bu)jā<sup>4</sup> || 1 || Haihayānuarāja<sup>5</sup>-savitā śūra-sāmanta-
- 3 sāvita<sup>6</sup> || (1) mahōdbhata-bhaṭākīra-sainyō varigaṇaprahā || 2 || Dily-igata-
- 4 susūśya<sup>6</sup> Luṅg-ākhyāya mahātmanō || (1) dadē vṛim<sup>7</sup> vamsaparām
- Kauraviya-prasanna-
- 5 dhī<sup>8</sup> || 3 || Lāphā-durgam-ayī(pu) grāma-vimōttarasātōnmitām || (1) samvatsarē
- 6 ras-ābhr-āṣṭ-ātīte Māgh-āṣit-ādikē || 4 || yē bhavishyanti bhūpālāḥ pā-
- 7 laniyā sad-ōti taiḥ || (1) maddattā likhitā tāmra-patrē Mādhavasūri-
- 8 nā || Śubham-astu<sup>9</sup> || Māghē vadi || 1 || Sammansarē<sup>9</sup> 808

# TRANSLATION.

Sri

The illustrious Kṛṣṇachandra.

The Victorious writ

The illustrious writer's regular seal

Śrī 5. Hail.

(Verse 1.) The illustrious *Mahārājādhrāja* Prithvidēva, the king of many countries (is) very intelligent (His) lotus feet are shining with the diadems (of kings prostrating before him).

(V. 2) (He is as it were) the sun amongst the descendants of the Haihayas and is served by his brave feudatories. His army is full of very extraordinary soldiers. He is the destroyer of his enemies.

<sup>1</sup> The word in Hindi means "mischievous"

<sup>2</sup> Read *kṣhīty-andhādī*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *śūra-sāmanta*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *vṛititā*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *-astu*.

<sup>6</sup> From the original plate

<sup>7</sup> Read *Haihayādhrāja*

<sup>8</sup> Read *śūśrīya*

<sup>9</sup> Read *Sakhasarē*

(V 3-4) His mind being pleased with the Kauraviyas<sup>1</sup> (Kawars) he gave to the very brave noble named Lungā, who had come from Delhi, 120 villages with the Lamphā fort for maintenance from generation to generation, on the first day of the dark fortnight of the Māgha month in the expired year (symbolically expressed by) flavour (3) sky (0) and eight (8)

Future kings should always respect my gift written on the copper plate by Mādhava Sūri  
Let good fortune attend The first day of the dark fortnight of Magha in the year 808

#### No 45 — ABHONA PLATES OF SANKARAGANA KALACHURI SAMVAT 347

By K B PATHAK, PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT, DECCAN COLLEGE, POONA

These two plates belong to a Rajput family residing at Ābhōṇa, a village in the Kelavana tāluka of the Nāik district. I obtained them on loan through my friend Mr N C Kelkar. They are inscribed on one side only, and measure  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7$ ". The writing is carefully engraved and is in a good state of preservation.

The characters belong to a variety of the southern alphabet which is well-known from the Sarsavati plates of Buddhārāja edited by Dr. Kielhorn in this Journal, Vol VI, pp 294 and ff. They include numerical symbols for 300, 40, 7, 10 and 5 in line 34. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and with the exception of five imprecatory and imedictive verbs in lines 28-33, the text is in prose.

The inscription is one of Śaṅkaragana, the son of Krishnarāja, of the family of the Katochchūris. It records an order of Śaṅkaragana, issued from his camp at Ujjayini, to the effect that he granted a hundred *niṣartikas* of land in the village of Vallisikā situated in the district of Bhōgavarddhana to a Brāhmaṇa named Ālmanasvāmin, of the Gautama *gotra*, belonging to the Taittiriya *śākhā*, who was a resident of Kallāvana, at the request of Gōgga. The inscription is dated, in words and numerical symbol, on the 15th day of the bright half of Śrāvana of the year 347,<sup>2</sup> which must be referred to the Kalachuri era, so that the date corresponds to the 27th July A.D. 595.

The Katochchūri Śaṅkaragana is identical with the father of Buddhārāja, who issued the Sarsavati grant. The wording of the two inscriptions is practically identical, with the exception of the portion referring to the grants themselves. There is, of course, nothing in our inscription to correspond to lines 14-17 of the Sarsavati plates, which refer to Buddhārāja.

Of the localities occurring in our inscription, Kallāvana is the modern Kalavana in the Nāik district. Vallisikā and Bhōgavarddhana I cannot identify.

In line 20 of the present inscription we find the technical expression *a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-prāvṛṣyam*, which so frequently occurs in other inscriptions, and which has usually been rendered "not to be entered by irregular and regular soldiers." I invite the attention of Sanskrit scholars to the following passage, in which Śaṅkarachārjya uses it,<sup>3</sup>—

*tasmāt tārīka-chāṭa-bhaṭa-rāj-dpravṛṣyam abhayaṁ durgam idam alpabuddhy-agamyaṁ  
śāstra-guru-prasāda-rahitaṁ cha. Anandaśūna gives the following explanation,—  
adeśit virodh-antar-abhāvāpi tārīka-samaya-virodhā-st-ity-ādāky-āha tasmād  
eti | pramāna-virodh-abhāva tach-ahhād-ūrtiḥ | āryanyāyādām bhūdā-*

<sup>1</sup> Or, if we read *Kauradya*, "he gave to the very brave and noble Kaurava (Kawar) named Lungā."

<sup>2</sup> [In the photo-lithograph 347 has been wrongly printed instead of 347—M. K.]

<sup>3</sup> *Bṛihadaranyakā* a śākhābhāṣyaśāstra, Anandasrama edition, pp. 311 and ff.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ४ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ५ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ६ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ७ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ८ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ९ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १० ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ११ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १२ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १३ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १४ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १५ ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १६ ॥

W. GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH

SCALE 0.8  
FROM IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY D. R. BHANDARKAR

STEN KONOW

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

26

27

28

29

30

31

32

33

34

35

36

37

38

39

40

41

42

43

44

45

46

47

48

49

50

51

52

53

54

55

56

57

58

59

60

61

62

63

64

65



nās chūṭā evaśhyantē | bhāṣās tu śivakā mthyā-bhushinas tishām surīśām  
rājīnas tārkikās ta r aprarīśyam anākrāmanyam idam bialakṣaṭam  
yitāt

## TEXT

First Plate, Second Side

- 1 श्री<sup>1</sup> स्वस्ति[॥\*] विजयस्कन्धवारादुज्जयनीवासकाच्छरदुपगमप्रसन्नगनतलविमल-  
विपुले
- 2 विविधपुरुषरत्नगुणकिरणनिकरावभामिते महासत्त्वापात्रयदुर्लभे गाभीर्यवति  
स्थित्य-
- 3 नृपालनपरे महोदधाविव कटञ्जुरीणामन्वये सकलजनमनोहरया चन्द्र-  
कयेव कीर्त्या
- 4 भुवनमवभासयन्नाजन्मन एव पशुपतिसमाश्रयपरङ्कलङ्घदोषरहितकुलकुसुद-
- 5 वनलक्ष्मीविवोधनचन्द्रमा इव श्रीकृष्णराजो यस्मांश्चयविशेषलोभादिव सकले-  
राभिगामिकै-
- 6 गतिरैव गुणैरुपेतसम्पन्नप्रकृतिमण्डलो यथावदालम्ब्याहितशक्तिसिद्धिर्वात च  
रुचिरव-
- 7 शक्तिभिः नियतमसूत्रलितदानाः प्रदियन्त्यन्तरिमणा वनवारणयूथपेनेवावि-
- 8 शङ्खं विचरता वनराजय इवावनिता दिशो यस्य च शस्त्रमापन्नवा-  
णाय विश्वरूपरा-
- 9 भिमानभङ्गय शिखितं विनयाय विभक्त्यं एतानां प्रदानं धर्माय  
धर्मः श्रेयोवा-
- 10 मये तस्य पुत्रः प्रथिव्यामप्रतिरथतुल्यदधिभिलाखादितयशा धनद्वयैव  
नृका-
- 11 समप्रतापः स्वानुग्रहोपातोर्जितराजयोऽप्रतापा(पा)तिशयोजनतसमप्रशामन्त-
- 12 मण्डलः परस्परपापीहितधर्मार्थकामनिषेवो प्रथतिमात्रसुपरितोपगभीरोन्त
- 13 हृदयस्यम्यकप्रजापालनाधिगतभूरिद्रविणविश्वानावापधर्मकिञ्चिरोत्सवा-
- 14 नां नृपनिर्गन्तानां प्रतिष्ठापयितात्युष्कृतानामुन्मूलयिता दीनान्ध-  
क्षपणसमभिल-
- 15 पितृमनोरथाधिकनिकामफलप्रदः पूर्वापरसमुद्रान्तादिदेशक्षामी मातापितृ-
- 16 पादानुध्यातः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीशङ्करगणः सर्वानिव राजसामन्तभोगिविषय-
- 17 पतिराष्ट्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादीन्समाप्रापयत्यस्तु वो विदितमस्माभिः

## Second Plate, First Side

- 18 भोगवर्धनविषयान्तर्गतवत्तिसिकाग्रामि उभयचत्वारिंशकनिवर्त्तनिना(नेन)  
 19 भूमेर्निवर्त्तनशतम् सर्वोदानसंग्राह्यं सर्व्यदित्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहीण भूमि-  
 20 च्छिद्रन्यायेनाचाटभटप्रावेक्ष्यमाचन्द्रार्कान्नवलितस्थितिसमकालीन पुत्रपौत्रान्वय-  
 भोग्यं  
 21 कल्लवनवास्तव्यगौतमसगोत्रतैत्तिरीयसब्रह्मचारी आह्वानस्वामिने वलिचरुवैश्व-  
 देवा-  
 22 निहोत्रादिक्रियोत्सर्पणाय मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिहृदये गोमा-  
 विज्ञापनया  
 23 उदकातिमन्त्रेणातिसृष्टं यतोऽहंश्चैरन्यैर्वागामिनृपतिभोगपतिभिः प्रबलपवन-  
 24 प्रेरितोदधिजलतरङ्गचक्षुलं जीवलीकमभावानुगतानसारान्विभवान्दौर्ध्रकालस्थेयस-  
 25 थ गुणानाकलय्य 'भोगसामान्यभृत्प्रदानफलेऽसुभिः शशिकररुचिरं चिराय  
 यशश्चिचोर्पुभि-  
 26 रयमन्महायोनुमन्तव्य' (पालयितव्यश्च [1\*] यो वाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमति-  
 राच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्य-  
 27 मान वानुमोदत स पञ्चभिर्भ्रष्टापातकैश्चयुक्तस्रयादित्युक्तश्च भगवता  
 वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [2\*]  
 28 षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [1\*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च  
 तान्वेव नरको वसत् ॥ विख्याट-  
 29 वीध्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [1\*] कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं  
 हरन्ति ये ॥ बहुभिर्व्य-  
 30 सुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [1\*] यस्य यश्च यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा  
 फलम् ॥ पूर्वदत्तां  
 31 द्विजातिभ्यो यन्नादश्च युधिष्ठिर [1\*] मर्हो महीमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छेद्योनुपालन-  
 मपिच ॥ यानीह  
 32 दत्तानि -पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्हीनानि धर्मात्थयशस्कराणि [1\*] निर्भुक्तमाश्रयप्रति-  
 मानि तानि को नाम साधुः  
 33 पुनराददीत ॥ संवत्सरशतत्रये सप्तचत्वारिंशदुत्तरके आवश्यकशुद्धपञ्चदश्यां  
 महापितृ-  
 34 पतिपाशुपतदूतकं लिखितमिदं महासन्धिविश्रवाधिकरवाधिकृतवाटचक्षि-  
 नेति ॥ सं ३०० ४० ७ आवण शु १० ५

TRANSLATION.<sup>1</sup>

Line 1. Om ! Hail ! From the victorious camp pitched at Ūjjayini. In the lineage of the Kātechohūris, which, like the great ocean, is extensive and spotless as the firmament, clear on the approach of autumn, illumined by the mass of the rays of the excellences of many jewels of men (as the ocean is adorned by the rays of its gems); which is difficult to be crossed, because it is the home of men of great vigour (as the ocean is of large animals), full of gravity and desirous of keeping within the bounds of what is proper (just as the ocean is full of depth and desirous of keeping within its shores), there was the glorious Kṛishnarāja, who illumined the world with his fame, as the moon with light, agreeable to all men, who was from his birth solely devoted to Paśupati (Śiva), just as the moon solely rests on Śiva, who (though) free from defects, yet like the moon (who has a spot) revives the beauty (prosperity) of his family resembling a forest of night lotuses, who was resorted to by all virtues which attract<sup>2</sup> men to a king and by other qualities, as if through a desire to obtain a very suitable abode, who was endowed with all the constituent parts of royalty; who had properly enjoyed the fruits of his regal powers; who resplendent with his illustrious family, the flow of his liberality being ceaseless and the majesty of his power well-known, roaming fearlessly, subdued the regions, as the chief in a herd of wild elephants, with the ceaseless flow of its rutting juice, displaying the greatness of its strength, roaming about fearlessly breaks down rows of forests, whose sword was used to protect the helpless; whose wars were made to humble the pride of his enemies; whose learning aimed at modesty, who acquired wealth to make gifts, who made gifts in order to acquire religious merit, and acquired religious merit in order to obtain final bliss

(L. 10) His son, the glorious Saṅkaragana, a great devotee of Śiva, the lord of countries bounded by the eastern and western ocean, and other lands, who meditated on the feet of his parents, who had no rival in the world, whose fame was tasted by the waters of the four oceans; whose might was equal to that of Kubera, Varuna, Indra and Yama, who acquired the fortune of great kings by the strength of his arm, to whom, by reason of the excess of his prowess, the circle of all feudatory kings bowed, who enjoyed religious merit, wealth and pleasure without allowing them to encroach upon one another, whose profound and lofty mind was satisfied with mere submission, who performed religious acts by giving away, in charity, the immense wealth acquired by properly protecting his subjects; who re-instated families of kings who had long been dethroned; who uprooted those that were too proud, who granted to the afflicted, the blind and the poor, the object of their desires which exceeded their sanguine expectations,—issues this order to all kings, feudatories, bhōgikas, heads of provinces, districts, and villages, officers and others —

Be it known to you. For the increase of the religious merit and fame of our parents and ourselves we have granted, at the request of Gōgga,<sup>3</sup> with pouring out of water, a hundred *nivarttana*s of land,—by a *nivarttana* measuring forty on both sides,—in the village of Vallisikā situated in the province of Bhōgavarddhana, together with all receipts, free from all *ditya*, forced labour, and *prātibhēdika*, according to the maxim of bhāmicchidra, not to be encroached upon by rogues and servants who tell lies,<sup>4</sup> to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons for as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth endure,—to Āhmaprasavāmin, a resident of Kallāvana belonging to the Gautama gōtra, and a student of the Taittiriya śākhā, for the maintenance of *bali*, *charu*, *vaśvādēva*, *agnihōtra* and other rites,—wherefore future kings and governors, whether of our own family or others, reflecting that this world of living beings is as unstable as a wave of the ocean, moved by a strong gale, that

<sup>1</sup> [Compare the translation of the Sarsavā plates and the notes accompanying it, above, Vol. VI. pp. 299 and ff.—S. K.]

*Kāmandakīya Nītiśāstra*, chap. IV verses 6-8

<sup>2</sup> Gōgga was probably the name of the queen of Śankaragana.

<sup>3</sup> See the introductory remarks

riches are perishable and unsubstantial, and that virtues endure for a long time,—wishing to participate in the fruit of a gift of land, which is an object of enjoyment by all, and desiring to accumulate fame as bright as the rays of the moon for a long time, should consent to this our gift of land and preserve it. Whoever, with his mind covered by the veil of the darkness of ignorance should take it away, or allow it to be taken away, shall be guilty of the five great sins. And it is said by the venerable Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas —[Here follow five well-known imprecatory verses]

(L. 33) In three hundred years increased by forty-seven, on the fifteenth day of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa, this edict, the *dātaka* of which is the *Mahāpīlupatī* Pāśupata, was written by the *Mahāsāndhivagrahādāhkaranādāhkrta* Vātohalin Sam 800 40 7 Śrāvaṇa su 10 5

## No. 46.—ARIGOM SARADA INSCRIPTION

### LAUKIKA SAMVAT 73

By STEN KONOW.

Ārigōm is a village in the Nāgām pargana, 74° 45' long., 33° 56' lat, about 15 miles south west of Śrinagar, as the crow flies. Dr. Stein, in his note on the *Īṭiyatuvāṅgī* I 340, identifies Ārigōm with Hādigrāma, where Gōpāditya is said to have established an *agrahāra*, and states that some remains of temples were traced there by Paṇḍit Kāśī Rām in 1891. Hādigrāma is further mentioned by Kalhaṇa (VIII, 672) as one of the strongholds of the Pāmara Prithvīhara. In the troubled times following on the accession of Jayasinha in A D 1128, "Hādigrāma, where King Sussala and those of his side had lost their renown, was burned by Sujji, whose valour was mighty" (VIII, 1586), and the place is further mentioned in connexion with the incursion of king Lōthana during the same period (VIII, 2195).

In June 1908, Paṇḍit Mukund Rām, who had with great courtesy been placed at my disposal by the Kashmir Darbar, was informed by a friend of the existence of an inscribed stone in the house of a Brāhmaṇ in Ārigōm, and at my request he went up to inspect it. According to information gathered by him on the spot, the stone in question was found about twelve years ago in a piece of uncultivated land near the Masūd Malik Sahib by a cultivator, who was digging there, and sold to a Brāhmaṇ for some corn. The Brāhmaṇ kept the stone for some time and did *pōṇā* to it. But people who saw it, told him that the writing probably contained information about hidden treasure, and that the stone therefore properly belonged to the Mahārāja. He got frightened, and first hid the stone under the wall of his house, but later on he threw it into a pit at the entrance of his *gōṣṭhā* and covered it up with cow-dung. Paṇḍit Mukund Rām further informs me that images, pedestals, stones and bricks are found all over the place, and it is probable that excavations would yield interesting results.

The stone mentioned above is square, measuring 20" each way, and being 4½" high. On the top is a raised circle, apparently the base of an image. One of the four faces of the stone is inscribed with five lines in Śāradā letters.

The writing covers a space of 17½" × 3", and the height of the letters averages ½". They are distributed over five lines, the fifth of which contains the date. The beginning of the first two lines and the last letter in lines 1-3 and the three last letters in line 4 have disappeared.

The characters are Śāradā, and they are very well cut. *Ja* has the older form as in the Baijnāth *prastāvi*. The final form of *m* occurs in line 3. The diphthong *ē* has been marked in two different ways, by means of a horizontal line above, as in *bhagavatē*, l. 1, or by a vertical before the consonant as in *tē*, l. 2. Similarly *ḍ* is sometimes marked by adding a horizontal above, sometimes by prefixing a vertical to the consonant accompanied by the sign for *ḍ*. Compare





*Aryāvalōkitēśvarāya*, 1 1, and *lōkanāthāya*, 1 2 A third method occurs in *lōkā* at the end of line 1, where a wavy line has been added above the sign for *la*. Of initial vowels only *ā* occurs in *āryā-*, 1 1. Among ligatures I may note *kya*, 1 1, *kkra*, 1 3, *kva*, 1 4, *nga*, 1 2, *āya*, 1 3, *rya*, 1 1, and perhaps *lhna*, 1 3. The numeral symbols for 7, 3 and 5 occur in line 5.

The language of this inscription is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the invocation of *Avālokiteśvara* in 1. 1, and the date in 1 5, the whole is in verse. There are altogether two verses. The first is apparently a *ślōka*. The second *pāda*, however, contains three syllables too much, but these *aksharas* are probably simply a repetition of part of *pāda* 1. The second verse is a *sārdślavikrīṣita*. The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a *vihāra* built of *pakka* bricks, by *Rāmadēva*, the son of *Kulladēva*, in order to replace a wooden structure which had been built by a *vaidyā*, whose name I read *Ulhā*, and which had been burnt down by king *Simha*. This *Simha* must be identical with *Jayasimha* (from A D 1128), in whose reign *Hādirāma* was burnt down by *Suṣṇī*.<sup>1</sup> It then becomes highly probable that the *vaidyā* *Ulhā* is identical with *Ulhana*, the son of *Sahadēva*, who was a supporter of *Suṣṇī*.<sup>2</sup> *Sahadēva* is described as a *Rājaputra*,<sup>3</sup> which fact can of course be well reconciled with his son *Ulhana*'s being a *vaidyā*. The constructor of the brick *vihāra* was *Rāmadēva*, whom I cannot identify. His father *Kulladēva* was perhaps in charge of the old wooden *vihāra*, if I am right in interpreting *tad-rata* (1. 4) as "devoted to, attached to him, viz., *Avālokiteśvara*."

The word *vihāra* is used with more than one meaning. In our inscription, however, there cannot be much doubt that it signifies a shrine, as it has been characterized as "the abode of *Lōkanātha*." The stone upon which this epigraph has been incised is most probably the actual base of the statue of *Lōkanātha* here alluded to. *Lōkanātha* is, of course, identical with *Avālokiteśvara*, who is invoked in lines 1-2. Our inscription thus furnishes valuable proof of the fact that Buddhism was still lingering in Kashmir in the 12th and 13th centuries.

The mention of the materials used in building the old and the new shrines, is also of interest. We learn that the former was constructed from wood, while the latter was built from *pakka* bricks.

The old *vihāra* is stated to have been built in the vicinity of *Gaṅgēśvara*. This is now called *Gaṇēśvara*, and is the place where the present inscription was dug out. The modern corruption of the name is not of very old date. The old name was at least remembered about 40 years ago. This is proved by a *janmapattra*, which *Pandit Mukund Rām* found in *Ārigōm*, and which was written by *Pandit Gaṇēśa Khusrāo* in *Laukika* Samvat 4939, i.e. A D 1862-63. It speaks of a person as *Gaṅgēśvara-pādumālā* *Ārigrāmē vāstavya* residing in *Ārigōm* at the feet of *Gaṅgēśvara*. *Gaṅgēśvara* was originally probably a *Śiva* temple, and it is not unlikely that it could be identified by means of excavations.

The inscription is dated Samvat 73, *Mārga* sūti 5. This date must be subsequent to the burning of *Ārigōm* during the reign of *Jayasimha*. Now *Jayasimha*'s father was murdered in the *Laukika* year 4203, and the burning of *Ārigōm* took place in the first part of his reign. It is therefore as good as certain that we have to understand the date of our inscription as 4273 on the fifth tithi of the bright fortnight of *Mārgaśīrsha*, corresponding to Sunday, the 16th November 1197.

#### TEXT

1 ...<sup>4</sup> नमो भगवते आर्यावलोकितेश्वराय ॥ १[नै]लोकालोकभूताय लोका-  
[लो]-

<sup>1</sup> *Rājatarangini*, VIII 1586

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem* vv 2066, 2082, 2097

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem* v 198

<sup>4</sup> I cannot restore the beginning. The *akshara* preceding नमो looks like नै. *Pandit Mukund Rām* suggests to read नौ

<sup>5</sup> Metre *Ślōka*. There is something wrong in the second *pāda*

- 2 [ख]. [स]मवच्छिदे [१\*] जमदानन्दधन्वाय श्रीकृष्णाय ते नमः ॥ [१\*]  
 'प्रागङ्गेश्वरसि[ख]-  
 3 श्री [सुम]तिमान्वैद्योत्तुदेवाभिधसन्ने दारुमयं विहारममलं श्रीलोकनाथास-  
 दम [१\*] तस्मि[न्]-  
 4 हृत्पेष कालवयतो दग्धेय पक्षेष्टिकायेष्टं तद्रतकुसदेवतयोमं रामदेवो  
 [व्यधात् ॥] [२\*]  
 5 सं ७३ मार्ग शुति ५

## TRANSLATION.

Line 1 Salutation to the exalted noble Avalokitēśvara.

(Verse 1). Salutation to thee, the Lord of the World, who hast become a light to the three worlds, . . . who destroys transmigration, the moon of delight to the world.

(V. 2) Formerly the *vaidya* Ulpadēva<sup>3</sup> by name made a spotless *vihāra* of wood, an abode for the Lord of the World, in the vicinity of the Gaṅgōśvara (temple). After this, by the will of fate, had been burned by king Śiṃha, Rāmadēva, the son of Kulladēva, who was devoted to him (Avalokitēśvara), made yonder (*vihāra*) excellent with burnt bricks.

Line 5 Samvat 73, the 5th day of the bright (half) of Mārga(śirsha).

No. 47.—CHANDRAVATI PLATE OF CHANDRADEVA  
 SAMVAT 1148.

By STEW KONOW.

The plate containing this inscription was found on the inner slope of the left bank of the Ganges, near the water's edge, under the fort at Chandravati, in the Benares District. Mr. Chhote Lal, the District Engineer of Benares, informs me that, owing to the erosive action of the river, portions of the fort were undermined and fell down from time to time. The plate fell into the river along with the walls of the fort, and was seen and picked up by the Public Works Department's boatman, who deposited it in the District Engineer's office at Benares. In March 1908 it was then finally handed over to the Director General of Archaeology in India.

The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, measures 15½" x 11¼". The edges are fashioned thicker and raised into rims. In the upper part of the plate is a hole, through which passes a ring, about ½" thick and 3" in diameter. On the ring slides a bell-shaped seal, 2½" from top to bottom. The surface of the seal is circular and 2¼" in diameter. It represents in relief, on a slightly countersunk surface, a Garuḍa, with the body of a man and the head of a bird, kneeling and facing the proper right. Across the centre is the legend *śrīvadaśa*-(*śrīmaśa*)-*Chandradēvaśa*, and at the bottom a conch shell.

The plate contains 23 lines of writing. Parts of it are much worn, and the portion containing the date cannot be made out with certainty. The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. With regard to orthography I shall only note that *va* is used both for *va* and for *ba*, and that the dental sibilant is often used instead of the palatal one; thus, *astha*-

<sup>1</sup> Metro Śāridālavikrīḍita

<sup>2</sup> It is possible that the name should be read *Alipadēva*.



for *aiṭa*, 1 1, -*vaiṣa*- for -*vaiṣa*-, 1 2. There are several other misspellings and slips, especially towards the end.

After the invocation to *Śrī* common in other plates of the same family, our inscription proceeds to give the genealogy of the donor in four verses, which are well known from other inscriptions. We are told that Yaśōvigraha had the son Mahichandra, whose son again was Chandradēva, the issuer of the present grant. The inscription then goes on in prose, stating that the victorious king Chandradēva issues the following order to all the people assembled, residing in the Vaḍagavā-village in the Vāvana-pattalā, and also to the *Rāyas*, *Rājās*, *Ivārāyas*, councillors, chaplains, warders of the gate, generals, treasurers, keepers of records, physicians, astrologers, superintendents of gynæceums, messengers, the officers in charge of elephants, horses, towns, mines, *sthānas* and *gōkulas*.

"Be it known to you that the aforesaid village, with its water and dry land, with its mines of iron and salt, with its fishing places, with its ravines and saline soil, with and including its groves of *mādhūka* and mango, grass and pasture land, with what is above and below, defined as to its four abutments, up to its proper boundaries, has today, on the day of the bright fortnight of Kārttika, Samvat 1148, been given by us for as long a time as moon and sun endure, with the pouring out of water from the palm of our hand, purified with *gōkarna*<sup>1</sup> and *kusa*-grass, to the Brāhmaṇ Varuṇśvayaśarmaṇ (-śvaraśarmaṇ), the son of Varāhaśvāmī, the grandson of Anarudha, of the Vasuṣṭha *gōtra*, and whose only *pravara* is Vasuṣṭha, for the increase of the merit and fame of our parents and ourselves, after having today bathed here in the neighbourhood of Sauri (Sauri)-Nārāyaṇa, after having duly satisfied the sacred texts, divinities, saints, men, beings, and groups of ancestors,<sup>2</sup> after having worshipped the sun whose splendour is skilled in rending the veil of darkness, after having worshipped Vāśudēva, the saviour of the three worlds, and after having sacrificed to the Fire an oblation with abundant milk, rice and sugar."

The first point here that is worthy of notice is the date, which is the earliest known for Chandradēva, the other copper plate of his time being dated in Samvat 1154.<sup>3</sup> It will be seen that the portion of it containing the *tithi* and the week day is illegible. Mr Chhote Lal, who has examined the original, writes about this point,—

"Ordinarily, it might be thought that the excessive corrosion and incrustation of rust at this particular part of the plate was purely accidental, but from a minute examination of the imperfect and damaged letters which are still discernible, I am led to conclude that the excessive incrustation at this point was due to the fact that the surface of the plate was already damaged by somebody in his endeavour to make a correction in the date. It is remarkable that the name of the place or that of the stream in which the donor took his bath, is not mentioned in the inscription. Nor is there any mention of the occasion (eclipse, *saṅkrānti*, etc.) at which the gift was made. It would appear that Sauri-Nārāyaṇa was in those days a very well-known place of pilgrimage requiring no further details to localise it, that the occasion *presumably* was the ordinary Kārttika-*śrāda*, and that the date originally entered on the plate was *pañchadatyāśrāda gaurā*, but was afterwards attempted to be corrected into *śukladatyāśrāda*. The *ś* of the latter just overlaps the *pa* of the former; the *kā* of the latter being rather large has been so formed as to include the *ca* and to cover the space occupied by *da* of the former; while the space occupied by *tyāśrāda* of the former has been utilised for the rather clumsily large *da* of the latter. It will thus be seen that the space originally occupied by the word *pañchadatyāśrāda*, which was of normal size, was subsequently occupied by the much larger letters, *ś*, *kā* and *da*, and there being no more space available for the final syllable *tyāśrāda*, it was omitted. Similarly, the *ra* of

<sup>1</sup> Compare Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.* XV p 10, Note 57.

<sup>2</sup> See *ibidem*, note 55.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.* XVIII. pp. 9 and 2.

*raiau* overlaps the *gu* of *gurau* and *rau* of the latter has been deformed into something like *van* of the former. Now the question arises, "Why was the date corrected?" The reason may be that the grant was originally intended to be made on the *purnimadasi*, on the occasion of a *lunar eclipse* which was expected to take place on that date. A little calculation will show that the eclipse did actually occur on the specified date (corresponding to Thursday, the 7th of November, 1090 A.D.), but as the time of its occurrence was early in the following morning (according to calculation), it must have been very doubtful whether it would be visible at the place visited by Chandradēva. This circumstance may have been anticipated, and it may have been decided to make the donation on the preceding *Prahōḍhni Bhādasi* (Sunday, the 3rd of November, 1090 A.D.) which was a most suitable day for the purpose, being the day on which Vishnu—the deity worshipped by Chandradēva—rises from his four months' sleep. I say all this may have been the cause of the alteration in the date, for there is no *a priori* reason against this supposition. But I consider it very unlikely that a Mahārāja, who changed his mind about the actual day of performing a religious ceremony, could have allowed a correction—and a clumsy correction at the best—to be made in the copper plate inscription recording the gift of a whole village, when the entire inscription could have been out on a new plate in a day's time. The fact seems to be that it is no honour to a Brāhmap to receive a gift on the occasion of an eclipse, and there are certain sects of Brāhmapas, e.g. Sarjuparis and Kanauyias, who would promptly excommunicate any member of their community who was known to have received a gift on account of an eclipse. The Brāhmap who received the munificent gift from Chandradēva probably belonged to one of these sects, and, after the king had made the gift and departed, he seems to have thought of concealing his disgraceful conduct and to have caused the original and genuine date to be altered as explained above."

Mr. Ohhot Lal further identifies *Vaḍagavā* with the present Baragaon, a village 14 miles north west of Benares. He thinks it, however, also possible that it was the old name of Chandravatī, which was afterwards changed in honour of king Chandradēva.

After the mention of the grant, we find some of the usual imprecatory verses, and, at the end, the name of the writer, the *śhaktura* Mahapanda.

#### TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Ōm<sup>2</sup> svasti || <sup>3</sup>akumṭh-ōtkanṭha-Vaikunṭha-kanṭha-piṭha-lāṭhat-karāḥ | saṁrambhāḥ  
sauratārambhāḥ sa Śriyaḥ śrēyaśō-stu vaḥ || <sup>4</sup>śaid-asī(śi)tadyu-
- 2 ti-vamśa-(śa)-jāta-[kahmā]pāla-mālāu divam gatāu | śākhād-Vivasvān-iva  
bhūrdhāmānā nāmā Yaśōvigraha ity-udārāḥ || <sup>5</sup>tat-sūtō-bhūtt(n)-Mahāchandra-
- 3 ś-cha[m\*]dradhāma-nibham nijam | yēn-āpāram-akṣipāra-pārē vyāpārītam<sup>6</sup> yajāḥ ||  
<sup>7</sup>may-ābhūt-tanayō may-nikarasilāḥ krānta-dvishan-mahādālā(mahādālō)  
viddhast-ōddhata-
- 4 dhīra-yōdha-timirāḥ śrī-Chandradēvō nripaḥ | yēn-ōdārātara-pratāpa-sa(śa)mī-  
śśēha-prajōpadraṇam śrīmad-Gādhipur-ādhirājyam-asaman dōrvikra-
- 5 mōn-ārjitarā || <sup>8</sup>tīrthāni Kāśī-Kuśik(-śik)-Ottarakōṭal(sal)-Endra(h)sthānīkāni  
paripālāyat-ābhigamyaḥ(ya) | hōm-ātmatulyam-anisam(śan) dadātā dvyaśbyō
- 6 yēn-āmitkā vasmatī śataśa(śa)s-tulābhīḥ || sa oha paramabhātāraka-mahārājā  
dhīrāja-paramāśva(śva)ra-paramamāhēśva(śva)ra-nipabhujōpā[r\*]jīta-śrī-Kā-
- 7 nyakuvj(bj)-ādhipatyā-śrī-Chandradēvō vjayī ||<sup>9</sup> Vāvana-pattalāyām Vaḍagavā  
grāmē nīyā[sinō nikhila]-jana-padān-upagatān-apī oha rāja-rājāt-jayarā-

<sup>1</sup> From the original plate.

<sup>2</sup> Metre: Indravajrā.

Read *vidhast*.

This sign of interpunction is superfluous.

<sup>3</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>4</sup> Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

<sup>5</sup> Metre: Vasantatīlaka.

<sup>6</sup> Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

<sup>7</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

[illegible]



- 8 ja-mamtri-purôhita-pratibhâra-sênâpata-bhâmdâgârik-âkhepatalika-bhushaka(ahag)-naumi-  
[ttik-ântâhpu]rika-dûta-kanturagapattânâkarasthâgâgô[ku]-
- 9 lâdhikâmpurushân-âjñâpayâ(ya)ty-âdîsati cha yathâ viditam=astu bhavatâm  
yathôpâ[rilikkhi]ta-grâma[h\*] sa-jala-sthalah sa-lôha-lavaṇ-âkaraḥ sa-ma-
- 10 [t\*]sy-âkaraḥ sa-garât-ôsharaḥ sa-madhûk-âmra-vana-vâtikâ-trina-yûti-gôchâra-  
paryamtaḥ s-ôrdhd[v\*]-âdhas=chatur-âghâta-visu(śu)ddhaḥ sva-simâ-paryantaḥ  
[samvat]
- 11 1148 Kârttika su di . . . . . ady-êha Sau(śau)ri-nârâyana- samipê  
snâtvâ vidhivan=mamtra-dêva-pu(mu)ni-manuja-bhûta-puṭṭiganâms=tarppayitvâ ti-
- 12 mira-patala-pâtana-pa[ṭu-ma]hasams(sam=)[ushpa-rôchi]sham samabhyarohya tribhu-  
vana-<sup>1</sup>trâtur=Vâsudevasya pûjâm vidhâya prachura-pâyasêna havishâ  
havirbhujam [hu]tvâ
- 13 mâtpûtrôr=âtmana[ś-cha] puṇya-pra(ya)[śô-bhuvrddhaye] <sup>2</sup> Vasishthâgôtrâya <sup>2</sup>  
Vasishth-âika-pravarâya <sup>3</sup> Anarudha-paurâyâ Var[â\*]hasvâmi-putrâya <sup>3</sup>  
Varupêsvaya(śvara)-
- 14 sa(śa)kmaṇê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâya gôkarsa(rpa)-kusalatâ-pûta-karatai-ôdakên=âsmâbhih  
âchamdrâkkam yâvavv(oh=ohh)âsanikṛtya pradattâh | matvâ yathâdîyamâna-  
bhâgabbhō-
- 15 gâkara-pravanikara-turushkadandâ-kumaragadiâṇaka-prabhîrîn-samastâ[n\*]-niyatâs  
nyat-âdîyân-âjñâ(du)-vidhēyi-bhûya dâsyatha
- 16 it || bhavanti oh-âtra paurâṇikâ[h\*] ślôkâh || || <sup>3</sup>bhûmim yaḥ pratagrhpâta  
yâś-cha bhûmim prayachohhati | ubhau tau puṇyakarmâṇau ni-
- 17 yatu svargna(rgga)-gâmanan || sa(śa)mkham bhadrâsanam chohhatram<sup>4</sup> varâsvâ  
(śvâ) varavârapâh | bhûmi-dânsaya ohinâm phalam=<sup>5</sup>s(ś)tat=Paramdara ||  
shashṭ(h)im varsha-sahasrâ-
- 18 ni svarggê vasati bhûmudaḥ [<sup>6</sup>] âchohhettâ ch-ânumantâ cha tân[y=\*]êva  
narakam(kê) vasê || svadattâm paradattâm vâ yô harêd(ka)=vasumdharam |  
sa vishphâyâm kṛmir-bhûtvâ
- 19 putrbhiḥ saha majjati || vârihînêshv-aranyêshu śushka-kôtara-vâsinah | kṛishpa-  
sarppâś=ra(cha) jâyantê dêva-vra(bra)hma-sva-hâriṇah || na visham vi[sha]m-  
ity-â-
- 20 hu[r\*] vra(bra)hma-svam visham=uchyate(tê) | visham=êkâkinam hamti(r-)  
vra(bra)hmasvam puvrapautêkâm(putrapautrikam) || <sup>6</sup>rgâm-akâm svarêṁ=  
êkâm bhûmêr=apy-êkam=aniglam | haram(haran) narakam=âpnôti yâvad-â-
- 21 bhûta-sa[rn\*]plavam || tadâgânâm sahasrâpi <sup>7</sup>asvam(â)ghasatâm cha | gavâm  
kâ(kô)ti-pradânsana(nêna) bhûmi-hartâ na suyat(śudhyati) || va(ba)hubhur=  
vasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhiḥ Cha(Sa)ga-
- 22 râdibhi[h] || (i) yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis-tasya tasya tadâ phalam || <sup>8</sup>yân-  
tha dattâm purâ narê[n\*]dra[r\*] dânam <sup>9</sup>varmâpîyasasakarâpi [<sup>6</sup>] m-  
[rmâlyavânta-prati]-
- 23 mâni tâni kô nâma sâdhuḥ punar-âdadhita || || <sup>10</sup>lakhtamm-udam  
tâmmrapajaka[rn\*] ṭhakkura-êri- Mahâpamda ||

<sup>1</sup> The engraver originally wrote *tribhuvana*, but corrected it

<sup>2</sup> These signs of interpunctation are superfluous.

<sup>3</sup> Metre of this and the following verses: Anushtubh.

<sup>4</sup> The 4-stroke has been put over the *pu* of *Paramdara*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *gdm-êkâm svargam-êkam cha*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *asvamâghasatâni*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *dharmârikayasas*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *châtttram*.

<sup>9</sup> Metre *Indravajrâ*

<sup>10</sup> Read *lakhtam*.

No. 48 —BURHANPUR SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION OF ADIL SHAH.  
SAMVAT 1646.

By HIRA LAL, B.A., M.R.A.S., NAGPUR.

Burhānpūr in the Nimār district of the Central Provinces is an ancient historical site<sup>1</sup>. It was the chief seat of the Fārūqī kings. They ruled over Khāndēsh, which name the Muhammadans derived from their title of Khān. Their rule lasted from 1370 to 1600 A.D., when it was displaced by the Mughals. One of these Fārūqī kings built the Jam'a Masjid, in which besides Arabic inscriptions he had one carved in Sanskrit, which gives his genealogy and the date of the construction of the mosque. This inscription is in the northern corner and is written within an arch, so that the lines, which are 6 in number, are of unequal length. They contain five verses, besides the invocation *Sri śrīṣhīkariś namaḥ* in the commencement and the date in the end, both of which are in prose.

The letters are Nāgarī and are raised, not incised, in the same fashion as Persian letters are usually found carved. Orthography hardly calls for any remarks. The sign of *avagraha* has been omitted throughout. Over the *na* of *-khāna-* (l. 3) we find the Arabic sign of *tashdīd* or double consonant.

The date is recorded in great detail, giving both the Vikrama and Śaka years, which are stated to be 1646 and 1511 respectively, the cyclic year being Virāḍhi. The mosque is stated to have been completed on Monday, the 11th of the bright fortnight of the month Pausa, the exact moment in *ghaṭī* and the *nakṣatra*, *lagna*, *yōga*, *karana*, etc., being added most precisely<sup>2</sup>. The date in the Hijra era is given as 987 in Arabic above the inscription. Its English equivalent was kindly calculated for me by the late Professor Kielhorn, C.I.E., who found it to be Monday, the 5th January 1590. The astrological details are unique in a Muhammadan mosque and show the religious tendency of the later Fārūqī kings. In Burhānpūr much of the beliefs of the two religions (Hinduism and Islām) got mixed up, traces of which are still conspicuously present there. As an instance may be cited the preachings of the *Pīrādās*, who are Musalmāns and who say that God will now become incarnate as *Nishkalakṣī*<sup>3</sup>. The Fārūqīs undoubtedly believed in astrology, as this inscription shows, and although the builder of the mosque took every care to erect it in the most auspicious moment completing it exactly in one year (as an Arabic inscription carved in the middle of the Masjid discloses) and wished by his pious act to ensure the long continuance of his dynasty, yet uncompromising destiny snatched away the crown from them, only ten years after the construction of the edifice. In fact Bahādur Khān, the builder's son, was so much infatuated with superstition, that, in spite of his possessing the impregnable Asirgarh fort with ten years' provisions, enormous treasures and numerous horses and cattle, he felt convinced that he could not hold his own against Akbar, of whom he believed that he was a necromancer and that magicians accompanied him to reduce the fort. A pestilence which broke out among the animals, was attributed to the black art, and he saw no way but to surrender to the mighty wizard. This mosque was thus destined to receive another inscription, which Akbar triumphantly caused to be carved recording his victory of Khāndēsh in A.H. 1009 (A.D. 1600), annihilating the glory of the mosque builder's dynasty for ever. This inscription is in Persian and is conspicuously inscribed on the outside wall of the left hand minar.

<sup>1</sup> It was here that the famous Mumtāz Mahall (Arjumand Bānū Begam) breathed her last.

<sup>2</sup> For details see translation at the end.

<sup>3</sup> I have seen some Sanskrit manuscripts in Persian character in the possession of some Maulvis of Burhānpūr, preserved as heirlooms from their ancestors, who apparently studied them under State encouragement. Unfortunately most of these valuable records have been destroyed by the fire of 1897 and 1906 which caused damage to the extent of about 57 lakhs besides loss of life.

The chief interest of our inscription lies in the genealogy of the Fāruqīs given in it. According to it the first king was Rāja Malik, whose son was Ghazni (Khān). His son was Kaisar Khān, whose son was Hasan, from whom was born Ādil Shāh, whose son was Mubārakh. Ādil Shāh, the constructor of the mosque, was the son of this Mubārakh. This genealogy differs from those given by Firishta and Abul Fazl. According to the former Ādil Shāh was the 6th descendant from Malik Rāja, and according to the latter the 8th, while according to our inscription he was the 7th. The tables given below will show at a glance how matters stand —

Sanskrit inscription	Briggs' <i>Firishta</i> , Vol IV, p. 280.	Jarrett's <i>Āin-i-Akbari</i> , Vol II, p. 226
Rāja Malik	Malik Rāja	Malik Rāj
Gazni (Khān).	Nasir Khān	Ghazni Khān, title Nasir Khān.
Kaisar Khān		Miran Shāh <i>alias</i> Ādil Shāh
		Mubārak Shāh Chaukhandi.
Hasan (Khān).	Hasan Khān.	Ādil Shāh Aynā <i>alias</i> Ahsan Khān.
Ādil Shāh.	Ādil Khān	Ādil Shāh
Mubārakh.	Mubārak	Mubārak Shāh
Ādil Shāh.	Rāja Ali Khān.	Rāja Ali Khān, title Ādil Shāh.

The *Āin-i-Akbari* states that "Bahādur Khān (who was the son of Rāja Ali Khān) was 9th in descent from Malik Rāj." This has led Colonel Jarrett,<sup>1</sup> as it would indeed lead others, to suppose that the list given there is genealogical and that Ahsan Khān, the fifth king, was identical with Hasan Khān, who, as a matter of fact, was never a king. Hasan Khān belonged to a collateral branch of the family, whose son became king on the failure of male issue in the main line.

The *Āin-i-Akbari* has mixed up the succession list with the genealogical table. Miran Shāh, the third descendant, was really a grandson of Malik Rāja, but the point missed is that he was not the direct ascendant of the last Ādil Shāh or Rāja Ali Khān. The crown first went in Miran Shāh's line up to Ādil Shāh Aynā, who was succeeded by his brother Dāwūd Khān, and the latter by his son Ghazni Khān, who was poisoned two days after ascending the throne. Abul Fazl does not mention Ghazni Khān at all, probably because his succession to the throne was only nominal. Ghazni Khān left no son,<sup>2</sup> and hence the crown went to Rāja Ali Khān's grand-father Ādil Shāh or Ādil Khān. The three kings Miran Shāh, Mubārak Shāh and Ādil Shāh father Ādil Shāh or Ādil Khān. The three kings Miran Shāh, Mubārak Shāh and Ādil Shāh were not thus direct ascendants of Rāja Ali Khān. The *Āin-i-Akbari* list should therefore be left out of consideration, and the question must be decided between our inscription and Firishta's list. Briggs<sup>3</sup> takes Hasan to be the son of Nasir Khān, relying on Firishta's assertion that "Ādil was the son of Hasan and grandson of Nasir Khān." If Hasan were the son of Nasir Khān, he would be the brother of Miran Shāh, who was crowned king after his father's death. We would, therefore, have to suppose that Miran's nephew came to the throne after the expiry of three

<sup>1</sup> See his *Āin-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 226, footnote.

<sup>2</sup> Briggs' *Firishta*, Vol. IV, p. 303.

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.*

generations, which is an unlikely supposition. There is nothing to show that Ādil Khān (Hasan's son) was extraordinarily long-lived.<sup>1</sup> It, therefore, seems very probable that there was an intervening generation between Nasir Khān and Hasan Khān, and the missing link is supplied by the Sanskrit inscription in the person of Kaiser Khān, son of Nasir and father of Hasan Khān. In the inscription Kaiser Khān is merely called a *vīra* or hero and not a king, and although Hasan was also never a king, the epithet of *kahūta* was apparently added to his name by way of courtesy, to tickle the ruling prince. Regarding the sources of his information Firsihta records<sup>2</sup> that when he visited Burhānpūr in A. H. 1013 (A. D. 1604), he asked Mirā Ali Isfahāni if any history existed of the Fārdqi family. The Mirā replied that he knew of none, but said that he once saw a genealogy<sup>3</sup> of the family down to Malik Rāja, which he copied and took along with him. It would thus appear that no history of the kings later than Malik Rāja existed at all. So the information he collected was apparently from traditions or other casual records, while the writer of the Sanskrit inscription must certainly have been supplied with information from the royal family, as it was intended to be a permanent record in one of the greatest works the king built. It is therefore, more reliable than Firsihta and leaves no room for doubt as to its authenticity.<sup>4</sup> A revised genealogy of the Fārdqi kings will be found below on p. 310.

TEXT<sup>5</sup>

- 1 ॥ श्री सृष्टिकर्त्रे नमः । अत्यन्तं (॥) व्यापकं नित्यं गुणातीतं विदामक  
[1\*] अत्यन्तं (अत्यन्तं) कारणं वन्दे व्यक्ताव्यक्तं तमीश्वरं ॥१॥ यावद्व्या-  
कर्तारः-
- 2 दि क्षितिः स्यादंबरांगणैः (॥) [1\*] तावत्कारुणिकीं वीर्यं चिरं वन्दु  
भूतले ॥२॥ वंशे तस्मिन्निष्ठे फारुकीन्द्रो वभूव राजा मलिकामि-  
धानः [1\*] तस्याभवत्पुत्रः-
- 3 इदमर्चयताः कुशावतंसो गजनीमरेयः ॥३॥ तस्मादभूत्केसरखानवीरः पुत्र-  
सदीयो हसनक्षितीयः [1\*] तस्मादभूदेदमयाहभूपः पुत्रीभवत्तस्य  
सुभारण्डेदः ॥४॥

<sup>1</sup> The average for a generation in the line of which Ghazni Khān was the last, is 23 years, while in the line of Rāja Ali Khān it is 29 years. According to the Sanskrit inscription the average for the latter is reduced to less than 26, taking the reckoning up to the death of Miran Muhammad in 1576, but for the minority of whose son Hussein Khān, Rāja Ali Khān would have had no opportunity to sit on his brother's throne.

<sup>2</sup> It may be noted that the visit was paid 14 years after our inscription was carved.

<sup>3</sup> Firsihta gives this as follows:—

Malik Rāja, the son of Khān Jahān, the son of Ali Khān, the son of Uthmān Khān, the son of Simion Shāh, the son of Aashab Shāh, the son of Arman Shāh, the son of Ibrahim Shāh of Balkh, the son of Ādam Shāh, the son of Ahmad Shāh, the son of Mahmūd Shāh, the son of Muhammad Shāh, the son of Āsim Shāh, the son of Ashghar, the son of Muhammad Ahmad, the son of the Imām Nasir Abuljalla, the son of Omar al-Farqī entitled Khalifa or representative of the last of the prophets.

<sup>4</sup> If anybody would assert that the Sanskrit composer might have made a mistake in understanding the genealogy, all doubts would vanish by reading the Arabic inscription on the top of the Sanskrit one reproduced in the accompanying plate. Line 3 as deciphered by Munshi Inamullah Kun, Manager of the Mosque, reads as follows:— 'Ādil Shāh bin Muḍrak Shāh bin Ādil Shāh bin Hasan Khān bin Qasir Khān bin Ghazni Khān bin Malik Khān al-Fārdqi al-Ādil.

<sup>5</sup> From my personal transcript from the original and two subsequent ones kindly supplied by Mr. B. Bal kishna Bhāte, Headmaster, Middle School, Burhānpur, and a photograph.

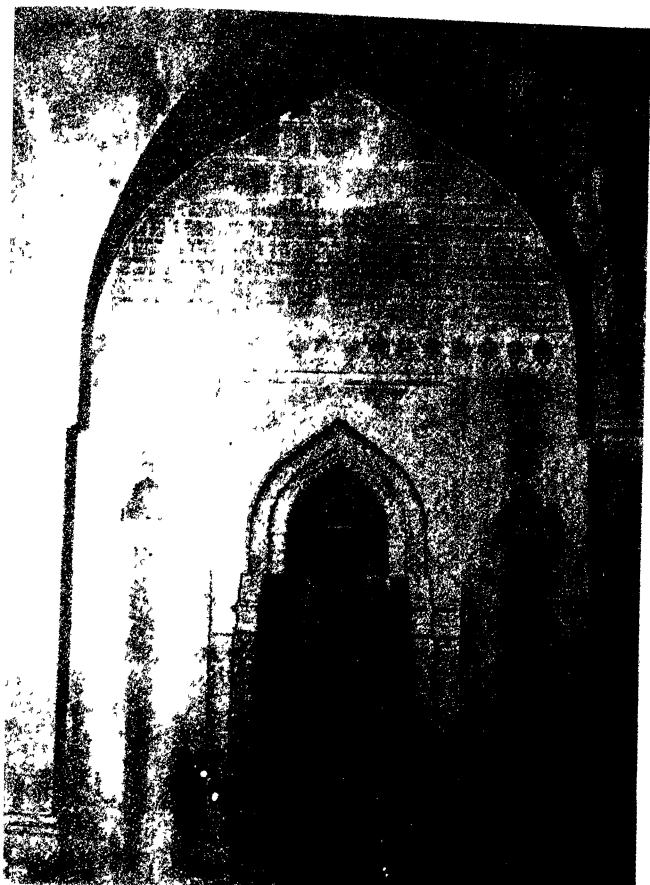
<sup>6</sup> Read 'सृष्टे नमः'

<sup>7</sup> This and the next verse are in the Anushtubh metre

<sup>8</sup> This and the next are in the Uṣṣajī metre



Purhanpur inscription of Adil Shah—Samvat 1646





- 4 तत्कृनुः चित्तिपालमौलिमुकुटव्याघ्रपादांबुजः सत्कीर्त्तिर्विलसन्नतापवशगा-  
मिवः चित्तीशेखरः ][\*] यस्याहर्निशमानतिगुणगणातीते परे ब्रह्मणि  
श्रीमानेदलभूपति-
- 5 विजयते<sup>1</sup> भूपालचूडामणिः<sup>2</sup> ॥५॥ स्वस्ति श्री संवत् १६४६ वर्षे शक्रो<sup>3</sup>  
१५११ विरोधिसंवसरे पौषमासे शुक्लपक्षे १० घटी २३ सहेका-  
दश्यां तिथौ सोमे [क]त्तिकाघटी ३३ राह्<sup>4</sup> रोहि-
- 6 स्थां शुभ घटी ४२ योगे वणिजकरषेस्मिन् दिने रात्रिगतघटी  
११ समये कन्यालन श्रीसुवारखशाहसुतश्री<sup>5</sup> ७ एदलशाहराश्री  
मसीतिरिय निर्मिता स्वधर्मपालनार्थ ॥

## TRANSLATION.

(Line 1). Salutation to the glorious Creator of the world.

(Verse 1). I bow down to the Imperceptible, the (All-)pervading, eternal (one who is) past (all) qualities, whose essence is mind, who is the cause of what is manifest—to that God who is both manifest and non-manifest.

(V. 2) As long as the moon, the sun and the stars, etc., exist in the firmament, so long may this Fārūki family live happily on the face of the earth.

(V. 3). In that family there was first the lord of Fārūkiy by name Rājā Malik, whose son was king Ghazni<sup>6</sup> (Khān) who was of an exalted mind, the diadem of the family.

(V. 4). From him was (born) the hero Kaisar Khān whose son was Hasan (Khān), the lord of the earth. From him was born king Ādil Shāh, whose son was lord Mubārakh.

(V. 5). Victorious is his son, the illustrious king Ādil, the crest jewel of (other) kings, whose lotus feet are rubbed by the diadems in the crowns of kings (prostrating themselves before him), (who is) of good reputation, and whose enemies have submitted to his prowess, (who is) the lord of kings (and) who bows day and night to the Supreme Being who is past all qualities

(Lil 5—6). Hail! Prosperity! This mosque was built by the king Śrī 7<sup>0</sup> Ādil Shāh, son of the illustrious Mubārakh Shāh, for fostering his own religion, in the Samvat year 1646, Śaka 1611, in the Virōdhi *samvatsara*, in the month of Pausha, in the bright fortnight, on the 10th *tithi* (lasting for) 23 *ghaṭis*, followed by the eleventh *tithi*, on Monday, in the Kṛittikā (*nakshatra* lasting for) 33 *ghaṭis* with (i.e. followed by) Bōhini in the Śubha *yōga* lasting up to *ghaṭi* 42, in the Vapija *karama*, at the time when 11 *ghaṭis* of the night on this day had passed and in the Kanyā *lagna*.

<sup>1</sup> Read ०विजयते.

<sup>2</sup> Metre Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

<sup>3</sup> Read शक्रो

<sup>4</sup> Read राह्

<sup>5</sup> This king is well-known by the name of Nasir Khān, the title which he adopted on ascending the throne. General Cunningham erroneously took Ghazni *narīshāh* to mean King of Ghazni (see his *Reports*, Vol. IX, p. 117), not being aware that Ghazni was a personal name. Firāhta omitted this name, but Abul Fasl has mentioned it (see Jarrett's *Asiatick*, Vol. II., p. 226).

<sup>6</sup> The number of *arts* written for Rājās is usually 108, but here a single figure stands for the highest number, as 6 are written for a preceptor, 5 for a master, 4 for an enemy, 3 for a friend, 2 for a servant, and 1 for a wife or a son.



No 49.—NARAYANPAL STONE INSCRIPTION OF GUNDA MAHADEVI  
THE SAKA YEAR 1033

BY HIRA LAL, B.A., M.R.A.S., NAGPUR.

Nārāyanpāl is a village 23 miles north-west of Jagdalpur, the capital of the Bastar feudatory state attached to the Chhattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces. It is situated on the right bank of the "splendidly picturesque" Indrāvati, one of those minor rivers of India than which none is more interesting.<sup>1</sup> It "traverses the most untrodden regions of the peninsula. Here in the deepest recesses of the wild forests which cover the Mardian hills, is the home of the Gōnd races—one of the aboriginal Dravidian peoples, whose origin is indistinct, a people who still erect rudé stone monuments and use stone implements, unwitting of the procession of the centuries and the advance of civilization to their borders." And yet the very place which has today all the signs of a primeval forest, may a thousand years back have compared favourably with any of the civilized provinces of those times. At least such seems to be the irresistible conclusion from the discovery of the antiquarian remains left by the forgotten Nāgavamśi kings of that little known state. Nārāyanpāl is one of those places which enjoyed celebrity in their times, a place to which "people of various countries resorted," and which instead of having a long row of wooden peg gods, which now adorn the village turf, possessed the temple of Nārāyaṇa, "the basket of the gems of knowledge" which no doubt the residents duly picked up. The Indrāvati was to Bastar what the Narmadā has been to India, the separating boundary between the Aryan and the Dravidian peoples. It is therefore no surprise to find all the inscriptions to the north of the Indrāvati written in Nāgarī characters, while all to the south are written in Telugu. It appears that the Nāgavamśi kings, though ruling on both sides of the Indrāvati, had fixed that river as the ethnic or at least the linguistic boundary for the convenience of the Aryan and the Dravidian peoples under their sway. Our inscription being found in Nārāyanpāl on the north bank of the river is therefore in Sanskrit characters. Its discovery is due to the efforts of Rai Bahādur Pandā Baijnāth, B.A., who kindly sent me five impressions. Another impression has since been prepared by Mr Venkoba Rao of the Madras Archaeological Survey. I have made use of all these materials for my edition. The inscription is engraved on a stone slab, standing near the temple of Nārāyaṇa, to which it belongs. In this temple there is still an exquisite image of Nārāyaṇa, 2' high. Above the ground the slab measures 7' 4" × 2' 3", and the writing covers a space 5' 9" × 2' 2", including the imprecatory figures and the additions to be referred to presently, but leaving out the top *Śrī mahā*. The original inscription apparently contained only 35 lines, beginning with *Svasti sahābra-phandamāni* and ending with *maṅgala mahā-śrī*, underneath which the usual imprecatory figures of a cow and a calf, the dagger and shield, the sun and moon and the Śiva linga, the meanings of which I have elsewhere<sup>2</sup> explained, were carved. The additional 11 lines, marked (a), (b), (c) and (d) by me, appear to be later additions, and are either interpolations or were inserted when the ownership of the land changed hands either by succession or otherwise. They generally give the names of persons to whom the land was apparently transferred. The lines marked (a), (b), (c) have been inserted in the blank spaces between or on the sides of the imprecatory figures. Under all these a straight line has been drawn, and the four lines marked (d) have been inserted. These give the name of a queen different from the donor of the inscription proper. This may have been done when the land changed hands after the death of the original donor, when, in the ordinary course, the successor of the donor would be shown as the transferor or grantor.

<sup>1</sup> *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. I (New Edition, 1907), page 44.

<sup>2</sup> Above, pp 164 and 175

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit prose, except the two imprecatory verses in lines 33 to 35, and the characters as stated before are Nagari. They are boldly written but the size is not uniform throughout. While in the top line *Śrī-mahā*, they are as big as  $2\frac{1}{4}$ " the average size in the first four lines is  $1\frac{1}{8}$ ". The engraver apparently finding them too big reduced them to 1" in line 5, but in subsequent lines he again began to increase the size maintaining an average of  $1\frac{1}{4}$ " throughout the rest, which forms the major portion of the inscription. In the later additions also, marked (a), (b), (c) and (d), the size varies. In (a) it is less than an inch and in (d) it is  $1\frac{1}{8}$ " and in (b) and (c) midway between these two.

As regards orthography, *h* is not distinguished from *v* and there is a confusion in the use of *s* and *ś*, for instance, we have on the one hand *Kaśyapa* (ll. 3, 13), *śaranāgata* (ll. 6, 10, 16), *śāsana* (ll. 7, 37 (b) and 46 (d)), *Saka* (l. 19), *-satana* (l. 34), *asānādhā* (l. 34), *sudhyata* (l. 35), on the other hand we have *svarggatā* (l. 17) and *śahura* (ll. 1 and 34). The anusvāra is usually preferred to the class nasals, though the latter are sufficiently represented throughout. Letters with a superscribed *ri*pha have been invariably doubled. The letters *kha*, *gha*, *ra*, and, in most places, *bha* appear in their antiquated form, and the top *mātra* for *ē*, *ō* and *au* is some times placed vertically before the letter to which it is attached, as in *-lhaṭṭa* (l. 8), *pavitra* *kr̥tōttamāṅga* (l. 8-9), *pārthivāmdra* (ll. 8-9), *-maṅjanya* (l. 10), *-maṇinīyā* (l. 11), etc. In *Sōmśvaradēva* (l. 17) *mē* has the top stroke, while *dē* has the vertical stroke preceding *da*. In line 23 in *-śivatyudādha* the *mātra* of *u* is peculiarly attached in the middle of the letter as we at present attach it to the letter *ra* alone.

The inscription records the grant of the village *Nārāyaṇapura* to the god *Nārāyaṇa* and some land near the *Kharyuri* tank to the god *Lokēśvara*, and it is dated in the Śaka year 1033 on Wednesday, the full moon day of the *Kārttika* month in the *Khara samvatsara*, corresponding to the 18th October 1111 A.D. The donor was *Guṇḍa Mahādēvi*, the chief queen of the *Mahārāja Dhārāvārsha*, the mother of *Sōmśvaradēva* and the grandmother of *Kaṇharadēva*, who was then ruling after the death of his father, as stated in line 17. The dynasty claims to be *Nāgavamē* of the *Kāśyapa gōtra* and to have a tiger with a calf as their crest and to be the lords of *Bhōgāvatī*, the best of cities. There can be little doubt that it was connected with the *Sinda* family of *Yelburga*. The *śrūdhas* of the two are strikingly similar. The *Sindas* also claim to be *Nāgavamēśōdbhava*, born of the race of the *Nāga* (cobra), and the lords of *Bhōgāvatī*, which city is a mythical place in the nether world. The discoveries hitherto made show the existence of the rule of the family at the diagonally opposite corners of this state, viz. south-west and north-east. I feel confident that if we could "explore the serpent city well," we should find at least a replica of it somewhere in the *Nizām's* dominions in a position intermediate between these two points. The *Rāmāyana* seems to confirm this, for *Rāma's* route to *Lankā* lay between the two and passed through *Bhōgāvatī*.

As Dr. Fleet<sup>1</sup> says, there appear to have been more branches than one of the *Sinda* family, and it appears to me that they were distinguished from each other by some variations in their crests (*lāṅghanas*) and banners (*dhvajas*, *patākās* or *kētanās*). The *vyāghra-lāṅghana* (tiger-crest) seems to have been common to all, probably because the original ancestor of the dynasty which received its name after him, was believed to have been brought up by the king of serpents on tiger's milk.<sup>2</sup> The *Bāgalkōṭ* branch had simply the tiger crest and the *phāṇ-kētaṇa*, or banner of hooded serpents. The *Bastar* branch, or more properly the branch represented by our inscription, had a *śavatsa-vyāghra-lāṅghana*, or a tiger with a calf or child, thus depicting probably the story of their origin in a clearer way. The banner is not mentioned. In *Bastar* there were apparently two branches, the other one being that of *Bhramarakōṭya-ma-*

<sup>1</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 572.

<sup>2</sup> *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 60, and above, Vol. III, p. 231.

phala,<sup>1</sup> whose *lāñchhana* was *dhanur-vyāghra* (bow and tiger) and whose *dhvaja* was *hamala-kadalī*, or lotus flower and plantain leaf. The Halavur<sup>2</sup> branch of the Banvāsī tract had the *vyāghra-mṛga-lāñchhana*, or crest of a tiger and a deer, and the *nīladhvaja*, or blue banner. To judge from their titles *Paramésvara* *Paramabhairāva* *Mahārāja*, the Bastar branch appears to have been more independent than the other branches of this dynasty. But more light is likely to be thrown on the history of the family when all the inscriptions found in Bastar have been deciphered. It would therefore be premature to discuss the subject here.

There is one phrase in this inscription, which to my mind appears so interesting that it should not be allowed to pass unnoticed. It is incidentally mentioned in line 32 where the land is said to be given *grāma-nīlaya-nāḍa-sarva-vādhā-parihārēna*, which apparently means "free from the interference of the dwelling-group and territorial assemblies, and all other molestations." This throws a sidelight on the village communities of those days. With regard to *nāḍa*, Mr Baden-Powell<sup>3</sup> says, "All over the south of India we have traces of the *nāḍu*, which was often a sort of county, and in some places there is a clearly surviving tradition of the purpose of this division. Thus in part of Madras known anciently as the Tondaimandalam, we find first a number of *kuttam*—the name probably indicating the fort which was the seat of the territorial chief, each of these primitive territories was afterwards reorganised into *nāḍu* and each *nāḍu* contained a number of villages (called *nattam*, i.e. the village site). The chief of the *nāḍu* was called *nāthan*.<sup>4</sup> In Malabar we have evidence of how these *nāḍu* divisions were governed by the *nāḍa-kuttam* or assembly of representative elders out of the family groups of *tara*, of the ruling class, in each *nāḍu*." It appears from our inscription that this *nāḍa* system was prevalent in Bastar and the word *nīlaya* apparently stands for *tara*, the original local term for "the family aggregate" of dwellings, consisting of the houses occupied by the members with a few humbler abodes for servants and artisans." *Tara* is said to mean street or hamlet. The *grāma* or village was also recognised, but apparently had no fiscal significance, beyond being a physical aggregate of clan areas with an exotic population. It will be noticed that Nārāyaṇapura is described as full of outsiders, who had come from different countries. These apparently contributed nothing to the income of the village, and in the business portion of the charter (ll 25 to 33) we therefore find no mention of the village, but only of the land given. The names of the owners of plots occupied by the family groups have been duly enumerated, and it is they who have been enjoined to pay the rents to the temple. The transaction has been ratified by eight persons, which was probably considered a requisite number<sup>5</sup> for such business. These probably formed the executive committee of the *nāḍa-kuttam* or territorial assembly. As would appear from the inscription, it consisted of the *pregaḍḍ* or minister, the *karana-kuttam* or Secretary of the assembly, the *bhanḍārī* or treasurer, the *sādhu* or priest, and four *nāyakas*, who, as has been already shown, were chiefs of *nāḍas*. One of these *nāyakas* is styled *bhāṭṭānāyaka*, perhaps a superior title to that of ordinary *nāyakas*. The mention of his name immediately after that of the minister indicates his superior position.

Our inscription mentions only one territorial name, viz the Nārāyaṇapura village, which is certainly the present Nārāyaṇpal, where the inscription has been found, and where the temple of Nārāyaṇa, to which the village was dedicated, still exists. The tank *Kharjuribandha*, which was apparently named after the *kharjūr* or wild date trees on its banks, is difficult to locate at this distance of time, as these trees live for about fifty years<sup>6</sup> only.

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 174 and ff.

<sup>2</sup> *The Indian Village Community*, p. 231.

<sup>3</sup> Baden-Powell, *Land Systems of British India*, Vol. III, p. 148.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 168-10.

<sup>5</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 577.

<sup>6</sup> Also *nāyaka*; see *ibid.*, p. 167.

<sup>6</sup> Dr Watt in his *Economic Dictionary*, Vol. VI, Part I, p. 211, says "The age of a tree (wild date) can of course be at once counted by enumerating the notches and adding six or seven, the number of years passed before the first year's notch. I have counted more than 40 notches on a tree, but one rarely sees them so old as that."

## TEXT.

Śi mahā.

- 1 Om<sup>1</sup> Svasti sahaśra(sra)-phaṇāmāni-kirana-nikai-āvabhā[su]-
- 2 ra-Nāgavamś-odbhava Bhōgāvati-puravar-i-svara-su-
- 3 vatsa-vyāghra-lānchhana-Kasya(sya)pa-gotra-prakṛti-kṛita-
- 4 vijaya-ghōṣhana-lavdha(bdha)-visva-viśvambhūta-parama-svara-pa-
- 5 mahattānika-Mahōsvara-charaṇa-kamja-kunja-ka-pumja-pumjariṭa-bhāmarāyamāna
- 6 satya-Harischam-
- 7 dra-sa(sā)raṇ-āgata-vajra-pamjara-śiṃud-rājubhūṣṭhana-mahāśja-Dhāravarshadeva-
- 8 pād[ā]-
- 9 nām pattamahādēvi jagad-eka-mātā sā(sā)svaṇa-puṭṭa-lārā nāma nāmātā(tā)
- 10 Gam-
- 11 gā-jala-[dhan]ta-parama-pavitra-kṛitattamāngi-Dhāravarsha-mahōsvara-ārdhāngi-pā
- 12 [rthi]vōndra-kul-āṃganā Purvati-bhasaṇi-chira-lhā[gi]ra[thi] parama-pativatā
- 13 chāra(na)-Arāmdhuti(Aumdhuti) sanjanyā-Saravva(svati-sa(sā)raṇāgata-rakṣā
- 14 māni va(ba)mdlu-chintāman
- 15 savitṛy-ābhina[v]ja-Sāvitrī kṛitā-māra-dharitṛī śrīmad-G[u]ṇḍa-mahādēvi
- 16 sām puṭṭa-nāmāni sahasa-phan[ā]-māni-kirana-nikai-āvabhā[sa]ra-Nāgavamś<sup>2</sup>
- 17 dbhava-Bhōgāvati-pumja-var-i-svaṇa-savitṛy-vyāghra-lam[ā]lila-jam-Kā[rya](śya)pa-
- 18 gōti-piaka-
- 19 tī-kṛita-[vij]ya-glōṣhana-[lavdha](bdha)-visva-v[ī]śvambhūta-paramōsvara-parama
- 20 bhattā-
- 21 raka-Mahōsvara-charaṇa-kamja-kunja-ka-pumja-pumjariṭa-bhāmarāyamāna-sa-
- 22 tyā-Harischandra-sa(su)raṇ-āgata-vijja-pu[ni\*]pūti-puṭṭi[granda]-[b]hāmarava-śrīmadāya
- 23 bhāṣṭma mahāśja-Someśvaradeva(vō) svā(sva)rg-gatā tūṣṭhāna putrasya
- 24 śāśm unq[ṭh]
- 25 samastī tājāvali-vi[ś]jyamā[pu]ṭṭi-jimud-vā-Kanharadevasya kalyāṇa-vijaya tā-
- 26 jyō Saka-nṛipa-kalātite dāsa-sata-trayat[ṛi]mś-ādhiko<sup>3</sup> Khara-samvatsare
- 27 Kārtti-
- 28 ka-paurṇamāsyām vuddha(budha)-vā[rē] samasāra samudr-ō[ti\*]tāra-pa-taśmāya
- 29 jñ[ā\*]na ratna-karāmdu-
- 30 ya svaṅg-ārggal-ōdghāṭana-kalāya pūṇa[n]jārāyana dīvāya śrīmad-Guṇḍa
- 31 mahād[ā]vyā
- 32 sakulam-n[ā]nityameadhruvam-asā(sā)svatara dṛiṣṭvā svayṅg-ārggal-ōdghāṭana
- 33 ārtthā Nārāyaṇapurō
- 34 nāma grāmō nām-dōsiya-jan-[ā]kirāṇas chandrarakka-nihity-ndulhi-kālam yāva
- 35 pradattāḥ | tathā śi-Lōkēśvaradevāya Kharjuriṇa(ba)mdha-samipasthā bhūṇi
- 36 pradattā
- 37 Śīmat-pregadā Āditya-maṇḍana<sup>4</sup> bhāttanāyaka Prōptiyō<sup>5</sup> karapa<sup>6</sup>
- 38 [Ku]driyama-
- 39 Viṇaya nāyaka Sōmana nāyaka Rāmanakāsana nāyaka M[ā]ṇya bhāṇḍāri
- 40 Aitana sādhu Vakōmaraya || Etōlām bhūṇiḥ | ukatana pradattā || [Se]
- 41 māsa-śiśṭhi<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Expressed by a symbol.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps danda.<sup>3</sup> Read Saka nṛipa kalātīte dāsa śat, trayastṛi.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps Ādityamaṇḍana.

P. . . . .

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps Kūṭiyamavirama<sup>6</sup> Perhaps Kāgarameṭti





Sten Konow

- 28 Chhā[drū] vāmapa<sup>1</sup> śrōshthi Ghughu Śrīdhara sādhu Nānū kōsa[ā] Pālā[su]  
Pādmāsī-
- 29 nīvirā māli Gōi[m]daprata<sup>2</sup> tal[i]ka [Ja]sadhavala vāvū(bābū) Milāpi  
nāvējānam[du]
- 30 pālā[ghu]kā sa[mur]idārana Dhavala m[ā]niyā[sthi] śrī-V[ā]sadvēta ētar=[grīha-ve]-
- 31 taka-r[ā]pēna śrīman-Nārāyana-dēva-pādēshu sadā sth[ā]tavyam kaiaa cha  
dātavyam
- 32 śrī(i)mat-pamditā-Purushōttamāya gāma-māya-nāda saivva-vā(bā)dhā parihāitēna  
ch mdr-ā-
- 33 rka-kālārā piadatta || Svadattām paadattām vā yō haiēd(rēta)=vasumdhārā[m]  
[i\*] sa viśthāyam kri-
- 34 mī(mur) [bhū]tvā kulajai[h] saha sīdati | Tadāgānām sahasrē(sū)na as(aś)-  
vamcīdha-sata(satō)-
- 35 na cha [i\*] gō(ga)vām kōti-piadiānēna bhūmi-harttā na su(su)dhvati ||  
Mangala mahā śrī
- 36 (a) Sātīadhāa Rapavirāya bhūmi pradattā
- 37 (a) akarēna
- 36 (b) Adhikāi Chhādrūkasya bhūmi akarēna
- 37 (b) dattā || Brahman[ā]kasya bhūmi dattā sāsa(sāsa)-
- 38 (b) nam akarēpa Ma[ha]nḍaka-
- 39 (b) sya tathā [Kānharasāi]
- 40 (b) Nāgāk[u]la[indhva]ra ē-
- 41 (b) tēshām bhūmi aka-
- 42 (b) rēpa dattā pī(pī)thunā
- 39 (c) Bhattāra-
- 40 (c) ka Bhāva-
- 41 (c) [dō]vāya
- 42 (c) bhūmi akarēna datā
- 43 (d) Svasti śīl-Dhārana-mahādēvi-[vayyā] sarvva vā(bā)[dhā]-parihāitēna aka[rē]-
- 44 (d) pa bhūmi dattā dēva śīl-Nārāyanasy-āi thē Mahanaka Dēvadāsa
- 45 (d) [Jaggatī] || Sīdhu Humasutta dē[dana]ritā ?] Lakhmana Chaudhari
- 46 (d) [śrī]-Dhārana-mahādē bhūmi [dātara ara śrī dē sāsaana dattā<sup>3</sup>]  
bhūmi dattā | akarēpa

## TRANSLATION

(Lines 1—6). Hail The *paṭṭa-mahādēvi* of the *Mahārāja Dhārāvarshadēva*, who was born of the *Nāgavamsa*, resplendent with the mass of rays of thousand hood-jewels, who was the lord of *Bhōgavati*, the best of towns, whose crest was a tiger with a calf, who was of the *Kāśyapa gōtru*, who had made his shout of victory (universally) known, who had acquired the whole earth, the *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhāṭāraka*, who was like a bee rendered yellow by the collection of pollen of the lotus feet of *Mahēśvara*, who was a *Hariśchandra* in truthfulness, who was an adamantine cage (of safe refuge) to those who sought his protection, a glorious ornament among kings,

(Lil 7—11) (she who was) the only mother of the world, called the turbaned queen consort (chief consort); whose head was wholly sanctified by being washed in the water of the Ganges, who was (as it were) half the body of *Dhārāvarsha* (just as *Pārvatī* is half the body

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps *Chhāddā brāhmana*.

<sup>2</sup> Probably *Gōvīndapūtra* [or *Gōvīndaputra* — S K]

<sup>3</sup> This perhaps stands for *dattā akarēna śrī dēva dēvyā dattā*

of) Mahesvata, a noble lady of royal birth, resplendent (like) Pārvatī, beautiful (like) the Ganges, who was exceedingly devoted to her husband, a lovely Arundhati, a Sarasvatī of goodness; an amulet for those who sought her protection, a magical gem to her relatives, a new Sāvitrī of good breeding, capable of liberal support like the earth (was) Gunda-mahādēvi

(Ll 12—17) After the *Mukhārāja Sōmēśvaradēva*, who was known as her son, who was born of the *Nāgavamsa*, resplendent with the mass of rays of thousand hood jewels, who was the lord of *Bhōgāvati*, the best of towns, whose crest was a tiger with a calf, who was of the *Kāsyapa gōtra*, who had made his shout of victory universally known; who had acquired the whole earth, the *Paramesvara*, *Paramabhūtaraka* who was like a bee rendered yellow by the collection of pollen of the lotus feet of Mahesvata, who was a Hanischandra in truthfulness, who was an adamantine cage (of safe refuge) to those who sought his protection, who was terrible to the refractory (or, rivals), a glorious ornament amongst kings,

(Ll 17—24) had gone to heaven, in the auspicious and victorious reign of his son, and her grandson, the illustrious hero *Kanharadēva*, resplendent in the row of all kings, when (the year) ten hundred increased by thirty-three of the era of the Śaka king had expired, in the *Khara samvatsara*, on the day of full moon of Kārtika, on a Wednesday, the village of *Nārāyanapura*, full of people come from various countries, was given by the illustrious *Gunda-mahādēvi* for so long as the moon, the sun, the earth, and the ocean endure, to the glorious god *Nārāyaṇa*, who is a ferry for crossing the ocean of transmigration, who is a basket (full) of the gems of knowledge, who opens the bolt of heaven's (door), seeing that everything is transient, unsteady and inconstant, in order to open the bolt of heaven's (door). Likewise the land near the *Kharjuribandha*-tank was given to the glorious god *Lōkōśvara*.

(Ll 25—34) The illustrious minister *Adityama Penna*, the *bhaffanāyaka* *Prōptayō*, the *karana* *Kudriyama Virama*<sup>1</sup>, the *nāyaka* *Sōmana*, the *nāyaka* *Rāmanākāsana*, the *nāyaka* *Mārayā*, the *bhāṇḍārī* *Aitana*, the *sādhu* *Vakōmārya*. The land of these was given revenue free *The śrīśhṛīṇa* *Samara*, the *brāhmana* *Chhādrā*, the *śrīśhṛīṇa* *Ghughi*, the *sādhu* *Śrī* *Dhara*, the *kusujā* (cocoanut producer) *Nānā*, the *māli* *Pālānu* *Padmāsini*<sup>1</sup>, the oilman *Gōvinda* *pātra*, the *bābū* *Jassadhavala*, *Milāpi* . . . . . the glorious *Vāsudēva*. these should always remain at the feet of the glorious *Nārāyaṇa* as *grahaveśakas*, and the tribute should be paid to the illustrious *paṇḍit* *Purushōttama*. The land has been given free from all obstructions incumbent on the village, the *niḥaya*, and the *nāḍa*, for so long a time as moon and sun endure (Here follow two imprecatory verses)

(L. 35). (Let) great happiness (attend). Hail.

(Ll. 36<sup>a</sup>—37<sup>a</sup>). Land is given to the *sātradhāra* *Ranavira*, free from taxes.

(Ll 36<sup>b</sup>—42<sup>b</sup>). The land of the *adhikārīṇa* *Chhādrūka* is given, free from taxes. (Also) that of *Brahmāṇḍhāka* as a grant, free from taxes. The land of *Mahapāka*, *Kanharasāsi*, and *Nāgakuḥḥadhvara* is given, free from taxes.

(Ll. 39<sup>c</sup>—42<sup>c</sup>). To *bhaffāraka* *Bhāvādēva* land is given free from taxes.

(Ll 43<sup>d</sup>—46<sup>d</sup>) Hail The illustrious *Dhārāpa-Mahādēvi* gave land for the sake of the god, the illustrious *Nārāyaṇa* free from all obstructions, and free from taxes. (Witnesses are) *Mahapāka*, *Dēvadāsa*, *Jaggatī*, the *sādhu* *Himasutta* . . . , *Lakṣmapa*, *Chāḍḍharī*. The land was given by the illustrious *Dhārāpa-Mahādēvi* free from taxes. The land was given by the queen consort free from taxes.

<sup>1</sup> We should perhaps read *karapa-kuffiyama Virama*, *Virama*, the writer of the *buffam*. Compare *Bader Powell, Indian Village Community*, p. 187.

## No 50 —TIMMAPURAM PLATES OF VISHNUVARDHANA I VISHAMASIDDHI

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D., HALLE (SAALE)

This short inscription is on three copper-plates which were "discovered in the ground in October 1907 by one Sukuru Ramaswami while digging a hole in his vacant house site in the village of Timmapuram in the Sarvasiddhi taluka" and were sent by the Collector of the Vizagapatam district to Rai Bahadur Venkayya, who describes them as follows —

"The plates measure  $2\frac{1}{2}$  by  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches and are stung on an oval ring, the diameters of which are  $2\frac{1}{2}$  and 3 inches. The ends of the ring are secured in the base of a nearly circular seal which measures between  $1\frac{3}{4}$  and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter. In the centre of this seal is the legend [शिव]शक्ति in the same alphabet in which the plates themselves are engraved. The third plate of the inscription is blank, and the grant itself ends in line 2 of the second side of the second plate."

The alphabet and orthography do not call for any special remarks. The final *i* occurs in line 1,<sup>1</sup> the *upadhānīya* in l. 5, and the Dravidian letter *ḷa* in l. 11. The language is Sanskrit prose. The panegyric portion (ll. 1—11) is comparatively correct—probably because it was copied from a form preserved at the royal secretariat. The grant portion, however, must have been drafted by a person who knew very little Sanskrit. It contains a Prakṛit word *chattālīsa* (l. 12) = Sanskrit *chaturvīṃśat*, and several grave grammatical blunders which I have corrected in the footnotes.

The inscription records a grant by Vishnuvardhana-Mahārāja surnamed Vishmasiddhi,<sup>2</sup> who was the younger brother of Satyāśraya-Vallabha-Mahārāja, the son of Kirtivarman, the grandson of Raṇavikrama, and the great-grandson of Raṇarāja of the Cha[lu]kyas family. This short pedigree establishes the identity of the donor of this grant with Vishnuvardhana I. Vishmasiddhi, the founder of the eastern branch of the Chalukya dynasty. That he was the younger brother of Satyāśraya, i.e. the Western Chalukya king Pulakēśin II, and the son of Kirtivarman (I), is stated in many Eastern Chalukya inscriptions, and his grandfather Raṇavikrama, i.e. Pulakēśin I., is mentioned also in his Sātārā plates.<sup>3</sup> The reference to his great-grandfather Raṇarāja is of some interest, because this name is known only from a few records of the Western Chalukyas.

Both Vishnuvardhana I. and his elder brother receive the title *Mahārāja*, but the second is stated to have 'subdued the circle of the whole earth' (l. 5 f.), while the former claims only to have 'humbled the circle of all the vassals' (l. 6 f.). This distinction implies that, at the time of this grant, Vishnuvardhana I. was still a dependant of his elder brother, the Western Chalukya king Pulakēśin II. He professed to be a worshipper of Bhagavat (l. 10), i.e. Viṣṇu, and resided at Piṣṭapurā (l. 1), the modern Piṭhāpuram in the Gōdāvarī district. In the Aihole inscription<sup>4</sup> the capture of this fortress is ascribed to his elder brother and sovereign Pulakēśin II.

The grant portion differs from that of other records in two respects. It lacks at the end the usual imprecations and other particulars, and the donees are not mentioned by name, but simply stated to have been forty Brāhmanas of the Chhandōga school. The object of the grant was some land at Kumūlūra—a village which I am unable to identify—in the Palaki-vishaya.

<sup>1</sup> See note 6 on p. 318.<sup>2</sup> This surname occurs both in line 8 and on the seal of the present grant. It forms also the legend of certain copper coins discovered in the Vizagapatam district, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV, p. 322 f.<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX, p. 309.<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. VI, p. 11, verse 27.



1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60  
61  
62  
63  
64  
65  
66  
67  
68  
69  
70  
71  
72  
73  
74  
75  
76  
77  
78  
79  
80  
81  
82  
83  
84  
85  
86  
87  
88  
89  
90  
91  
92  
93  
94  
95  
96  
97  
98  
99  
100

11a  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60  
61  
62  
63  
64  
65  
66  
67  
68  
69  
70  
71  
72  
73  
74  
75  
76  
77  
78  
79  
80  
81  
82  
83  
84  
85  
86  
87  
88  
89  
90  
91  
92  
93  
94  
95  
96  
97  
98  
99  
100

Collotype by Gehr Pfeiffer

Full Size

E Hultzsch

From ink-impressions supplied by Rai Bahadur V Venkayya



## Second Plate, Second Side.

- 13 ब्राह्मणः नानागण कन्दोगसन्नञ्चारिणि यमनियमपारगाय षट्[की]-  
 14 निरताय(1) वेदपारगाय दत्तः [11\*]

## TRANSLATION.

Hail! (Line 1) From (*his*) residence in the prosperous Pishtapura,—the great-grandson<sup>1</sup> of Ranarāga, who repeatedly indulged in the passion of fighting in order to elevate the family of the Cha[lu]kyas, who were Hāntaputras, who belonged to the *gōtra* of the Mānavyas, who were protected by the Mātṛas, the mothers of the three worlds, (*and*) who were rendered prosperous by Mahāsena,<sup>2</sup> who by his own arm had defeated the great army of the sons of Danu,<sup>3</sup>

(L 4)—the grandson of Raṇavikrama, whose valour was insuperable, the dear son of Kirtivarman, whose renown was extensive, (*and*) the dear younger brother of Saty[ā]śraya-Vallabha-Mahārāja, who had subdued the circle of the whole earth by the triad of (*regal*) powers,

(L 6)—the devout worshipper of Bhagavat, the very pious one, who meditated at the feet of (*his*) mother and father,—Śrī-Vishnuvardhana-Mahārāja, who by the edge of his own sword humbled the circle of all the vassals, who by the splendour of his own beauty, virtues and youthfulness far surpassed Cupid,<sup>4</sup> who (*was surnamed*) Vishvasiddhi because he had obtained success (*siddhi*) in impassable straits (*vishama*) on land, on sea, *etc.*, who was a cow of plenty (*kāmadhenu*) constantly yielding milk to suppliants, (*and*) who was the [Tri]vikrama (Vishnu) of the world of men because his valour surpassed (*that of all*) mankind,

(L 11)—has granted four thousand *nivartanas*<sup>5</sup> in the fields on the eastern side of the village named Kumūlūra in the Pajaki district (*vishaya*), having portioned (*them*) off, to forty Brāhmaṇas of various *gōtras*, residing in [Poṭunūka], belonging to the school of the Chhandōgas observing the greater and smaller rules, engaged in the six duties, (*and*) familiar with the Vēda.

## No. 51 — SARNATH INSCRIPTION OF KUMARADEVI

By STEN KONOW

The slab on which the inscription published below is incised was found during the excavations carried on by Mr. Marshall and myself in Sarnāth, in March 1908. It was dug out to the north of the Dhamēkh *stūpa*, to the south of the raised mound running east and west over the remnants of the old monasteries of the Gupta period. The writing covers almost the whole of the surface of the stone, *viz* 21" × 15½", and it is in a perfect state of preservation. The average size of the letters is 1¼".

The characters are Nāgarī, of a very ornamental type, and the engraving has been done with considerable skill. Of individual letters, the form of the cerebral *ja* in *-bhajāḥ* and *kāṇḍapa-jakāḥ* in line 8 is worthy of notice. There are comparatively few orthographical peculiarities. *V* is used for *b* throughout, and *na* is used instead of the *anusvāra* in *sudhānsūt-*, line 11. There are some few miswritings such as *harmmd-* for *dharma-*, 1 6; *prakṣātī* for *prakhyaṭī*, 1 8, *vishmayakarō* for *vismaya-* and *aśmādrīśaḥ* for *asmādrīśaḥ*, 1 13; *anēnābhīrāma-* for *anēn-*, 1 15, *nri-* for *tri-*, 1 22; *mahābhūjāḥ* for *mahābhujāḥ*, 1 19, *etc.* The forms *Kumaradevi*,

<sup>1</sup> For other instances in which *naptri* has this meaning, see above, Vol. IV. p. 329 and note 2.  
<sup>2</sup> *Is* the god of war.

<sup>3</sup> *Is* the Dānavas or demons.

<sup>4</sup> Literally, 'the bearer of the *makara*-banner.'

<sup>5</sup> This would give 100 *nivartanas* for each of the 40 donees.



ll 11 and 22, and *vihāra* in ll. 23 and 26, on the other hand, are vouched for by the metre. *Kumara* instead of *kumāra* is common in Maharashtri Prakrit, and a form *Kumaravāla* for the usual *Kumāravāla* occurs in Hémachandra's *Deśanāmāvalī*, l. 104, 88<sup>1</sup>. And *vihāra* instead of *vihāra* is justified by Pāṇini VI, 3 122.

The language is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the invocation to Vasudhārā in l. 1, the whole of the inscription is in verse. There are altogether twenty six verses. Of these thirteen (Nos. 3, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 17, 18, 19, 21, 23 and 24) are in the Saṁdālavikrīḍita, five (Nos. 1, 10, 14, 15 and 20) in the Mālinī, four (Nos. 4, 16, 22 and 25) in the Vasantatilakā, three (Nos. 8, 9 and 26) in the Anushtubh, and one (No. 2) in the Śtagdhutā metre.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a *vihāra* by Kumaradēvi, one of the queens of Gōvindahandra of Kanauj. The wording of verses 21-23, in which her gift is mentioned, is not quite clear. We are first told, in verse 21, that a *vihāra* was constructed, which apparently contained an image of the goddess Vasudhārā. The following verses are not quite clear. Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya has suggested the following explanation, which I think is a very plausible one. Jambūki drew up a copper plate, in which she represented to Kumaradēvi that the Dharmachakra-Jina originally set up by Dharmīśoka required to be repaired or set up again. This copper-plate must have contained information about the original setting up of the Dharmachakra Jina and further details about its maintenance and repairs. Kumaradēvi, who was apparently a stranger to the country round Benares, accepted her representation and raised her to the rank of "the foremost of *pattalikās*." Moreover, she restored the Jina or set up a new one and placed it in the *vihāra* built for Vasudhārā, or in another one constructed for the purpose, and the wish is expressed that, after having been placed there, he may remain there for ever. It seems necessary to infer that the *Śrīdharmachakra Jina*, which is said to have existed in Dharmīśoka's time, was an image of the Buddha, and that the *vihāra* built by the orders of Queen Kumaradēvi for him, was a shrine, a *gandhakūṭi*. It is difficult to explain the wish that he, i.e. the image, may reside there for ever, under any other supposition.

The inscription can be divided into four parts. After an invocation of Vasudhārā (v. 1) and the moon (v. 2) vv. 3-6 give some information about some rulers or generals of Pīṭhi or Pithikā. We learn that, in the lunar race, there arose a chief called Vallabharāja, the lord of broad Pithikā (v. 3). The following verse introduces the lord of Pīṭhi Dēvarakṣhita, without saying anything about his relationship to Vallabharāja. He is described as the full moon of the lotus of the *Ohhikkōra-vamsa*, and we are told that he even surpassed Gajapati in splendour. Dēvarakṣhita is again referred to as the lord of Pīṭhi in the second part of the inscription, and it therefore seems necessary to interpret vv. 5-6, which apparently refer to a son of his (*tasmād-āsa*, etc.) as an explanation of his relationship to Vallabharāja, who would then be his father.

The second part of the inscription, vv. 7-13, contains the information that Dēvarakṣhita was defeated by Mahāpa, the maternal uncle of the Gauda king, who thus firmly established the throne of Rāmapāla, and subsequently bestowed his daughter Sankaradēvi on the Pīṭhi lord. Their daughter was Kumaradēvi, in whose praise the present inscription was written.

The third part, vv. 14-20, then contains the genealogy of the Gahāḍavāla family, to which Kumaradēvi's husband Gōvindahandra belonged. It agrees with the list given in most inscriptions of this latter king, but does not carry us further back than to his grandfather. We are first introduced to Chandra, the Chandradēva of Govindahandra's inscriptions. His son

<sup>1</sup> See Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen* § 81.

<sup>2</sup> *Pattalikā* is the feminine form of *pattalaka*, which occurs in the Buguda plates of Mādhavarman, above Vol. III, p. 44, l. 83, in connexion with *vasudevika*.

was Madanachandra, elsewhere known as Madanapāla, who again was the father of Gōvinda-chandra. He is said to have saved Benares from the wicked Turushka soldier.

The fourth part of the inscription (verses 21-23) specifies the gifts of Kumaradēvi, and her praise is sung in verse 24. Verses 25-26 then inform us that the inscription, which is here called a *pratiṣṭhā*, was composed by the poet *śrī* Kunda, and engraved by Vāmana.

Gōvindahandra is the well-known king of Kanauj, whose inscriptions are dated between A.D. 1114 and 1154. Our inscription teaches us that he guarded Benares against the Turushkas, i.e. the Muhammadans. We do not know of any Muhammadan expedition against Benares in Gōvindahandra's time. In A.D. 1033 a Muhammadan army under Ahmad Nialtigin arrived at the town, but only stayed there for a day,<sup>1</sup> and there is no indication of a permanent settlement. We know, on the other hand, that Musalman settlers remained in the country about the Jamma from the days of Mahmud and down to the end of the 12th century.<sup>2</sup> It seems probable that Gōvindahandra took some action against such settlers, and the term *turushkadanda*, which occurs in many of his and his predecessors' inscriptions, gives us a hint as to the nature of this action. The word *turushkadanda* has been variously translated as "tax on aromatic reeds" and "Muhammadan amercements."<sup>3</sup> The information furnished by our inscription seems to show that it was in reality a tax on Muhammadans, the exact nature of which cannot, however, be determined.

Our inscription introduces us to a new queen of Gōvindahandra, Kumaradēvi, the granddaughter of Mahāpa. Three other queens are already known from inscriptions, viz. Nayanakēli-dēvi,<sup>4</sup> Gōsaladēvi<sup>5</sup> and Dāhpadēvi.<sup>6</sup> While Gōvindahandra was himself an orthodox Hindū, his fourth wife Kumaradēvi was a Buddhist. According to information kindly supplied by Mahāmahōpādhyāya Hara Prasād Śāstri, the king had still another Buddhist wife Vāsantadēvi, who is mentioned in the colophon of a manuscript of the *Aśṭasādhārīkā* in the Nepal Darbar Library (No 381 of the third collection). The colophon runs *-śrī-śrī-Kānyakubjādhipaty-asvapati-gajapati-narapati-rājya-trayādhipati-śrīmad-Gōvindahandradēvasya pratāpavastatah rūṇi-śrī-pravara-Mahitvina-yāyinyāḥ paramōpāsikā-rūṇi-Vāsantadēvyā dēyadharmō-yam*. It is possible that Vāsantadēvi and Kumaradēvi are one and the same person, one of the meanings of *vāsanta* being "youth" = *kumāra*. It is, however, more probable that they are two different persons.

Some information about Mahāpa, the father of Kumaradēvi's mother, and about the lord of Pithi, her father, can be gleaned from Sandhyākara Nandi's *Bāmacharita*, which work has been brought to light by Mahāmahōpādhyāya Hara Prasād Śāstri.<sup>7</sup> We are there told that Mahāpa was the maternal uncle of the Gaṇḍa king Rāmapāla. Vīgrahapāla, the father of Rāmapāla, made a successful war against the Chōḍi king Karna of Dāhāla, of whom we possess an inscription dated Kalachuri Samvat 493 = A.D. 1042.<sup>8</sup> Karna's reign probably extended over a long period.<sup>9</sup> We cannot, therefore, determine when the war against Vīgrahapāla took place. We have an inscription of the time of Vīgrahapāla's grandfather Mahipāla, dated A.D. 1026,<sup>10</sup> and Mahipāla's son Nayapāla reigned at least 15 years.<sup>11</sup> Vīgrahapāla's accession cannot, therefore, be placed earlier than A.D. 1041. His son Rāmapāla, who was preceded on the throne by two brothers Mahipāla II and Śūrapāla, was a contemporary of

<sup>1</sup> See H. M. Elliot, *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. II 1869, pp. 112 and ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 260 and ff.

<sup>3</sup> See Fuhrer, *Journal Bengal Society*, Vol. LVI. Pt I p. 113.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. IV p. 108.

<sup>5</sup> Kielhorn, *Northern List*, Nos. 127 and 131.

<sup>6</sup> See Fuhrer, loc. cit. p. 115, 1 19.

<sup>7</sup> *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1900, pp. 70 and ff.

<sup>8</sup> Kielhorn, *Northern List*, No 407.

<sup>9</sup> See Kielhorn, above, Vol. II pp. 302 and ff.

<sup>10</sup> Kielhorn, *Northern List*, No. 59.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, No 642.

Śaṅkarādēvi, the mother of Gōvīndachandra's queen Kumārādēvi. It therefore seems probable that Vīgrahapāla's accession should be placed about A.D. 1050, and Rāmapāla's reign in the last part of the eleventh century. Mahana, Śaṅkarādēvi's father, would then be a contemporary of both of them. The *Rāmacharita*, which calls him Mathana or Mahana, states that he was a Rāshtrakūṭa, and the maternal uncle of Rāmapāla. It therefore becomes probable that Vīgrahapāla married a Rāshtrakūṭa princess in addition to the daughter of the Chēdi king Karna who was, according to the *Rāmacharita*, given to him after the war alluded to above. Mahana was Rāmapāla's right hand, and was of great assistance in the war against Bhīma. Among the feudatories of the Pāla king in that war, the *Rāmacharita* mentions Vīraguna, the *rāja* of Pīṭhī who is described as the lord of the south. Dēvarakṣhita of Pīṭhī is also mentioned, but not as a feudatory. He must be identical with the Dēvarakṣhita of our inscription, and it becomes probable that the Pīṭhī ruler Vīraguna had originally stood on Rāmapāla's side, while Dēvarakṣhita later on rose against him. He hailed from Pīṭhī or Pīṭhikā, which according to the *Rāmacharita* was situated in the south. Now *pīṭh* or *pīṭhikā* is synonymous with *pīṭha*, and it is therefore possible that Pīṭhī is identical with Pīṭhāpuram.<sup>1</sup> We know that a branch of the Eastern Chalukyas reigned in Pīṭhāpuram in the second half of the twelfth century, and that the town had already been conquered by Pulikēsin II. No historical information is forthcoming about the earlier Chalukya princes of the Pīṭhāpuram branch. The real history of the family only seems to begin with Vijayāditya III, whose coronation took place A.D. 1158.<sup>2</sup> It should also be noted that the genealogy given in the Pīṭhāpuram inscriptions hardly can be correct. Mr. Sewell has drawn my attention to the fact that only four generations are enumerated between Bēta, who reigned in A.D. 925, and Vijayāditya III., who was crowned in A.D. 1158.

Before this branch became established in Pīṭhāpuram, the place was one of the strongholds of the Vēṅgi province of the Eastern Chalukyas. In the last part of the 11th century, the reigning king was Kulōttuṅga Chōḍadāva, who first was ruler in Vēṅgi but who in A.D. 1070 was anointed to the Chōḍa kingdom. Vēṅgi was then ruled by viceroys, first by his uncle Vijayāditya VII then by his sons Rājārāja (1077-78) and Vira Chōḍa (from 1078). Mr. Venkayya suggests that this latter viceroy may be identical with the Vīraguna of the *Rāmapālacharita*. Dēvarakṣhita was then probably a general under the viceroy of Vēṅgi. He is said to have surpassed even the glory of Gajapati. As this epithet is used by some of the Eastern Gāṅgas, it is possible that it here refers to Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. The *Kalīṅgatu Param*<sup>3</sup> describes an expedition undertaken by Kulōttuṅga I. against this king, and Dēvarakṣhita may have played a rôle in it. We do not know anything about the Chhakkra family, to which Dēvarakṣhita belonged.

The marriage of Dēvarakṣhita's daughter to king Gōvīndachandra perhaps accounts for the relationship between the Chōḷas and the Gāhaḍavālas commented on by Mr. Venkayya in his Annual Report for 1907-08, para. 58 and ff. An incomplete Gāhaḍavāla inscription has recently been found immediately after a record of Kulōttuṅgaḍāva of A.D. 1110-11, in Gaṅgaikopṇa chōḷapuram, which it is tempting to bring into connexion with Gōvīndachandra's marriage. Mr. Venkayya carries the acquaintance of the Gāhaḍavālas with the Chōḷa kings farther back to the expedition of Rājendra Chōḷa towards the kings on the banks of the Ganges, mentioned in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates, and it seems very probable that this expedition led to the establishment of friendly relations with the north. Among the princes conquered by Rājendra Chōḷa was Dharmapāla of Daḍḍabhukti, and the lord of Daḍḍabhukti figures amongst the feudatory kings who, according to the *Rāmapālacharita*, assisted Rāmapāla in his war against Bhīma.

<sup>1</sup> Compare the forms Pīṭhapura and Pīṭhāpari, above, Vol. IV p. 37, 357. Note 4.

<sup>2</sup> See Hultzsch, above, Vol. IV. p. 223.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 329 ff.

The relationship between the various persons mentioned in our inscription will be seen from the table which follows —

Vallabharāja of Pithi	Mahana, of the Rāshtrakūta family.	Chandra, of the Gahadavāla family.
↓	↓	↓
Dēvarakshita, married	Śankaradēvi	Madanachandra
	↓	↓
	Kumara-dēvi, married	Gōvinda-chandīa.

According to verse 25, the inscription was composed by Kunda, who describes himself as a lion to the *tirthika*-elephants, a Rōhana mountain, full of the splendid gems of poetical composition, a poet in eight *bhāṣās*, and an intimate friend of the king of Vanga. He is not elsewhere known. His name does not occur in the *Sādūlāvīkṛitā*,<sup>1</sup> nor, so far as I know, in any other anthology. The engraver was the *śilpī* Vāmana.

#### TEXT.

- 1 श्री<sup>2</sup> नमो भगवत्यै शायंवसुधाराये ॥ 'समवतु वसुधारा धर्मपीयूषधारा-  
प्रशमितवहुविश्रोहामदुःखोरुधारा । धनकनकसङ्घिं भूर्भुवः शः<sup>4</sup> किरन्तो  
तद-
- 2 खुलजन्मदेन्यान्थाजयन्ती जगन्ति ॥ [१\*] 'नेत्रैरुत्कण्ठितानां चरणसुपनयसा-  
रुचन्द्रोपलान्मानयन्मिभिन्दन् सह कुसुदवनीसुद्रया मानिनीनाम् ।  
दग्धन्दग्धेश्वरेणा[सृ]-
- 3 तनिकारकरैर्जीवयन् कामदेवं कामोयं कौमुदीनां स जयति जगदाशोकदीप-  
प्रदीपः ॥ [२\*] 'वशे तस्य नमस्यपीरुषजुषि प्रस्कारकीर्त्तितुषि द्राक्  
शौचेन सु[राप]-
- 4 गामदसुषि प्रत्यर्थिलक्ष्मीरुषि । वीरो वल्लभराजनामविदितो मान्यः स  
भूमीभुजां जेतासीयूथुपीठिकापतिरतिप्रौढप्रतापोदयः ॥ [३\*] 'किङ्कोरवंशकु-  
सुदोदयपूर्य-
- 5 चन्द्रः श्रीदेवरचित इति प्रथितः प्रथिव्याम् । पीठीपतिर्नजपतेरपि राज्य-  
लक्ष्मीं लक्ष्म्या जिगाय जगदेकमनोहरश्रीः ॥ [४\*] 'तस्मादास पयोनि-  
चेरिव विधु-
- 6 क्षावस्थलक्ष्मीविधुर्नेत्रानन्दसमुद्रवर्धनविधुः कीर्त्तियुतिश्रीविधुः । सौजन्यैकनिधिः  
स्फुरद्गुणनिधिर्गाभीर्यधाराकिचिह्नार्हाद्वैतनिधिः<sup>9</sup> स च[ण्डि]म-
- 7 निधिः शस्त्रैकविद्यानिधिः ॥ [५\*] 'दीनानामभिवान्छितैकफलदः प्रत्यक्ष-  
कल्पद्रुमो दृष्टहैरिगिरीन्द्रमेदनविधौ दुर्वारवज्र यः । कामान[१\*]भद-

<sup>1</sup> Rajendra Lala Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Vol. III pp 134 and ff <sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol

<sup>3</sup> Metre: Mālinī.

<sup>4</sup> Read ख .

<sup>5</sup> Metre: Śṛagdhara.

<sup>6</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīṭa.

<sup>7</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā

<sup>8</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīṭa

<sup>9</sup> Read धर्माद्वैत.

<sup>10</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīṭa

- 8 नन्वरोपशमने सिद्धौषधीपङ्क्तवो वाङ्मयस्य वभूव भूतलभुजामन्तसमत्कारिणः  
॥ [६\*] <sup>1</sup>गौडेद्वैतभटः सकाण्डपटिकः चचैकचूडामणिः <sup>2</sup>प्रचातो
- 9 महणाङ्गपः क्षितिभुजाम्बान्योभवन्मातुलः । त(तं) जित्वा युधि देवरक्षि-  
तमघात् श्रीरामपालस्य यो लक्ष्मीं निर्जितवैरिरोधनतया देदीप्यमानो-  
दयाम् ॥ [७\*] <sup>3</sup>कन्या महण-
- 10 देवस्य तस्य कन्येव भूभृतः । सा पीठोपतिना तेन तेनेवोढा स्वयम्भू(भु)षा  
॥ [८\*] <sup>4</sup>ख्याता शङ्करदेवीति तारैव करुणाशया । व्यजेष्ट कल्पवृक्षाण-  
क्षता दानीयमेन या ॥ [९\*] <sup>5</sup>श-
- 11 जनि कुमारदेवो हन्ता देवोव ताभ्यां शरदमलसुधाक्षीशारुलैखिव रम्या ।  
दुरितजलधिमध्याक्षीकमुहूर्तुकामा स्वयमिह करुणार्ता तारिणीवावतीर्षा ॥  
[१०\*]
- 12 <sup>6</sup>यामुघाः प्रविधाय शिष्यरचनाचातुर्यैर्दर्य व्याधाद्यहक्षेण नितसुधारकिरणी  
क्षीणः स खस्योभवत् । रात्रावुद्गममातनोति मलिनो जातः कलङ्को ततस्त-
- 13 स्याः सुद(सुन्द)रिमा स <sup>7</sup>विषयकरो वाचः <sup>8</sup>किमस्मादृशैः ॥ [११\*] <sup>9</sup>चित्र-  
श्चलदृक्कुरङ्गमवधूयन्धस्फुरद्वागुराम् विभ्राणा तनुसम्पदम्प्रविलसत्कान्थाभिकान-  
श्रिया <sup>10</sup>
- 14 खेलक्षीरसमुद्रसाम्प्रक्षरिजावप्लवक्ष्मीसुषं सोषं शैलसुतामदस्य दधती सौभाग्य-  
गर्वेण सा ॥ [१२\*] <sup>11</sup>धर्माद्वैतमतिर्गुणाक्षितरतिः प्रारब्धपुण्याक्षिति-
- 15 दर्शोदारधृतिर्मतङ्गजगतिर्नेत्रा(त्रा)भिरामाकृतितः । श्रास्मृत्यस्त नतिगनोदिततुतिः  
<sup>12</sup>कारुण्यकेलिस्थितिनित्यश्रीवसतिः कृताघविहतिः स्थायिगुणाङ्ग-  
तिः ॥ [१३\*] <sup>13</sup>जगति गह्ववाक्षे चचव(वं)शे प्रसिद्धेजनि नरपतिचन्द्रचन्द्र(मा)-  
नामा नरेन्द्रः । यदसहजनृपाणाङ्गामिनीवाप्यवाङ्(ः) श्रितितरमिदमासीद्या-  
सुन(नं) तू(नू)नमभः ॥ [१४\*] <sup>14</sup>नृ-
- 17 पतिमदनचन्द्रश्चम्भूपालचूडामणिरजनि स तस्माद्भिन्नदेकातपत्र[म\*] । धरणि-  
तलमनस्यप्रौढतेडो(जो)नलक्ष्मीः श्रियमपि च मघोनः स्वश्रियाधो दधानः  
॥ [१५\*] <sup>15</sup>वाराण-
- 18 श्रीं भुवनरक्षणदक्ष एको <sup>16</sup>दुष्टान्तरुष्कसुमटादवितुं हरेश । उक्तो हरिश्च  
पुनरत्र वभूव तस्माद्भोविन्दचन्द्र इति प्रयिताभिधानः ॥ [१६\*] <sup>17</sup>वक्ताः  
कामदुष्टां कथा-

<sup>1</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>4</sup> Metre: Anuṣṭubh.<sup>7</sup> Read विशय°.<sup>10</sup> The sign of interpunctuation has been engraved in the beginning of next line.<sup>11</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>14</sup> Metre: Mālinī.<sup>17</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>2</sup> Read प्रख्यामी.<sup>5</sup> Metre: Mālinī.<sup>8</sup> Read °मयाहम्.<sup>13</sup> Read °नतिर्न°. °क्षितिर्न°.<sup>16</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.<sup>6</sup> Metre: Anuṣṭubh.<sup>9</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>12</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>15</sup> Metre: Mālinī.<sup>18</sup> Read दुष्टावृ°.

Sten Konow

- 19 नपि पयःपूरस्य <sup>1</sup>पातु न ते चित्रं प्रागलभन्त याचकमनःसन्तोषनित्यव्ययात् ।  
 त्यागैर्यस्य <sup>2</sup>महीभृजः प्रसुदिते तद्याचकानाञ्चये स्वच्छन्दहितनित्यनिर्भरपयः-
- 20 पानीत्ववैरासते ॥ [१७\*] <sup>3</sup>यद्विद्देशिमहीभृजां पुरवरे प्रभष्टहारावलीर्व्याधास्तन्मृग-  
 पाशवन्मनसा गच्छन्ति नैव भ्रमात् । व्याधाः सस्तसुवर्षकुण्डलमहि-  
 भ्रान्त्या
- 21 तदत्यायतेर्दण्डैर्द्रागपसारयन्ति च भयप्रोक्त्वम्पिहस्तसजः ॥ [१८\*] <sup>4</sup>यस्योत्सववि-  
 रोधिभूपतिपुरप्रासादपृष्ठोपरि प्रत्यग्रस्फुरदुग्रशय्यकवलव्यालोलवाजि-
- 22 व्रजः । आदित्यस्त्वभवत्स मन्तरयश्चन्द्रोपि मन्दोभवत् घासप्रासविरूढलोभहरिणः  
 रचन् पतन्तन्ततः ॥ [१९\*] <sup>5</sup>अहह कुमरदेवी तेन र[१\*]ज्ञा प्रसिद्धा नि-  
 (त्रि)जगति
- 23 परिगीता श्रीविवेहाच्युतेन । प्रविलसदवरोधे तस्य राज्ञोऽङ्गनानां नियतममृत-  
 रश्मिलेखिका तारकासु ॥ [२०\*] <sup>7</sup>वोहारो नवखण्डमण्डलमहीहारः कृतोय-  
 न्तया
- 24 तारिण्या वसुधारया ननु वपुर्विभ्राणयालंकृतः । यं दृष्ट्वा प्रविचित्रशिल्परच-  
 नाचातुर्व्यसोमाश्रयं गोवर्षीः सुदृश[ञ्च] विस्मयमगाद्भागुश्रुकर्मापि सः ॥ (॥)  
 [२१\*] <sup>8</sup>श्रीधर्मचक्रजि-
- 25 नशासनसन्निवधं सा जम्बुकी <sup>9</sup>सकलपत्तिलिवायभूता । तत्ताम्रशासनवर(रं)  
 प्रविधाय तस्यै दत्त्वा तया शशिरवी भुवि यावदास्ताम् ॥ [२२\*]  
<sup>10</sup>धर्माशोकनराधिपस्य समये श्रीध-
- 26 म(र्म)चक्रो जिनी यादृक् तन्नयरचितः पुनरयश्चक्रे ततोप्यङ्गुतम् । वोहारः  
 स्थविरस्य तस्य च तया यन्नादयङ्कारितस्तस्मिन्नेव समर्पितश्च वसतादा-  
 चन्द्रचण्डयुति ॥ [२३\*] <sup>11</sup>तत्कीर्त्तिय-
- 27 रिपालयिष्यति जनी यः कश्चिदुर्वीतले सा तस्याङ्घ्रियुगप्रणामपरमा यूय जिनाः  
 साक्षिणः । तस्याः कश्चिदनिश्चितो यदि यशोव्यालीपकारी खलः तं  
 पापीयसमा-
- 28 य शासति पुनस्तो लोकपाला क्रुधा ॥ [२४\*] <sup>12</sup>एकस्तीर्थिकवादिवारणघटा-  
 सङ्घट्टकण्ठीरवः साहित्यो[ज\*]ज्वलरत्नरोहणगिरियीं द्रष्टुमाणाकविः । स्थातो  
 वङ्गमहीभजः <sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read पातुं<sup>2</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita<sup>3</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita<sup>4</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>5</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>6</sup> Read 'भृजः', the final *varga* has been engraved in the beginning of line 29<sup>7</sup> Read 'सुगः'<sup>8</sup> Read 'भवद्वा' °बदलोभहरिणं<sup>9</sup> Metre: Yasantatila<sup>10</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita<sup>11</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita<sup>12</sup> Metre: Mālinī.<sup>13</sup> Read 'पराजिका'.<sup>14</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

29 प्रणयभूः श्रीकुन्दनामा कृती तस्याः सुन्दरवर्षागुम्फरचनारम्भां प्रशस्तिं व्यधात्  
 ॥ [२५\*] <sup>1</sup> एषा प्रशस्तिरुत्तीर्षा वामनेन तु शिल्विना । राजावर्त्तस्य  
 सापत्न्यरुद्धानि प्रस्तरोत्तमे ॥ [२६\*]

## TRANSLATION.

Hail Obeisance to the exalted noble Vasudhārā.

(V. 1) May Vasudhārā protect the worlds, who abates the broad stream of unmitigated misery in the manifold universe by the nectar stream of *Idharma*, who pours out riches of wealth and gold over earth, skies and heaven, and who conquers all the misery of man in them.<sup>2</sup>

(V. 2) Victorious be that lover of the lotuses, the flashing torch for the illumination of the world, who causes oozing of the lovely moon-gems and (brings tears into) the eyes of longing people; who opens the knot of pride in haughty damsels and also the closed lotuses, who with his nectar-filled beams revives the god of love, who was burnt to ashes by *Īśvara*, (who had been) smitten (by him).

(V. 3.) In his (the moon's) lineage, which enjoys a valour worthy of homage; which is resplendent with shining fame, which speedily annihilates the pride of the river of the gods by its purity, which destroys the splendour of its adversaries, was a hero, known by the name of *Vallabharāja*, honoured among princes, the victorious lord of broad *Piṭhikā*, of increasing mighty prowess.

(Vv. 4-5.) The full moon expanding the lotuses of the *Chhikkōra* family, known on earth as *Śrī-Dēvarakṣita*, the lord of *Piṭhī* (who) surpassed even the splendour of *Gajapati* by his splendour, whose glory alone ravished the hearts of the world, was descended from him (*Vallabharāja*), as the moon from the ocean, a (veritable) *Viṣṇu* (*Vidhu*), to the *Lakṣmī* of beauty, a (veritable) moon in causing the rise of the ocean, viz. ocular pleasure (as the moon raises the ocean); a second moon, the lustre of whose light was his fame (or, a second *Viṣṇu* with *Śrī* in the shape of the lustre of his fame), an incomparable treasure of goodness, a treasure of resplendent virtues; an ocean of profundity; a peerless store of religion, a store of energy, the only depository of the lore of arms, —

(V. 6.) Who was the veritable celestial tree in bestowing desired objects on supplicants, who was an irresistible thunderbolt in accomplishing the splitting of the mighty mountains, viz. his haughty foes, a marvellous man, whose arm was like a sprout of a marvellous herb in healing the fever of Cupid in enamoured women, and death to kings.

(V. 7.) In the *Gauḍa* country there was a peerless warrior, with his quiver,<sup>3</sup> this incomparable diadem of *kehotriyas*, the *Aṅga* king *Mahapa*, the venerable maternal uncle of kings. He conquered *Dēvarakṣita* in war and maintained the glory of *Rāmapāla*, which rose in splendour because the obstruction caused by his foes was removed.

(V. 8.) The daughter of this *Mahapādava* was like the daughter of the mountain (viz. *Pārvatī*), she was married to the lord of *Piṭhī* as (*Pārvatī*) to *Svayambhu*;

(V. 9) She was known as *Saṅkaradēvī*, full of merriment like *Tārā*, and she excelled the creepers of the wishing tree in her efforts to make gifts

(V. 10) To them, forsooth, was born *Kumardēvī*, like a *dēvī*, lovely like the charming streak of the spotless autumnal moon, as if *Tārā* herself, prompted by compassion, had descended to earth with a wish to free the world from the ocean of misery.

<sup>1</sup> Metre *Anuṣṭubh*.

<sup>2</sup> Mr *Venkaya* suggests to read *dānyat-tyāgayanit*.

<sup>3</sup> The meaning of *kāṇḍapāśika* is uncertain. The word is usually translated 'screen.' But this meaning



(V 11.) After having created her, Brahmā was filled with pride at his own cleverness in applying his art, excelled by her face the moon, being ashamed, remains in the air, rises at night becomes impure and subsequently full of spots, how can this her marvellous beauty be described by people like us ?

(V 12.) She, who in a wonderful way possesses a beautiful body, which is a glittering net for entrapping female antelopes, *viz.* the moving eyes, and which robs the wealth of beauty of the lense waves of the playful milky ocean by her brilliant charm of lovely splendour ; who does away with the infatuation of the daughter of the mountain (*i.e.* Pārvatī) by her proud grace

(V 13.) Her mind was set on religion alone, her desire was bent on virtues, she had undertaken to lay in a store of merit, she found a noble satisfaction in bestowing gifts, her gait was like that of an elephant, her appearance charming to the eye, she bowed down to the Buddha, and the people sang her praise, she took her stand in the play of commiseration, was her permanent abode of luck, annihilated sin, and took her pride in abundant virtue

(V 14.) In the royal Gahadavāla lineage, famous in the world, was born a king, Chandra by name, a moon (*chandra*) among rulers. By the streams of tears of the wives of the kings who could not resist him, the water of the Yamunā forsooth became darker

(V 15.) The king Madanachandra, a crest jewel amongst impetuous kings, was born from him, the lord who brought the circle of the earth under one sceptre, the splendour of the fire of his valor being great and mighty, and who even lowered the glory of Maghavan by his glory

(V 16.) Hari, who had been commissioned by Hara in order to protect Vārānasi from the wicked Turushka warrior, as the only one who was able to protect the earth, was again born from him, his name being renowned as Gōvindaachandra,

(V 17.) Wonderful, the calfs of the celestial cows could not formerly get even drops of the milk stream to drink, on account of its continuous use for satisfying the hearts of supplicants, but after the multitude of these supplicants had been gladdened through the liberality of that king, they sat down to the feast of drinking the milk which is always plentiful and applied according to their wishes.

(V 18.) In the excellent cities of his adversaries, hunters by mistake do not pick up fallen necklaces, thinking them to be nooses for the deer in it, and hunters quickly remove the fallen gold ear-ring with sticks, the garlands in their hands shaking with fear, mistaking it for a snake on account of its large size.

(V 19.) The chariot of the sun was delayed because its span of horses were greedy after the mouthful of fresh, shining, thick grass on the roofs of the palaces in the towns of his uprooted foes, and also the moon became slow, because he had to protect the gazelle (in his orb), which was falling down, having become covetous after the grass

(V 20.) Kumaradēvi, forsooth, was famous with that king, like Śrī with Vishnu, and her praises were sung in the three worlds, and in the splendid harem of that king, she was indeed like the streak of the moon amongst the stars.

(V 21.) This *vihāra*, an ornament to the earth, the round of which consists of nine segments, was made by her, and decorated as it were by Vasudhārā herself in the shape of Tāmpi, and even the Creator himself was taken with wonder when he saw it accomplished with the highest skill in the applying of wonderful arts and looking handsome with (the images of) gods.

(V 22.) Having prepared that copper-plate grant, which recorded the gift to śrī-Dharma chakra Jina, for so long a time as moon and sun endure on earth, and having given it to her, that Jambukī was made (?) the foremost of all *pattālikās* by her (Kumaradēvi)

(V 23) This Lord of the Turning of the Wheel was restored by her in accordance with the way in which he existed in the days of Dhammakka, the ruler of men, and even more wonderfully, and thus *ihara* for that *sthanam* was elaborately created by her, and might he placed there, stay there as long as moon and sun (*cadunt*.)

(V 24) If anyone on the surface of the world preserves her fame, she will be intent on bowing down at his pair of feet. You Jin is shall be witnesses. But if any fool robs her fame, then those *lōkapālas* will quickly punish that wicked man in their wrath.

(V 25) The poet in eight *bhāshās* known as the trusted friend of the Banga-king, Śrī-Kunda by name, the learned who was the only hon. to attack the crowds of the elephant like heretics, who was a Rōhana mountain of the flashing jewels of poetical composition, he made this eulogy of her, charming with strings of letters beautifully arranged.

(V 26) This *prasasti* has been engraved by the *śilpa* Vamana on this excellent stone which rivals the *rājāvarta* (i.e. *Lapis Lazuli*).

#### NO 52 — KRISHNAPURAM PLATES OF SADASIVARAYA.

SAKA SAMVAT 1189

By T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M. A., MADRAS, AND RAO SAMIY T. RAJAHAYAH, B. A., REVENUE OFFICER, MADRAS COLLOCATION.

The temple of Śrī Vēṅkatāchalapati to which this set of copper-plates belongs, is situated in the middle of Krishnapuram, a village six miles south-east of Tenali. The temple has some fine sculptures and a few inscriptions of later times. The copper-plates were kindly secured for us by Mr. N. Gōpālasvāmī Ayyangār, B. A., B. L., Deputy Collector, Kollēgāl, and we now edit them from impressions prepared under our supervision.

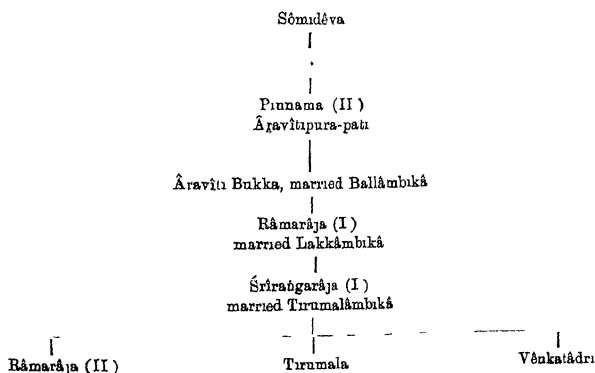
The plates are five in number, bound together by a ring which has also a seal loosely strung to it. The upper half of the surface of the seal bears the figure of a standing bear facing the proper right, near its face is a dagger placed with its point downwards, and over it are cut out the figures of sun and moon. The lower half has a design not uncommon to the Vijayanagara seals. On the top of the first plate and immediately above the inscription is engraved the *Srīvāṣṇava nāmam* (of the Tēṅgalai sect) flanked on either side with the conch and the discus (of Viṣṇu). The plates (except the first) are numbered in Kannada-Telugu numerals engraved on the right-hand corner of the first side of each plate. The rims of the plates are raised, and the first and last plates are engraved on one side only.

The characters are Nandināgarī, and the language, excepting the obeisance to Ganapati at the beginning, is Sanskrit verse. The signature at the end is as usual, the name of the tutelary deity of the Vijayanagara kings, *Srī Virūpākṣa*, and is written in the Kannada alphabet. There are a few orthographical peculiarities worth noticing. The long vowel *ē* is represented by the usual sign for *ē* with a secondary *r*-stroke on the top. This new long *ē*, as employed in our record, is the same as the vowel *ai* as written at the present day, but in the present inscription, this latter sound is represented by an ordinary short *e* with two secondary *e* symbols on it, e.g. *Aśvadevīpura* occurring in line 114, *Aṇakūḍa* in line 145, *Ebrudarāyara*, in line 191, and *Ekava* in line 210. The Dravidian rough *r* is represented, as in other Vijayanagara plates written in the Nandināgarī alphabet, with a secondary *r* on the top of a common *r*, e.g. *Māru* occurring in line 94, *Savalakkaraṇa* in line 141, *-pāra* in line 146, *Śrīyā* in line 150, and *-Aravitu* in line 159. There are several minor errors in the inscription

such as omissions of letters, and of the *anusvāra* and the *visarga*, wrong repetitions of the same words and phrases, etc., these are noticed in footnotes under the text. The *virudas* of the king and of the chiefs are known from other sources.

The inscription belongs to the reign of Sadaśivarāya of Vidyānagari. It records that at the request of Tirumala, who was in his turn requested by Krishnappa Nāyaka or Krishnabhūpati as he is called in the inscription, Sadaśivarāya granted a number of villages to the god Tiruvēkatanātha set up at Krishnapuram by Krishnappa Nāyaka. The first part of the inscription gives in detail the genealogy of king Sadaśiva which is identical with that given in the British Museum plates of the same king published by Prof. Kielhorn<sup>1</sup> and No. 58 of the Nāgamangala tāluk of the Mysore District, published by Mr. Rice<sup>2</sup>. Herein also Sadaśivarāya is described as being installed on the throne by the chief ministers at the instance of Rāmarāja, who is here, as in the other plates,<sup>3</sup> called his sister's husband. Later on (vv 84-95) the inscription details the pedigrees of the family to which Tirumala belonged.

The genealogy begins with Nanda, who is said to have been born in the race of the moon. In his race was born Chalikka and in the latter's Bijjalēndra. Sōmidēva, who captured seven forts, was born in his line. His grandson was Pinnama "lord of Āravītūpura". His son was Āravīti-Bukka, whose wife was Ballāmbikā. Their son was Rāmarāja who married Lakkāmbikā. To them was born Śrīrangarāja (I) and his wife was Tirumalāmbikā. Their sons were Rāmarāja (II), Tirumala (I) and Vēṅkatāḍri. Tirumala is styled in the plates a Bhōja in poetry. Appended below is a genealogical tree of Tirumala's family —



We learn from the British Museum plates that Rāmarāja II, Tirumala and Vēṅkatāḍri belonged to the same family, from which Kōṇḍarāja of that grant was descended (see table above, Vol IV, p. 4). Tirumala bears (vv 98-101) the family *virudas* of antembaragamāda,

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. IV., p. 1

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol IV., p. 219 of the Romanised text portion

<sup>3</sup> Compare the British Museum Plate Inscription, above, Vol IV, p. 3 f., No 7 of the Hassan tāluk, *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V., Part I; and No. 186 of Chennappaṭṇu, *Ep. Carn.*, Vol IX. Compare Prof. Kielhorn's remarks on the meaning of "sister" in this connection

*śrīmaṇḍalīlaganḍa, būrudamaṇṇiyavībhūta, dharaṇṭarāḥa, Kalyāṇapurāṇātha* and *Vēṅga-tribhuvanīmalla*<sup>1</sup> At the time at which the present grant was made, Rāmarāja, the powerful general and minister of Sadāśiva, and his brother Vēṅkaṭādrī had both been dead two years, they having fallen in the famous battle of Tālikōṭa on the 23rd January A.D. 1566. Tirumala, the second brother of Rāmarāja, now became the minister and commander and was the *de facto* king. In the course of the same or the beginning of the next year he was to become eventually the *de jure* king and founded the third dynasty of Vijayanagara.

Kṛṣṇanappa Nāyaka, at whose request the present grant was made, is described as the grandson of Nāgama Nāyaka and the son by Nāgama of Visvanātha Nāyaka.<sup>2</sup> He has the *būdada, Kāñchīpuravarādhisvara, Mōkalīpattavarādhana, Samyadīśaharagāṇḍa, Samayakōḍīhala, Aṣṭavālīpuravarādhisvara, Pāṇḍyakulasthūpanībhūṛiya* and *lakṣmīnāmasamudrādhipati* (vv. 49-52).

In connection with the conquest of the Pāṇḍya country by the kings of Vijayanagara, we might notice that Narasā or Narasā Nāyaka, as he is more commonly called, is said to have subjugated Mānabhūṣa, the king of Mādura.<sup>3</sup> We know that Narasā Nāyaka lived about the last quarter of the 15th century<sup>4</sup> and that Mānabhūṣa or Aṅkavari Parākrama Pāṇḍya began his reign in 1422 A.D.<sup>5</sup> and ruled for at least 42 years, i.e. till about 1466 A.D.<sup>6</sup> It is quite likely that this Pāṇḍya king was the one referred to as defeated by Narasā Nāyaka.

Our inscription is dated (vv. 44-45) in the Śaka year 1489, computed by the *nīdhis* (9), *vārānas* (8), *vīdas* (4), and *indus* (1), in the year Prabhava, on the Makara saṁkrāntī corresponding to the new moon *tithi* of the month Pushya, on a Monday. Sadāśivarāja was then encamped on the island of Śrīrangam and made the grant in the presence of the god Ranganātha. The last known date for Sadāśivarāja is 1537 A.D.,<sup>7</sup> some ten months earlier than that of our record, and hence it is likely that the king, after the disaster that befell him at Tālikōṭa two years previously, was spending his last years, Śrīvaishnavas as he was, at the sacred shrine of Śrīrangam. Of all Śrīvaishnava places of pilgrimage, Śrīrangam is the most sacred, and the Tuluva kings of Vijayanagara, at least those beginning with Kṛṣṇaśaṭṭavarāja, were very staunch Śrīvaishnavas.<sup>8</sup> Achyutadēvarāja, during his expedition against the Tiruvadi kingdom, is described, in the *Achyutarāyābhūdayam* of Rājannāthakavi, as having halted at Śrīrangam and sent the son of one Sagalarāja<sup>9</sup> to conquer the Tiruvadi rājya.<sup>10</sup> Hence it might not be wrong to suppose that Sadāśivarāja ended his days in Śrīrangam, but we have not any positive proofs to support our surmise.

<sup>1</sup> Compare verses 144-146 of the British Museum plates, where Koṇḍarāja of this family wears similar *būdada*, above, Vol. IV, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Verses 63-64.

<sup>3</sup> Verse 11. The word has been treated as an ordinary noun by Profs. Hultzsch and Kielhorn.

<sup>4</sup> The Dēvulapalli plates give Ś. 1427 as a date falling in the reign of Immaṇḍi-Nṛsiṁha; hence Narasā must have lived prior to this. See also footnote 7, above, Vol. VII, p. 79. [It should be noted that Immaṇḍi Nṛsiṁha was a Śāṭva, and not a Tuluva like Narasā. — B. K.]

<sup>5</sup> Śendambī, Vol. IV, p. 117, and above, p. 229.

<sup>6</sup> Śendambī, Vol. IV, p. 117.

<sup>7</sup> South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. I, Nos. 43-46, p. 70.

<sup>8</sup> The Śāṭva kings were the disciples of Tālichārya. See *Prapanasamritam*. Kṛṣṇadēva wrote *Amṛita mālyada, Vāṅmukhīyām*, works relating to the life incidents of the Śrīvaishnava saint Periyāṭṭar and his daughter Aṅgāl.

<sup>9</sup> This Sagalarāja was the father-in-law of Achyutadēva and father of his wife Varadāmbā. See *Achyutarāyābhūdayam*, Canto III, verse 48. The printed copy of this work reads the name as Salagarāja; see p. 77; but Mr. T. S. Kappasāmi Śāstri reads it as Sagalarāja, and we follow him in calling the father-in-law of Achyuta, Sagalarāja.

<sup>10</sup> See *Achyutarāyābhūdayam*, Canto V., verse 64.

Krishnappa Nāyaka constructed a temple in the village of Krishnapuram and built a *prākāra* round it and a tower as high as the Mandara mountain over its entrance. In front of the shrine he erected a *rangamanḍapa*, standing on pillars containing exquisite sculptures and decorated with rows of beautiful creepers. In this newly constructed temple he set up the image of the god Tiruvēnkataśātha. He built a big car for the deity and surrounded the temple with broad streets with a view to provide an easy circuit for the car. It was for the conduct of the daily *pūjās*, for offerings, lighting, for incense, flower-garlands, etc., and for the annual celebration of the car and the floating festivals, that he requested and got from Sādasivaiyā the villages mentioned in the grant.

Though the Nāyakas are believed to have usurped the thrones of the Pāndyas, they still call themselves 'the establishers of the Pāndya dynasty'. In corroboration of the claim of the Nāyakas of Malura to the title of *Pāṇḍyakulasthāpanāchāryas*, we see several hundreds of inscriptions belonging to the later Pāndyas, scattered over the country believed to have been ruled over by the Nāyakas, showing that they were also ruling simultaneously with the Nāyakas. One of the later Pāndyas, named Śrivalḷabha, is described, in the Puḍukkōṭṭu plates of Atvirarāma Pāndya,<sup>1</sup> as having established the Pāṇḍya kingdom. This Śrivalḷabha must have been a contemporary of Narasā Nāyaka, for he is the brother of Mānabhūsha defeated by Narasā.<sup>2</sup> How he established the Pāṇḍya kingdom and under what circumstances, is not apparent. But we see as a matter of fact the Pāṇḍyas ruling in a semi-independent condition over their ancestral kingdom till at least 1585 A.D., what political relationship existed between them and the Nāyakas, we do not know.

At the end of the inscription, it is mentioned that Sabhāpati Svayambhū was the composer of the *śāsana*, and Virāṇāchārya, son of Virāṇa, was the engraver.

The places mentioned in the record are —

Kiḷavēmbu nāḍu in the Pāndya *maṇḍalam*, Śrivalḷamaṅgalaśāvedi in the above nāḍu, Ardhatintriṇi (Arappuḷi?), Villamarāyaṇ Nedunḡalam, Savalakkāraṇ kulaṁ, Puḷiyanguḷa-āḍai, Pirāyankulaṁ, Bhūṣurataṭāka (Parpagulam, a corruption perhaps of Pāppānkulam), Kaḷḷikulaṁ, Vēlaṅkulaṁ Sundarapāṇḍyaṇ puḍukkāḷ, Aḷiya\*ṇḡkulaṁ, Śrīkulaṁ, Śrīyāru Peryālaṅḡalam, Kōkkantāmpārai (modern Kongandāmpārai), Paṇayanguḷam, Muttūr hill; Puttaṇḡeri, Āriyakulaṁ, Kōdikulaṁ, Kuttukkāḷ, Muttūr, Rāmaṅḡalam, Itampattu, Śrīyālaṅḡalam, Bāṭṭaikulaṁ, Muṇappunādu, Āḷikudi and Sri-Krishnapuram.

Of these Vēmba-nāḍu comprises the northern portions of the Native State of Travancore and of the District of Tinnevely, and in the former state there is a large backwater lake known by the name of Vēmba-nāḍu- kōyal indicating the ancient name of the country where it is situated. We find the following names in the list of villages belonging to the Tinnevely tāluka of the same district and situated near Krishnapuram — Pirāyānkulaṁ, Pāppāṅkulaṁ,<sup>3</sup> Vēlaṅkulaṁ, Sundarapāṇḍyaṇ kāl, Kōḡandāmpārai, Paṇayāṅkulaṁ, Muttūr, Āriyakulaṁ, Muṇappunāḍu, and Krishnapuram. The other places we are unable to identify.

#### TEXT.

##### First Plate.

- 1 श्रीगणाधिपतये नमः । नमस्तुंगशिरशुबिचद्रचामर-
- 2 चारवे । त्रैलोक्यनगरारंभमूलस्तंभाय श्रमवे ।(॥) [१\*] हरिर्त्तिलाव-

<sup>1</sup> Annual Report on Epigraphy for the year 1906, p. 72

<sup>2</sup> [The Puḍukkōṭṭai grant mentions Mānābharaṇa as the brother of Śrivalḷabha, and, besides, Mānābharaṇa, whom Mr. Venkayya identifies with Arikkāraṇ Parākrama Pāṇḍya. The identification of Mānābharaṇa with any of these two is far from being certain — S. K.]

<sup>3</sup> It now goes popularly by the name Pāppāṅkulaṁ. This name means "the Brāhmaṇ's tank," and it has been translated into Sanskrit in the record.

From inked impressions prepared by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao.

- 3 राहस्य दंष्ट्रादंडस्य पातु वः । हेमाद्रिकलशा यत्र धात्री च्छत्र(क्ष)त्रि  
 4 यं दधौ ।(II)[२\*] कल्याणायास्तु तन्नाम प्रत्युद्धतिमिरापह । यत्तल्लोच.  
 5 गजोद्धृतं हरिणापि च पूज्यते ।(II)[३\*] अस्ति क्षीरमयादेवैर्मथ्यमाना-  
 6 न्नाह्वयधेः । नवनीतमिवोद्धृतमपनीततमो महः ।(II)[४\*] तस्यासीत-  
 7 'नुयस्तपोभिरतुलैरन्वर्थनामा बुधः पुण्येस्य पुरुरवा भुजव-  
 8 [क्ष]रायद्विषां 'निघ्नतः । तस्यायुर्नष्टुषोस्य तस्य परुषो युद्धे यया-  
 9 ति[\*] क्षिती । ख्यातस्तस्य तु तुर्वसुर्वसुनिभः श्रीदेवयानीपतेः ।(II)[५\*] तक्षे  
 10 देवकीजानिर्हिदीपे तिमभूपतिः । यशस्वी तुर्ववेदेषु यदोः क्षण  
 11 इवान्वये ।(II)[६\*] ततोभुङ्क्तामाजानिरीश्वरक्षितिपालकः । अचासमगु-  
 12 णमंत्रं मौक्तिकं मञ्जोभुजा ॥७\*] सरसादुद्धृतमाम्बरसावनिपा-  
 13 लकः । देवकीनन्दनात्कामो देवकीनन्दनादिव ।(II)[८\*] विविधसुकृ-  
 14 तोहामे रामेश्वरप्रमुखे 'मुहुर्मदितद्वय स्थाने स्थाने व्यधत्त य-  
 15 थाविधि [१\*] बुधपरिहृतो नानादानानि' यो भुवि षोडश त्रिभुवनज-  
 16 नोद्गीतं स्फूर्तिं यशः पुनरुक्तय ॥९\*] 'न्वावेरीमाशु बध्वा(बु) बह्मजल-  
 17 रयां तां विलघ्वैव शत्रु जीवयाह गृहीत्वा समिति भुजबला-  
 18 संचरान्धं तदीयं [१\*] कृत्वा श्रीरंगपुर्वं तदपि निजवशे पट्टं  
 19 यो बभूव (I) कीर्तिस्संभ निष्ठाया त्रिभुवनभवनस्तूयमानापदा-  
 20 नः ।(II)[१०\*] चेरं चोक्तं च पांशं तमपि च सधुरावल्लभं मानभूषं वीर्यं-  
 21 द्यं तुरुष्कं गजपतिनृपतिं चापि जित्वा तदाभ्यान् । आगं-  
 22 गातीरलंकाप्रथमचरमभूत्तटांतं जितानं ख्यातः क्षीणी-  
 23 पतीनां स्रजमिव शिरसां ग्रामन यो व्यतानीत् ।(II)[११\*] तिष्णालीना-  
 24 गलादेव्योः कौसल्याश्विमुमिचयोः । देव्योरिव नृसिंहैर्द्राक्षसा-  
 25 स्तंङ्गिरथादिव<sup>१</sup> ।(II) [१२\*] वीरो<sup>२</sup> विजयो<sup>३</sup> नाम[स]लक्ष्मणाविव नादने.  
 26 जातौ वीरनृसिंहैर्द्राक्षशरायमञ्जोपतो ।(II) [१३\*] रंगक्षितीर्द्राक्षतदे-  
 27 वरायौ रक्षाधुरीणाविव नन्दसौ<sup>४</sup> । श्रीबांभिकायां नरसन्नि-

Second Plate, First Side.

- 28 तीन्द्रादुभावभृतामुरगैर्द्रासारौ<sup>५</sup> ।(II)[१४\*] वीरवीनारसिंहस्य  
 29 विजयनगरे रत्नसिंहासनस्यः कीर्त्या नीत्वा निरस्यद्गुग-

<sup>१</sup> Read 'नय'.

<sup>२</sup> नि is corrected from ति.

<sup>३</sup> Read 'पति'.

<sup>४</sup> Read with the British Museum plates रामलक्ष्मी.

<sup>५</sup> The British Museum plates read 'भृताम् रत्नैर्द्रा', which Prof. Kielhorn proposes to correct into 'भृतां वरैर्द्रा' [I would suggest 'तामुरगैर्द्रा',—S. K.]

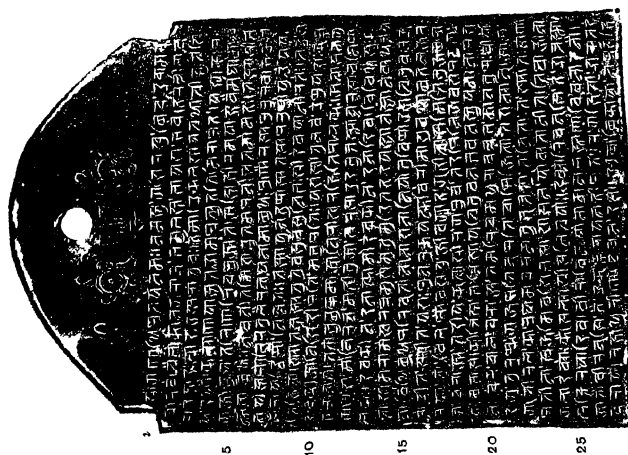
<sup>६</sup> Read 'राधुविषां'.

<sup>७</sup> इ looks like तु

<sup>८</sup> Read न in the conjunct consonant न्वा, with the previous व.

<sup>९</sup> Read विजयिनी रामलक्ष्मणाविव.

<sup>१०</sup> Read नन्दसौ.



12 11

30

35

40

45

50

STEN KONOW

HALF SIZE

FROM IMPRESSIONS BY T. A. GOPHATHA RAD. M. A.



W. GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH





- 30 नऊनहुषानप्यव्यामथान्यान् । आ मेतीरा मुमेरीरवनि-  
 31 मुरनुतः खैरमा चोट्याद्रे (I) रा <sup>1</sup>[पा]श्वाचलातादखिलहृद-  
 32 यमावर्ज्य राज्यं शशास ।(II)[१५\*] नानादानान्यकार्षीत्कनकसदसि  
 33 यः श्रीविरूपाक्षदेवस्थाने श्रीकाकहस्तीशितुरपि नगरे वै-  
 34 कटाद्री च कांच्या । श्रीशैले शोणशैले<sup>2</sup> महति हरिहरेहोवके स-  
 35 गमे च (I) श्रीरंगे कुंभकीणे हततमसि महानंदितोर्थं निवृत्तौ [१६\*]  
 36 गोकर्णे रामसेतौ जगति तदितरेष्वप्यशेषेषु पुण्यस्थानेष्व-  
 37 रत्ननानाविधवह्कमहादानवारिप्रवाहैः । यस्मिदचतुरग-  
 38 प्रकरखुरजःशुद्धदंभोधिसमन्तस्माभ्यत्यजच्छिदोद्यत्तर(लर)कु-  
 39 लिशघरोत्कठिता कंठिताभूत् ।(II)[१७\*] ब्रह्मांडं विश्वचक्रं घटमु  
 40 दितमहाभूतकं रत्नधेनुं (I) सप्तबोधीं<sup>3</sup> कल्पक्षितिरुहल-  
 41 तिके कांचनीं कामधेनु । स्वर्णध्वां यो हिरण्वाश्वरथमपि  
 42 तुलापुरुषं गोमहस्रं (I) हेमाश्रं हेमगर्भं कनककरिरथं प-  
 43 चलांगल्यतानीत् ।(II) [१८\*] प्राज्य प्रशास्य निर्विघ्नं राज्यं व्यामिव शा-  
 44 सितुं [\*] तस्मिन्गुणेन विख्याते क्षितिर्दिदं दिवं गते ।(II)[१९\*] ततोप्य-  
 45 वायव्योर्[\*] श्रीकृष्णरायमहोपतिः । विभर्त्ति मणिकेयूरनि-  
 46 र्विशेषं महतीं भुजे ।(II)[२०\*] कीर्त्या यस्य समंततः प्रयुतया<sup>4</sup> विश्वं<sup>5</sup> रुचै-  
 47 क्यं व्रजे(I)दिव्याशंख्य पुरा पुरारिरभवद्वाक्केच[ख\*]ः प्रायशः [\*] पद्मा-  
 48 क्षोपि चतुर्भुजोजनि चतुर्वक्त्रोद्भवत्पद्मभू<sup>6</sup> (I) काकी खड्गम-  
 49 थाद्रमा च कमलं वीणां च वाणी करे ।(II)[२१\*] श्रवणां वासमेते दद-  
 50 त इति रुषा किं <sup>7</sup>न् <sup>8</sup>सप्तबुरासोन्नानासेनात्तुरगतृटित-<sup>10</sup>  
 51 वसुमतीधूकिकापाक्रिकाभिः । सशोख्य<sup>11</sup> खैरमेतत्पतिनिधि-<sup>12</sup>  
 52 जलधियेष्णिका यो विधत्ते (I) ब्रह्मांडस्वर्णमेरुप्रमुखनिज-  
 53 महादानतोयैरमेये<sup>13</sup> ।(II)[२२\*] सुख्योदार्यसुधीभिस्स विजयन-

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 54 गरे रत्नमिंहासनस्यः क्षापालान्कृष्णरायक्षितिपतिरध-  
 55 रीकृत्य नीत्या नृगादोन् । आ पूर्वाद्रेरथास्तक्षितिधरकटकादा  
 56 च हेमाचलातादा सेतोरथिसार्थत्रियमिह बह्कोत्कृत्य कोर्त्या

पा looks like प्र.

Read प्रसत्.

<sup>7</sup> Read °वादेसा.

Read °तुरंगपुटित°.

°दृ° looks like °क्ष.

<sup>2</sup> च is corrected from ख.

<sup>3</sup> The व of श्व looks like च

Read रु instead of न्

<sup>11</sup> Read संशोख्य

<sup>3</sup> Read °भीषी°

<sup>6</sup> Read म instead of व

<sup>9</sup> Read °श्री° instead of °श्री°.

<sup>12</sup> Read °त्यति°

- 57 बभासे 1(II)[२३\*] कृतवति सुरलोकं लङ्गाराये निजाय तदनु तदनु  
 58 आ पुष्पकमीच्युतेन्द्रः । अखिलमवनिर्लोकं स्वांशमेत्यारजिता  
 59 वि[ल]सति हरिचेता विहदिष्टप्रदाता 1(II)[२४\*] अंभोदेन निषीयमान-  
 60 सलिलोगस्थेन पीतोभित्तमो<sup>१</sup> राघवमायकास्मिन्निश्चया स-  
 61 तप्यमानः सदा । अंतस्थैर्वडवा(वा)मुखानलशिखाजालैर्विशृङ्खो  
 62 [ध्रु]वं (I) यद्दानां बुधनां बुधधियं पूर्णः समुद्योतते<sup>२</sup> 1(II)[२५\*] समज  
 63 नि नरपालस्त्यधर्मप्रतिष्ठो विजयनगरराजद्वारसिंहा-  
 64 सनस्थः [1\*] नृगनरुनडुवादीनीचयन्नाजनीत्या<sup>३</sup> निरुपमभुज-  
 65 वीर्योदायभूरच्युतेन्द्रः 1(II)[२६\*] क्षितिप्रतिष्ठापितकीर्तिद्वेष्टे प्राप्ते पदं  
 66 वैष्णवमच्युतेन्द्रे । अध्यास्य भद्रासनमस्य सूनुरोरो बभौ वैक्कट-  
 67 देवरायः 1(II)[२७\*] प्रशास्य राज्य प्रशवास्त्ररूपे<sup>४</sup> विह्विधौ वैक्कटरा-  
 68 यभूषे [1\*] अभागधयादधिरात्रजानामाखडलावाममयाधिरु-  
 69 ढे 1(II)[२८\*] तिमांशवर्गमर्मोत्तिकमणी रगक्षितींद्रासजः क्षत्राक्ष-  
 70 करणेन पालितमहाकर्णोटराज्यत्रिया । शौर्योदायदयावता  
 71 स्वभगिनोभर्त्ता जग[क्ष]यिना<sup>५</sup> (I) रामश्चापतिनायमाखतिलकीः  
 72 क्लृप्ताभिषेकक्रमः 1(II)[२९\*] श्रीविद्यानगरोल्लामनि मङ्गामास्त्राक्षि-  
 73 हासने (I) संतानद्रु[रि]व स्फुरन्मुरगिरी संहृत्य [वि\*]वैषिण्य<sup>६</sup> । आ से-  
 74 तोरपि चाहिमाद्रि रचयन्नाक्षो निजाप्राकराभर्त्ता<sup>७</sup> पालय-  
 75 ते सदाशिवमहारायचिराय क्षमा 1(II)[३०\*] विख्यातविक्रातिन-  
 76 यस्य यस्य पट्टाभिषेके नियतं प्रजानां । आनदशाणैरभिषि-<sup>८</sup>  
 77 च्यमाना देवीपदं दर्शयते धरिणी 1(II)[३१\*] गोत्रोत्तरविशारदं कुव-  
 78 लयापीडापहारोत्तुरं सत्यायुक्तमति समस्तमुम[न\*]स्तीमावने-  
 79 कायनं । संजातकृतितुल्यं सविजयं संनन्दकन्नीभरं<sup>९</sup> (I) यं  
 80 शंसन्ति यशोदयाक्षितगुणं ज्ञाणावतारं बुधाः 1(II)[३२\*] विख्यातं बहु-

Third Plate, First Side.

- 81 भोगशृंगविभवैरुद्दामदानोत्तुरं धर्मैष क्षुतिमच्युतो-  
 82 पि भुवने दक्षं प्रणारक्षणे । प्राप्ता यस्य भुजं भुजंगमहिष-  
 83 हिन्दंतिकूर्मोपमं (I) पातिप्रत्यपताकिक्षेति चरणी<sup>१०</sup> जानंतु स-  
 84 र्वं जनाः 1(II)[३३\*] यक्षेनाचूकिपाकी शक्कमयकसमुत्पाटने धूमरेखा

<sup>१</sup> Read "किं" instead of "मिं".

<sup>२</sup> Read प्रश.

<sup>३</sup> Read "विषिण्य".

<sup>४</sup> Read समुच्छि.

<sup>५</sup> Read "क्षुतिम".

<sup>६</sup> Read स्रज.

<sup>७</sup> नी is corrected from न.

<sup>८</sup> Read विरिषिण्य.

<sup>९</sup> Read चरणी.

- 85 रोमाको कीर्तिवध्वा इव भुवनमिदं सर्वमतवेक्ष्यताः । [वि]-  
 86 णी नाणीयसीव प्रकटितविह्वतेर्वीरलक्ष्या रणाय (I) शो-  
 87 त्ये जीमूतपाङ्कः<sup>1</sup> किल शकलखलस्त्रोमदावानलानां [11३४\*] तुगा-  
 88 सेव दयां पदावुजयुग शोणं च कृष्णां तनुं रक्ता(क्ता) नीलशिता<sup>2</sup>  
 89 त्रिवेणिमनवां बोक्षां गिर नर्मदा [1\*] तोयानोति<sup>3</sup> [स]मावहत्य-<sup>4</sup>  
 90 वयत्रैः शेषाद्विवासी विभुः प्रायो यस्य विशेषभक्तिमुदितः  
 91 पट्टाभिषेकश्चये 1(11)[३५\*] <sup>5</sup>वोषधिपत्युपमायितगडस्त्रीषणरूप-  
 92 जितासमकाळः [1\*] <sup>6</sup>भाषगेतपुवरायरगडः पोषणनिर्भरभू-  
 93 नवखडः 1(11)[३६\*] राजाधिराजबिरुदो राजराजसमांहतिः । खा-  
 94 राजराजमानयोः[\*] श्रीराजपरमेश्वरः 1(11)[३७\*] मूर्ध्नायरगडांकी  
 95 मेरुलघियशोभरः । शरणागतमदारः <sup>7</sup>पर[रा]जभयकरः 1(11)[३८\*]  
 96 करदाखिलभूपालः परदारसहोदरः । हिदुरायसरक्षाणस्त्रि-  
 97 धुराजगभीरर्धिः<sup>8</sup> 1(11)[३९\*] विष्टपत्रयविख्यातो दुष्टशार्दूलमर्दनः ।  
 98 श्रीभगंडभेकंडो हरिभक्तिसुधानिधिः 1(11)[४०\*] वर्धमानापदानयो-  
 99 रर्त्तनारीनटेण्डरः । इत्यादिबर्देर्वदितत्वा<sup>9</sup> नित्यमभिष्टुतः 1(11)[४१\*]  
 100 <sup>11</sup>कांभोजभोजकाकिंगकरहटादिपार्थिवैः<sup>12</sup> । सौविदलपदं प्रा-  
 101 तैस्सदर्शितदृपोपदः 1(11)[४२\*] सोय नोतिविशारदः सुरतरुस्सर्वाल-<sup>13</sup>  
 102 विद्याणनस्सर्वीर्वीशनतस्सदाशिवमहारायन्मानायकः ।  
 103 बाह्यावंगदनिविशेषमखिलां सर्वसहसुदहन्विह्वलाणप-  
 104 रायणो विजयते वीरप्रतापोन्नतः ॥ [४३\*] निधिवारणवेदेदुग-  
 105 पिते शकवस्त्रे । प्रभवे वत्स[रि\*] मासि पोषे मकरसक्ते 1(11)[४४\*]

कृष्णपक्षे च पु-

- 106 ख्यायाममायां सोमवासरे । कावेर्याः पावने<sup>14</sup> तीरे रंगनाथस्य  
 107 सनिधौ 1(11)[४५\*] काश्यपावन्वरत्नेन शश्वतातुलकीर्तिना । शश्वदाराध-  
 108 नाष्टष्टविखनाथापितश्रिया 1(11)[४६\*] धर्ममर्मविदा चाणकर्मठेन मनीषि-  
 109 णा । दुर्मदारिमहा(ही)पालशर्मदारिभुजौजसा 1(11)[४७\*] सत्यादृतांतर-

Third Plate, Second Side

- 110 गेण सत्कृत्याश्रयशोभिना । सहितेनाधिक भूत्या सर्व-  
 111 जग(गु)णशालिना 1(11)[४८\*] श्रीमत्कांचीपुरवराधीश्वरान्कोपशो-

<sup>1</sup> Read 'पत्तिः'.

<sup>2</sup> Read सकल<sup>5</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Read 'चित्ता'.

<sup>4</sup> Read तीर्था<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> स is corrected from perhaps स.

<sup>7</sup> Read श्रीषणि

<sup>7</sup> Read भाषणे<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> 'रा' is corrected from another letter

<sup>9</sup> रदुष्टशश्विखामणि' in the British Museum plates

<sup>10</sup> Read

<sup>11</sup> Read कांभीज<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Read 'पार्थि'

<sup>13</sup> Read

<sup>14</sup> Originally पावनी was written.

- 112 भिना । मोकालिपट्टध्वनविख्यातविरुदक्षिता ।(॥)[४८\*] समयद्वीह-
- 113 रगड्व्यातिना मनुनीतिना । प्रख्यातसमयकीनाहलचिह्नेन
- 114 भास्वता ।(॥)[५०\*] ऐलावकीपुरवराधीश्वराकेन धीमता । मा[द्या]ति-
- 115 रुवटिच्छापसप्तागहरणीजसा ।(॥)[५१\*] यशस्विना<sup>१</sup> पाद्यकुलस्था<sup>२</sup>
- 116 पनाचार्यकीर्त्तिना । मानोन(न्येन) दक्षिणमहासमुद्राधीश्वरेण च ।(॥)[५२\*]
- 117 नागमच्छापपौत्रेण नकुनाभागकीर्त्तिना । श्रीविश्वनाथभूपा-
- 118 लसिधुशीतकभानुना ।(॥)[५३\*] सुशीलनागमागर्भशुक्तिमुक्ताफलात्म-
- 119 ना । कृष्णभूपतिना युष्मकीर्त्तिना कर्ण[णा\*]श्विना ।(॥)[५४\*] परितः प्रण-  
वाकारप्र-
- 120 कारवलयंचित । कमनीयशिलास्तंभकदभोत्तज्जित्वावर<sup>३</sup> ।(॥)[५५\*] विश्व-
- 121 कटविटकाकीविराजद्रंगमंठपं । विधाय विपुलोज्जंगोप-
- 122 रं देवमंदिरं ।(॥)[५६\*] विशालं रथघोती<sup>४</sup> च स्यदन मंदरोपमं । तत्र प्रति
- 123 छातार्यश्रीतारकब्रंक्षरूपिण<sup>५</sup> ।(॥) [५७\*] कर्णारसकक्षीसवर्णालयचक्षु-
- 124 से(षे) । शरणागतगी[र्वी]णभरणाधीनचतसे ।(॥) [५८\*] कालचक्रघटीयंबक
- 125 क्षपाशिल्पकारिणे । कैशव्यकल्पजित्काकंदकोपन्नकीर्त्तये ।(॥) [५९\*] कौसुभा-
- 126 रुणपाथोजपा[र्खे] लीनाकिमोमया<sup>६</sup> । वनमालिकया चारुवचसे हतर-
- 127 चसे ।(॥)[६०\*] इंदिराया ७जगन्मातुर्मंदिरायितवचसे । ८च्छंदसामादिकंदाय
- 128 चंपकद्युतिवासरे(से) ।(॥)[६१\*] शरण्या वतामिंदुतरस्याकारचक्षुसे<sup>९</sup> । हिरण्या
- 129 सुरसंज्ञने<sup>१०</sup> धरण्या शृङ्गमेधिने ।(॥)[६२\*] ११कशादिविष्णुधारातिष्ठिंसाविषपटी
- 130 यसे । संसारसागरौर्वाय पुंसामानमतां सतां ।(॥)[६३\*] नवनीतसुये<sup>१२</sup> नंदर
- 131 मणोशिखणीयतां । अभिनीतवते शखदपनीतनतातये ।(॥)[६४\*] निरलो  
कावचो-
- 132 मूलसुरकीमधुरारवैः । तरकीकुर्वते गोपीश्वरकीजापरासुखीः<sup>१३</sup> ।(॥)[६५\*] अ-
- 133 १४श्लिक्कृष्णापुरे पूर्णसा(सा)निष्ठा समुपेयुषे । तिरुवैकटनाथाय विष्णवे प्रभ-
- 134 विष्णवे ।(॥)[६६\*] धूपदीपसुधाहारनानापूपनिवेदनैः<sup>१४</sup> । नानापुष्पोपहारेण नै
- 135 कदीपप्रदीपनैः ।(॥)[६७\*] वृत्तगीतमहावाद्यच्छत्र(त्र)चामरवैभवं । निलयनैमि-  
त्तिका-

<sup>१</sup> Read यशस्वि.<sup>२</sup> Read ०शौची<sup>३</sup> Read ०मंदिरा<sup>४</sup> Read ०चक्षुषे.<sup>५</sup> Read ०सुषे.<sup>६</sup> Read ०सुषे.<sup>७</sup> Read ०सुषे.<sup>८</sup> Read ०सुषे.<sup>९</sup> Read ०सुषे.<sup>१०</sup> Read ०सुषे.<sup>११</sup> Read ०सुषे.<sup>१२</sup> Read ०सुषे.<sup>१३</sup> Read ०सुषे.<sup>१४</sup> Read ०सुषे.<sup>१</sup> Read पांथ<sup>२</sup> Read ०भित्ति and ०नक्ष<sup>३</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>४</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>५</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>६</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>७</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>८</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>९</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>१०</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>११</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>१२</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>१३</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>१४</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>१</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>२</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>३</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>४</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>५</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>६</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>७</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>८</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>९</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>१०</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>११</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>१२</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>१३</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>१४</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>१५</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>१६</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>१७</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>१८</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>१९</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>२०</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>२१</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>२२</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>२३</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>२४</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>२५</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>२६</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>२७</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>२८</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>२९</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>३०</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>३१</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>३२</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>३३</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>३४</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>३५</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>३६</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>३७</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>३८</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>३९</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>४०</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>४१</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>४२</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>४३</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>४४</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>४५</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>४६</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>४७</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>४८</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>४९</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>५०</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>५१</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>५२</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>५३</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>५४</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>५५</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>५६</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>५७</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>५८</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>५९</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>६०</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>६१</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>६२</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>६३</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>६४</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>६५</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>६६</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>६७</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>६८</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>६९</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>७०</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>७१</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>७२</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>७३</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>७४</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>७५</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>७६</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>७७</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>७८</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>७९</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>८०</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>८१</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>८२</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>८३</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>८४</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>८५</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>८६</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>८७</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>८८</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>८९</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>९०</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>९१</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>९२</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>९३</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>९४</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>९५</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>९६</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>९७</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>९८</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>९९</sup> Read ०नक्ष<sup>१००</sup> Read ०नक्ष

9.22

175

180

185

190

195

[illegible]

200

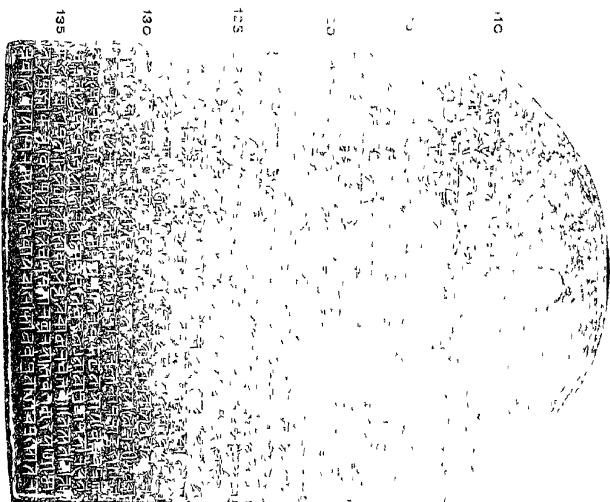
205

210

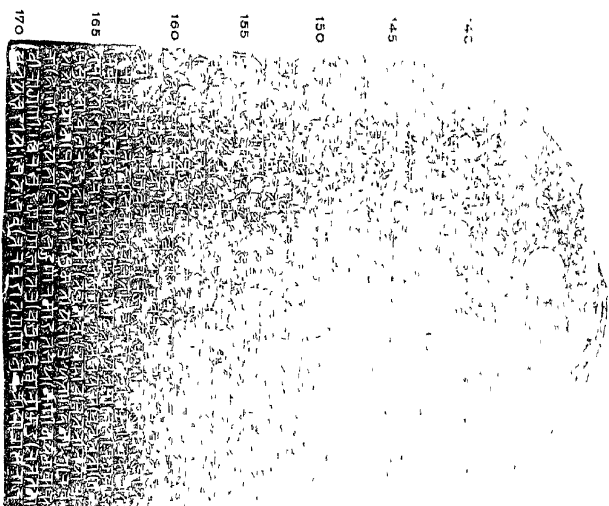
॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

[illegible]

ବିନୟ



STEN KONOW



HALF SIZE

W GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH

FROM IMPRESSIONS BY T. A. GOPINATHA RAO M.A.

- 136 नंतपूजां कर्तुं विशेषतः ।(॥)[६८\*] प्रतिवर्षं समारम्भस्थोत्सवसमृद्धये<sup>१</sup> । श्रीश-  
 137 ङ्गवोत्सवायापि रम्ययात्रोत्सवाय च ।(॥)[६८\*] श्रीकीरुवंप्र(पु)नाडी च प्रख्यात प[र]-

## Fourth Plate, First Side

- 138 द्यमंडले । तां(ता)मपणीं नदीतीरे पावने वासमाश्रितं ।(॥)[७०\*] श्रोव-  
 139 क्षमंगलख्यातचावटावपि विश्रुत । ख्याताहंतिचिणीहृत्वा-  
 140 दिमार्गेशान्वतां श्रितं ।(॥)[७१\*] धर्माहङ्गमरायस्य ख्यातादपि नेङ्-  
 141 कुलात् । प्राथं श्रीश्वकक्षारकुळसीमांचलादपि ।(॥)[७२\*] पुळि-  
 142 यकुळोडैकुलपिरायन्कुलतीपि च । भूसुरतटागसीमांच-  
 143 लानान्नेयतां<sup>२</sup> श्रितं ।(॥)[७३\*] श्रीमल्लकुळग्रामसीमातादपि दक्षि[णं] ।[\*]  
 144 श्रीवेलकुळकुल्याया नैरुती दिशमाश्रित ।(॥)[७४\*] सुदरश्रीपाडा[पूत]-  
 145 कुल्यायाश्चापि पश्चिमं । <sup>३</sup>ऐनाकुळसीमांताद्वायवीमाश्रितं दिशं ।(॥)[७५\*]  
 146 श्रीकुळैर्यारुपेयलकुळसीमांचलोत्तरं । कोक्कतांपारंपनयंकु-  
 147 क्योरुभयोरपि ।(॥)[७६\*] अपि <sup>४</sup>सुत्तुर्मलाभिख्यागिरेशान्वतां श्रितं । पु-  
 148 सनेरिग्रामकेष ख्यातारियकुळेन च ।(॥)[७७\*] कोटिकुळग्रामकेष कुत्तु-  
 149 क्कग्रामकेष च । सुत्तुरुग्रामकोपि<sup>५</sup> श्रीमद्रामकुळेन च ।(॥)[७८] ईत्तपाडु-  
 150 ग्रामकेष शिरियालकुळेन च । शुक्लं पाटैकुलेनापि सयुत सस्य-  
 151 शोभितं ।(॥)[७९\*] सुरप्पुनाडाकिकुटिभूचयोदशमान्वित । श्रीकृष्णापुर-  
 152 नामानं प्रख्यातं ग्राममुत्तमं ।(॥)[८०\*] सर्वमा(नांचतुःस्त्रीमा)न्यं चतुःस्त्री(सी)-  
 153 मासंयुतं च समंततः । निधिनिक्षेपपाषाणसिद्धसाद्यजलान्वि-  
 154 तं ।(॥)[८१\*] अक्षिण्यागामिसयुक्तं<sup>६</sup> देवभोग्यं सभूरुहं । वापीकूपतटा-  
 155 कैश्च कश्चाराभैश्च सयुतं<sup>७</sup> ।(॥)[८२\*] अनेन वैकटेशेन भोग्यमाचद्रता-  
 156 रत्नं । दानाधमनविक्रोतियोग्यं विनिमयोचितं ।(॥)[८३\*] श्रोतांशो-  
 157 वैशरत्नं समजनि नृपतिर्नंदनामाय जज्ञे तत्संतत्यां चलिक्क-  
 158 क्षितिपतिरभवतत्कुलि<sup>८</sup> विज्जलेंद्रः । तदंशं<sup>९</sup> सोमिदेवोलम-  
 159 क्तत विमतासमदुर्गाणि हत्वा पौत्रस्त्यार्वीटीपुरपतिरुदभू-  
 160 त्पिनमन्नोक्षिपाक्षः<sup>१०</sup> ।(॥)[८४\*] भूकल्पशास्त्री प्रति(धि)तार्वोडिबुक्कमापो  
 161 भवदस्य स्तुतुः । बङ्गाबिका तस्य बभूव पत्नी पुरदरस्वय पुलोमकं<sup>११</sup>

<sup>१</sup> Read 'समुच्चय'.<sup>२</sup> Read 'दाम्य'.<sup>३</sup> The metre demands one more letter in this foot and hence we propose to read the name of this village as ऐ[य]नाकुळ. [I would prefer to scan *Āyānāḍu*.—B. K.]<sup>४</sup> Read 'मिच्छ'.<sup>५</sup> Read 'ग्रामकेषापि' ?<sup>६</sup> Read 'सयुक्तं'.<sup>७</sup> Read 'कश्चाराभैश्च संयुतं'.<sup>८</sup> Read 'भवत्कुलि'.<sup>९</sup> Read 'तदंशं'.<sup>१०</sup> Read 'क्षिपि'.<sup>११</sup> Read 'कन्या'.

- 162 न्या ।(॥) [८५\*] अस्मादशेषभुवनान्नवारिजाश्चाश्चुं(च्छुं)गारराजवदजाय-  
 163 त रामराजः । लक्ष्मीसमानचरिता ललनामतक्षी लक्ष्मीविका रति-  
 164 रिवाजनि तस्य देवी ।(॥) [८६\*] <sup>१</sup>तस्याधिकैःसमभवत्तनयस्तपोभिः[\*] श्रीरगराज  
 165 <sup>२</sup>नृपतिशशिर्वंशदीपः । आसंज्वलस्तु भुजधामसु यस्य चित्र नेत्राणि वै-  
 166 रिसुद्रुसां<sup>३</sup> च निरंजनानि ।(॥) [८७\*] सतीं तिरुमलाविका(कां) चरितलीलयाह-  
 167 धतीप्रथामपि तितिक्षया वसुमतीयशो रंधतीं । हिमांशुरिव  
 168 रोहिणीं हृदयहारिणीं मङ्गुरैरमोदत सधर्मिणीमयमवाप्य  
 169 वीराग्रणीः ।(॥) [८८\*] स्वैरं सुदूरभरणजातसुचिसृजत्<sup>४</sup> स्वालोकदूरिततमा-  
 170 स्तनयस्तुदीयः । अत्रासप्ततिरवदातगुणानुवर्त्तो आ(श्री)रामराज-

*Fourth Plate, Second Side*

- 171 नरपालमणिर्विरेजे<sup>५</sup> ।(॥) [८९\*] यस्मिन् प्रशामति महीं जदे[वि].<sup>६</sup>  
 172 कवीरे भंगो नदीषु पतंगेषु च पक्षपातः । वक्षोषु पक्षव-  
 173 रुचिर्वनितारतेषु नीवीविमोचनमभून्नियत प्रजानां ।(॥) [९०\*] स-  
 174 त्यातुरत्तेरिदरावहेस्मिन् संस्रके<sup>७</sup> संभृतसर्वलोके । (श्रीरा)  
 175 श्रीरामराजे जितसत्त्वमौर्यं<sup>८</sup> श्रैरेः पदं शाश्वतमभ्युपेत ।(॥) [९१\*] त-  
 176 दनु भुवमशेषां पालयन्ब्राजनीत्या तपनतनयजेता दा-  
 177 नरीत्या महत्या । भरतमहिमतभूमा भाति तस्यानुजन्मा व-  
 178 रतिरुमलराजसाहितीभोजराजः<sup>९</sup> ।(॥) [९२\*] स्वैरं <sup>१०</sup>मङ्गलकण्टको-  
 179 थ सुकृतोरकष्टं विधायाखिलं भूकंदारसुदारदानसलिलो-<sup>११</sup>  
 180 सारैस्समापूर्य च । संवद्वानघ(कीर्ति)कीर्त्तिसस्यनिवहं  
 181 तत्पालिकां विक्रमश्रीकांतां भुजकायमानसिखरे<sup>१२</sup> धसे  
 182 हि यस्तुजसा ।(॥) [९३\*] यस्यानुजन्मा विजयैकगर्भा रामाभिराम[ी]-  
 183 तुलवाङ्गुधामा । वीरो विरेजे<sup>१३</sup> भुवि वैकटाद्रिगजाः श्रि-  
 184 या निर्जितराजराजः ।(॥) [९४\*] धर्ममर्मविधस्तस्य<sup>१४</sup> धरणीक-  
 185 ल्यशाखिनः । सोमवशावतंसस्य स्वाधीननयसंपदः ।(॥) [९५\*] श्री-  
 186 विश्वनाथभूपालचिरपुष्पफलात्मना । लक्ष्मभूपतिनाने-  
 187 न ल[पा]कूपारचक्षुषा<sup>१५</sup> । (॥) [९६\*] विभ्रापितस्य विनयाहिमतज्ञांत-<sup>१</sup>

<sup>१</sup> Read 'समभव'.

<sup>२</sup> Read 'सुवत्'.

<sup>३</sup> Read 'अगदेक'.

<sup>४</sup> Read 'स्माहिती'.

<sup>५</sup> Read 'प्रिखरे'.

<sup>६</sup> पा १८ corrected from 'या'.

<sup>७</sup> Read 'नृपतिशशि'.

<sup>८</sup> The letters 'विरे' are engraved over an erasure.

<sup>९</sup> A mistake for 'संपन्न'.

<sup>१०</sup> Read 'संज्ञत'.

<sup>११</sup> Read 'विरेजे'.

<sup>१२</sup> Read 'वृत्ति'.

<sup>१३</sup> Read 'सुद्रुसां'.

<sup>१४</sup> Read 'संज्ञत'.

<sup>१५</sup> Read 'सलिलो'.

<sup>१६</sup> Read 'विदक्ष'.



- 188 भास्वतः । प्राज्यकर्णाठराज्यश्रीस्थापनाचार्यविश्रुतेः । ॥[६७\*] आ-  
 189 नेयगोत्रपाथोजमात्ताडस्य मनस्विनः । अर्तेबवरगंड-  
 190 स्य <sup>१</sup>सिध्वंतक्षितिरक्षिणः । ॥[६८\*] <sup>२</sup>वणितेयशेसो नानावर्णश्रीमंड-  
 191 लीकगंडस्य । ऐ(ए)विश्वरायराहुतवेस्वै<sup>३</sup>कभुजंगविश्वदभ-  
 192 रितस्य । ॥[६९\*] <sup>४</sup>विष्ठा[त]विश्वदभनियविभाकूलोत्स्य विजय-  
 193 शीलस्य । विश्वभरामृतिस्फुटविश्वतधरणीवराहवि-<sup>५</sup>  
 194 रुदस्य । ॥[१००\*] कल्याणपुरनाथस्य शल्यारिसमतेजसः । वैगञि-  
 195 भुवनीमल्ललिगस्थिरयशोनिधेः । ॥[१०१\*] श्रीमतिरुमलक्ष्मापथे-  
 196 खरस्य दयांबुधेः । विन[यी\*]दार्पशीलस्य विज्रमिमलुपालयन् । ॥[१०२\*]

## Fifth Plate

- 197 परीतः प्रयतै[.\*] क्षिण्वैः पुरोहितपुरोगमैः । विविधै-  
 198 र्विबुधैः श्यौ(श्री)तपथिकैरथि(धि)कैर्गिरा । ॥[१०३\*] सदाशिवमहारा-  
 199 यो माननीयो मनस्विनां । सहिरण्यपयोधारापूर्वकं दत्तवा-  
 200 न्सुदा । ॥[१०४\*]  
 201 सरससदाशिवरायक्षितिपतिवर्यस्य कीर्त्तिधुर्यस्य [.\*] शास-  
 202 नमिदं <sup>६</sup>सरासनदानमरधिरमितहेमदानरतेः । ॥[१०५\*] मृदुपदमिति  
 203 ताम्ब(ताम्ब)शासनार्थं महितसदाशिवरायशासनेन । अभणदत्त-  
 204 गुण वचोमहिम्ना सरसतरेण सभापतिस्वयंभूः । ॥[१०६\*] सदाशिवमहा-  
 205 रायशासनाद्दीरणाल्मजः । त्वष्टा श्रीवीरणाचार्यो व्यलिखतां-<sup>८</sup>  
 206 म्मशामनं ॥[१०७\*] दानपालनयोर्मध्ये दाना[च्छे]योनुपालनं । दानास्वर्ग-<sup>९</sup>  
 207 मवाप्नोति पालनादच्युतं पदं । ॥[१०८\*] स्वदत्तादिगुण<sup>१०</sup> पुख्यं परदत्तालुपा-  
 208 लनं । परदत्तापहारेण स्वदत्तं <sup>११</sup>निस्फलं भवेत् । ॥[१०९\*] स्वदत्ता परदत्तां  
 209 वा यो हरेति<sup>१२</sup> वसुंधरां । षष्टिर्वर्षसहस्राणि<sup>१३</sup> विष्टायां जायते क्रि(क)-  
 210 मिः ॥[११०\*] ऐ(ए)कैव भगिनी लोके सर्वपामेव भूभुजां । न भोज्या न करग्रा-  
 211 ह्या देवदत्ता वसुंधरा । ॥[१११\*] सामान्यो[य] धर्मसेतुनृपाणां<sup>१४</sup> काले काले  
 212 पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्वानेतान्माविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याच-  
 213 ते रामचंद्रः ॥ [११२\*]  
 214 श्रीविरूपाक्ष<sup>१५</sup>

<sup>१</sup> Read सिध्वंत.<sup>२</sup> Read वणितेयशेसो.<sup>३</sup> Read वैश्वेक.<sup>४</sup> त is corrected from the secondary ४ of the letter that follows, which was begun wrongly in the place of त.<sup>५</sup> Read विश्वत.<sup>६</sup> Read सरासन.<sup>७</sup> Read दाशरथे.<sup>८</sup> Read लिखताय.<sup>९</sup> Read दानास्वर्ग.<sup>१०</sup> Read दत्तादि.<sup>११</sup> Read निस्फलं.<sup>१२</sup> Read हरेत.<sup>१३</sup> Read षष्टि व.<sup>१४</sup> Read सेतुनृपाणां.<sup>१५</sup> In Kannada characters.

## ABRIDGED TRANSLATION

Verse 1 invokes Śambhu, v 2 the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu, and v 3 Gaṇēśa

Vv 4-5 trace the genealogy of the family from the Moon

(Vv 6-7.) In his (*i.e.* Turvasu's) line was born the husband of Dēvakī king Timma, as famous among the Tuluvas as Kṛishna was among the Yādus To him was born king Īśvara, a jewelled crown of virtues to kings, (and) the husband of Bukkamā

(V 8) To him, the son of Dēvakī, was born king Narasa, as Kāma (was born) from the son of Dēvaki (Kṛishna).

Vv 9-10 describe his generosity and his conquest of the kingdom of Tamcha (*i.e.* the Chōla country) and Śrīrangapaṭṭana.

(V 11) Conquering the Chēra and the Chōla, Mānabhūsha, the Pāndya king of Madura, also the fierce Turushka, king Gajapati and others from the Ganges to Laṅkā, and from the Eastern to the Western mountains, he made all kings bear his commands on their heads as flowers on their crowns

(Vv 12-14.) Of Tippāji and Nāgalādēvi, like Rāma and Lakshman of Kausalyā and Samitrā to Duśaratha, were born to him two sons Vira-Nṛsiṃha and Kṛishṇarāya who were brave and modest To him were also born of Olāmbukā two (*more*) sons able in protecting (*the subjects*), Rangakshutindra and Achyutadēvaraya

(V 15) Vira-Nārasimha, seated on the jewelled throne at Vijayanagara, eclipsing by fame and policy Nṛga, Naha, Nahusha and others of the world, praised by the Brāhmanas from Sēta to Mēra, from the Eastern to the Western mountains, ruled the kingdom pleasing the hearts of all people

(Vv 16-18) His praises

(V 19) Having ruled his large kingdom without obstacles, the king of the earth, famous for his virtues, went to heaven as if to rule the kingdom of heaven

(V 20) After him, king Kṛishṇarāya, of unaltered valour, bore the whole of the earth on his shoulders with as much ease as a jewelled bracelet.

(Vv. 21-23.) Praises of Kṛishṇarāya.

(V. 24.) When Kṛishṇarāya had taken for his part the world of the *dēvas* (*i.e.* had died) his younger brother Achyutēndra, doer of good deeds, conqueror of foes, worshipper of Viṣṇu, who made gifts satisfying the desires of the learned, got for his share the whole of this earth.

(Vv. 25-26) Praises of Achyutēndra.

(V 27) When, having set up on earth a body in the form of his fame, Achyutēndra reached Viṣṇu's abode, his brave son Vēṅkaṭarāya ascended the throne.

(Vv 28-30) He who was like the flower-arrowed Kāma, and was ruling his kingdom (*well*), owing to the bad luck of his subjects, soon went to the city of Indra The son of Rangakshutindra and the precious pearl of the sacred womb of Tumāmā, king Sadāsivarāya, who was like the *santāna* tree on the hill of *dēvas*, was duly installed on the throne that was the jewel of the prosperous town, Śrī-Vidyānagarī, by king Rāma, his sister's husband, the protector of the goddess Śrī of the great kingdom of Karpāta, who was an ornament to all Kṣatriyas, who was endowed with valour, nobility and kindness, and by the chief ministers

(Vv 31-43) Praises of Sadāsivarāya.

(Vv 44-45.) On Monday, the new moon *tithi* of the dark half of the month Pausa, during the *Makara-sankṛamana*, in the year Prabhava, (corresponding to) the Śaka year counted by the *māhi* (9), the *āraṇa* (8), the *śūla* (4), and *indu* (1), (*i.e.* Śaka 1489) on the banks of the sacred river Kāvēri, in the presence of (*the god*) Raṅganātha, (*this grant is made*)

(Vv. 46-57) By Kṛṣṇabhūpati, of sacred fame, the ocean of mercy, who was the jewel of the family of Kāśyapa; on whom much wealth was conferred by (the god) Viśvanātha, who was pleased with his devotion, who knew the truth about duty, who was always studying the art of protecting others; who was a wise man; whose mind was purified by truthfulness, who shone by his desire to do good actions, who possessed great wealth, who was endowed with the virtues of a wise man, who bore the title 'the lord of Kāñchīpura,' who was also the recipient of the famous title 'Mōkālīpattavardhana,' who was also known as the 'Samaya-drōhara-gaṇḍa,' whose policy was like that of Maṇu, who also shone by the celebrated distinction 'Samayakōlāhala,' who was also entitled 'the lord of Ailāvalīpura,' who by his valour deprived the insolent king of the Tīruvādī-rājya of the seven (component) parts (of his kingdom); who was famous as the 'Pāndyakulasthāpanāchārya,' who was the revered lord of the great Southern ocean; who was the grandson of king Nāgama; who was equal to Nala and Nābhāga in fame, who was the cool moon of the ocean named king Viśvanātha, who was the pearl of the oyster, *vs* the womb of the virtuous Nāgamā,—was built a temple at Kṛṣṇāpura, which was encircled by a wall of the shape of the *pranava* and a broad and lofty tower. It has a large *rañja-manḍapa* raised on a collection of beautiful stone pillars and adorned with rows of spouts (?). He built a car like the *Mandara* mountain and also broad roads round the temple, for the propitiation of the god Viṣṇu set up there (*ie* in the temple),

[ (Vv. 58-66) Praises of the god set up in the temple of Kṛṣṇāpura ]

(Vv. 67-69) (For the worship of the god Viṣṇu) who shone in this place under the name of Tīruvēṅkaṭanātha, by means of burning incense, by lights, and by the offering of good food, cakes, *etc*, by means of offerings of several kinds of flowers, by illumination with many lights, by means of dancing, singing and music, with umbrellas, *chauris*, on days both ordinary and special, for the car festival at the beginning of each year, for the floating festival during the hot season, and for the *yātrōtsava*,

(Vv. 70-82) The excellent village known by the name of Śrī Kṛṣṇāpura, resplendent with cereals,—including the villages known as Puttanāśrī, Āryakulam, Kōṭakkulam, Kuttukkal, Muttār Rāmaṅgulaṁ, Itampattū, Śīrīyālaṅgulaṁ, Pātakkulam together with thirteen *bhū* in Muṛappu-nādu (and) Āṇikudi, which is situated in the Kijavēmbu-nādu belonging to the Pāṇḍya-maṇḍala, on the banks of the pure river Tāmraparai, in the *chōvaḍi* known as Śrīvallamangalam, and which is situated to the north-east of the road commencing with the Arddhaśatruṇī tree, *etc*, east of Villamarāya's charity and the famous Nedungulaṁ and of the extreme limits of Śrī-Śaṅkākkaṇḍulaṁ; south-east of Puṇyaṅga-ōḷa, Kulappurāyankulaṁ and of the extreme limits of Bhūsuratāṭaka; south of the extreme limits of Kaḷikkulaṁ, south-west of the Vēlaṅgula channel, west of Śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍya's new channel; north-west of the extreme limits of Amākulaṁ; north of the extreme limits of Śrīkulaṁ, Ērārū-Peryālaṅgulaṁ and of Kokkantāmpaṅga and Panayāṅkulaṁ; and north-east of the hill known as Muttārmala—is to be enjoyed by (*this god*) Vēṅkaṭāśa as a *sarvaṁdya*

(Vv. 98 and 102 to 104.) Having been requested by Kṛṣṇabhūpati, the fruit of the long penance of Viśvanātha, whose eyes are the ocean of mercy, Tīrumala Rāja respectfully requested Sadasivārāya, the respected of the learned men, who, surrounded by his staunch friends, priests, followers, all kinds of learned men, and ambassadors and by their advice, made this gift joyously with gold and pouring of water.

Vv. 105-106 mention that Sabhāpati Svayambhu wrote the *śāna*.

V. 107 mentions that Virapāchārya, son of Virapa, engraved the document

Vv. 108-112 : the usual imprecatory verses.

Line 214. The signature 'Śrī Virāpāksha' in the Kannada alphabet

(Vv. 46-57) By Kṛṣṇabhūpati, of sacred fame, the ocean of mercy, who was the jewel of the family of Kāśyapa; on whom much wealth was conferred by (the god) Viśvanātha, who was pleased with his devotion, who knew the truth about duty, who was always studying the art of protecting others; who was a wise man; whose mind was purified by truthfulness, who shone by his desire to do good actions, who possessed great wealth, who was endowed with the virtues of a wise man, who bore the title 'the lord of Kāñchīpura,' who was also the recipient of the famous title 'Mōkālīpattavardhana,' who was also known as the 'Samaya-drōhara-gaṇḍa,' whose policy was like that of Maṇu, who also shone by the celebrated distinction 'Samayakōlāhala,' who was also entitled 'the lord of Ailāvalīpura,' who by his valour deprived the insolent king of the Tīruvādī-rājya of the seven (component) parts (of his kingdom); who was famous as the 'Pāndyakulasthāpanāchārya,' who was the revered lord of the great Southern ocean; who was the grandson of king Nāgama; who was equal to Nala and Nābhāga in fame, who was the cool moon of the ocean named king Viśvanātha, who was the pearl of the oyster, *vs* the womb of the virtuous Nāgamā,—was built a temple at Kṛṣṇāpura, which was encircled by a wall of the shape of the *pranava* and a broad and lofty tower. It has a large *rañja-manḍapa* raised on a collection of beautiful stone pillars and adorned with rows of spouts (?). He built a car like the *Mandara* mountain and also broad roads round the temple, for the propitiation of the god Viṣṇu set up there (*ie* in the temple),

[ (Vv. 58-66) Praises of the god set up in the temple of Kṛṣṇāpura ]

(Vv. 67-69) (For the worship of the god Viṣṇu) who shone in this place under the name of Tīruvēṅkaṭanātha, by means of burning incense, by lights, and by the offering of good food, cakes, *etc*, by means of offerings of several kinds of flowers, by illumination with many lights, by means of dancing, singing and music, with umbrellas, *chauris*, on days both ordinary and special, for the car festival at the beginning of each year, for the floating festival during the hot season, and for the *yātrōtsava*,

(Vv. 70-82) The excellent village known by the name of Śrī Kṛṣṇāpura, resplendent with cereals,—including the villages known as Puttanāśrī, Āryakulam, Kōṭakkulam, Kuttukkal, Muttār Rāmaṅgulam, Itampattū, Śīrīyālaṅgulam, Pātakkulam together with thirteen *bhū* in Muṛappu-nādu (and) Āṭṭikudi, which is situated in the Kijavēmbu-nādu belonging to the Pāṇḍya-maṇḍala, on the banks of the pure river Tāmraparai, in the *chōvaṭi* known as Śrīvallamangalam, and which is situated to the north-east of the road commencing with the Arddhaśatruṭṭi tree, *etc*, east of Villamarāya's charity and the famous Nedungulam and of the extreme limits of Śrī-Śaṅkākkaṇḍulam; south-east of Puṇyaṅga-ōṭai, Kulappurāyankulam and of the extreme limits of Bhūsuratāṭaka; south of the extreme limits of Kaḷikkulam, south-west of the Vēlaṅgula channel, west of Śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍya's new channel; north-west of the extreme limits of Amākulam; north of the extreme limits of Śrīkulam, Ērārū-Peryālaṅgulam and of Kokkantāmpaṅga and Panayānkulam; and north-east of the hill known as Muttārmala—is to be enjoyed by (*this god*) Vēṅkaṭāśa as a *sarvaṁdāya*.

(Vv. 98 and 102 to 104.) Having been requested by Kṛṣṇabhūpati, the fruit of the long penance of Viśvanātha, whose eyes are the ocean of mercy, Tīrumala Rāja respectfully requested Sadasivārāya, the respected of the learned men, who, surrounded by his staunch friends, priests, followers, all kinds of learned men, and ambassadors and by their advice, made this gift joyously with gold and pouring of water.

Vv. 105-106 mention that Sabhāpati Svayambhu wrote the *śāna*.

V. 107 mentions that Virapāchārya, son of Virapa, engraved the document.

Vv. 108-112 : the usual imprecatory verses.

Line 214. The signature 'Śrī Virāpākṣha' in the Kannada alphabet

(Vv. 46-57) By Kṛṣṇabhūpati, of sacred fame, the ocean of mercy, who was the jewel of the family of Kāśyapa; on whom much wealth was conferred by (the god) Viśvanātha, who was pleased with his devotion, who knew the truth about duty, who was always studying the art of protecting others; who was a wise man; whose mind was purified by truthfulness, who shone by his desire to do good actions, who possessed great wealth, who was endowed with the virtues of a wise man, who bore the title 'the lord of Kāñchīpura,' who was also the recipient of the famous title 'Mōkālīpattavardhana,' who was also known as the 'Samaya-drōhara-gaṇḍa,' whose policy was like that of Maṇu, who also shone by the celebrated distinction 'Samayakōlāhala,' who was also entitled 'the lord of Ailāvalīpura,' who by his valour deprived the insolent king of the Tīruvādī-rājya of the seven (component) parts (of his kingdom); who was famous as the 'Pāndyakulasthāpanāchārya,' who was the revered lord of the great Southern ocean; who was the grandson of king Nāgama; who was equal to Nala and Nābhāga in fame, who was the cool moon of the ocean named king Viśvanātha, who was the pearl of the oyster, *vs* the womb of the virtuous Nāgamā,—was built a temple at Kṛṣṇāpura, which was encircled by a wall of the shape of the *pranava* and a broad and lofty tower. It has a large *rañja-manḍapa* raised on a collection of beautiful stone pillars and adorned with rows of spouts (?). He built a car like the *Mandara* mountain and also broad roads round the temple, for the propitiation of the god Viṣṇu set up there (*ie* in the temple),

[ (Vv. 58-66) Praises of the god set up in the temple of Kṛṣṇāpura ]

(Vv. 67-69) (For the worship of the god Viṣṇu) who shone in this place under the name of Tīruvēṅkaṭanātha, by means of burning incense, by lights, and by the offering of good food, cakes, *etc*, by means of offerings of several kinds of flowers, by illumination with many lights, by means of dancing, singing and music, with umbrellas, *chauris*, on days both ordinary and special, for the car festival at the beginning of each year, for the floating festival during the hot season, and for the *yātrōtsava*,

(Vv. 70-82) The excellent village known by the name of Śrī Kṛṣṇāpura, resplendent with cereals,—including the villages known as Puttanāśrī, Āryakulam, Kōṭakkulam, Kuttukkal, Muttār Rāmaṅgulam, Itampattū, Śīrīyālaṅgulam, Pātakkulam together with thirteen *bhū* in Muṛappu-nādu (and) Āṭṭikudi, which is situated in the Kijavēmbu-nādu belonging to the Pāṇḍya-maṇḍala, on the banks of the pure river Tāmraparai, in the *chōvaḍi* known as Śrīvallamangalam, and which is situated to the north-east of the road commencing with the Arddhanatrī tree, *etc*, east of Villamarāya's charity and the famous Nedungulam and of the extreme limits of Śrī-Śaṅkākkaṇḍulam; south-east of Puṇyaṅga-ōḷa, Kulappurāyankulam and of the extreme limits of Bhūsuratāṭaka; south of the extreme limits of Kaḷikkulam, south-west of the Vēlaṅgula channel, west of Śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍya's new channel; north-west of the extreme limits of Amākulam; north of the extreme limits of Śrīkulam, Ērārū-Peryālaṅgulam and of Kokkantāmpaṅga and Panayānkulam; and north-east of the hill known as Muttārmala—is to be enjoyed by (*this god*) Vēṅkaṭāśa as a *sarvamaṇya*.

(Vv. 98 and 102 to 104.) Having been requested by Kṛṣṇabhūpati, the fruit of the long penance of Viśvanātha, whose eyes are the ocean of mercy, Tīrumala Rāja respectfully requested Sadasivārāya, the respected of the learned men, who, surrounded by his staunch friends, priests, followers, all kinds of learned men, and ambassadors and by their advice, made this gift joyously with gold and pouring of water.

Vv. 105-106 mention that Sabhāpati Svayambhu wrote the *śāna*.

V. 107 mentions that Virapāchārya, son of Virapa, engraved the document.

Vv. 108-112 : the usual imprecatory verses.

Line 214. The signature 'Śrī Virāpāksha' in the Kannada alphabet

the *Bhṛgavata* and other works. There are numerous legends about it, one of the most picturesque assigning the origin of the Sōn and Narinādā to two tears dropped by Brahmā, one on either side of the Amarakantak range. Its waters possess great sanctity, the performance of *sandhyā* on its banks ensuring absolution and the attainment of heaven even to the slayer of a Brāhman.<sup>1</sup> This must therefore be the river, the third in India, as recorded by Arrian, whence Bhīmasēna issued his charter, and not another Sōn flowing in the south of the Bilāspur district, falling into the Bora which joins the Mahānadi. As for Dōṇḍā and Vaṭapallikā, the latter of which must be looked for in a form such as Baḍapālī or Barapālī, there are so many places in Chhattisgarh bearing these names that it is difficult to say which particular ones were meant. The nearest Dōṇḍā or Dupḍā, as we now find it, is one situated 25 miles west of Āraṅg, where the plate was found, and the nearest Barapālī is 30 miles east of Āraṅg and about 50 miles east of Dupḍā. It is included in the present Kaudīā Zaminḍārī on the other side of the Mahānadi. It would then appear that Āraṅg also was in those days included in the Dōṇḍā district, and the donees, if they were residents of Āraṅg, lived half-way between the headquarters of the district and the village granted to them.

TEXT.<sup>2</sup>

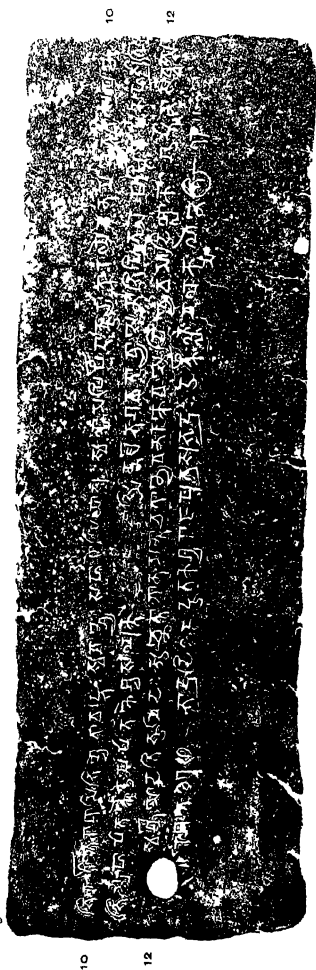
Seal.

Śrī-mahārāja-Bhīmasenāya

First Side

- 1 Om<sup>3</sup> svastu [||\*] Suvarṇpānadyaḥ [sa]rvva<sup>4</sup> sadrājārshī-tulya-kula-prabhāva-kṛtiḥ  
śrī-mahārāja-Śūrasya praputrah prajā-
- 2 dayitasya śrī-[ma]hārāja-Dayitasya putrah praputa-sāmantasy-ārāti-vibhīṣaṇasya  
śrī-mahārāja-Vibhīṣa-
- 3 nasya putrah śakti-siddhi-sampannō dharmīna-vijay<sup>5</sup> nyāy-ōpārjīti-ānēka-raṇa  
gō-bhūmi-suvārṇa-hiraṇy-ādi-pradaḥ śrī-
- 4 mahārāja-Bhīmasēnaḥ tasya putrah ta[ra]h[arī]t-ānukāri sadbhīr-mahādabhiś-cha  
āddhyuṣṭasadaḥ<sup>6</sup> śrī-mahārāja-Dayitavarmanā
- 5 tasya pu[tra]ḥ tat-pād-ānuddhyātō-tya[uta]-dēva-guru-brāhmaṇa-bhaktāḥ śrī-mahārāja-  
Bhīmasēnaḥ kuśalī Dōṇḍā-
- 6 vaiśyaika-Vaṭapallikāyām [brāhmaṇādīu-pra]tīvāsinaḥ [ka]śālam-uktvā samājñā  
payaty-ēsha grāmō mayā
- 7 bhadrā-bhōgeṇ-aiva mātāpitrōr-ātmanāś-cha puṇyā-bhivṛddhayaḥ Dharadvāja  
sagōtṛābhyaṁ Bahvriḥa-Harivāmi-Bappasvāmibhyaṁ
- 8 sarvva-pratyāyavān-mahāpralaya-kā[ra]-vasthā[pya]-grahārō dattas=tad=bhavadbhir-  
anayōr-ajñāśravapa-vidhēyair-bhūtvā samuchita-
- 9 m-āya<sup>6</sup> suvarṇa-hiraṇy-ādi-pratyāy-ōpanasyaḥ kartavyaḥ [||\*] yas=ch-ātra [ka]śchid-  
ubhaya-lōka-nirapēkshaḥ san=daśa-

<sup>1</sup> See article on Sōn in the new Imperial Gazetteer.<sup>2</sup> From the original plate.<sup>3</sup> [I read pāruca.—S. K.]<sup>4</sup> Expressed by a symbol.<sup>5</sup> Read "ch-āddhyuṣṭita".<sup>6</sup> Read -mēva [or -mēya- as in l. 16 of the Broom copper-plate of Śaṅgamaśiṅha (J. Bo. B. R. A. S. Vol. XX p. 214, text-line 8)—S. K.]



STEN KONOW

SCALE 75

W. GR. GGS PHOTO-LITH





## Second Side

- 10 bhur=attitair-āgāmbhīś=ch=aitāvadbhīh svavanśy[ai]b<sup>1</sup> sah=ādhō [y]iyāsuh svalpām=api  
pīdān=ku[ryyā]t<sup>2</sup>=kārayād=anumanayēta vā sa pañcha-  
11 bhur=mmahāpātakaīr=upapātakaś=cha sa[m]yuktah [syāt punaś=ch=ā]sminn=arthā  
bhagavatā Vyāsēn=ābhūntam shashtim varsha-sahasrāpi  
12 svarggō mōdati bhūmidah [i\*] āchchhētā oh=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē  
vasēd=ity=ōvamādī=ślōkāh Guptānam samvatsa-  
13 ra=śatē 200 80 2 Bhādra di 10 8<sup>3</sup> dātakaś=cha rajaputra-Subhadrah  
utkirṇam cha Lakshmaṇē=ēti || ||

## TRANSLATION

(Ll. 1 to 4) Om! Hail! From Suvarṇanadi; the illustrious *Mahārāja Bhīmasēna*, possessed of power and success, triumphant with virtue (and) giver of many lawfully acquired jewels, cows, land, gold, precious metals, etc (*was*) the great grandson of the illustrious *Mahārāja Śūra*, (*who was*) equal to all virtuous royal sages in lineage, power and fame, the grandson of the illustrious *Mahārāja Dayita*, beloved of his subjects, the son of the illustrious *Mahārāja Vibhishana* to whom feudatory kings bowed (*and who was*) terrific to his enemies.

(Ll 4 to 6) His son (*was*) the illustrious *Mahārāja Dayitavarman*, the follower of his (father's) conduct, whose court was attended by great and good (*personages*) His son (*is*) the illustrious *Mahārāja Bhīmasēna*, who meditates on his (father's) feet and is extremely devoted to the gods, preceptors and Brāhmins (*He*) being in good health (*and*) wishing good luck to Brāhmins and other (*inhabitants*) of Vatapallikā in the district of Dāndā, orders (*as follows*) —

(Ll. 6 to 8.) This village is given by me, while ruling prosperously, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (*my*) mother, father and myself, to Harisvāmin and Bappa-svāmin (*both*) of the Bharadvāja *gōtra*, (*students*) of the Rīgvēda, as an *agrahāra*,<sup>4</sup> with all taxes, and lasting up to the time of the great dissolution of the universe.

(Ll. 8 to 13.) Therefore, being obedient to their commands, you should render (*to them*) in proper manner the taxes such as gold and bullion, etc If anybody, being regardless of the two worlds<sup>5</sup> and wishing to go to hell with ten past and (*a similar number of*) future (*generations*) of his family, does, causes to be done, or assents to even a small harm to this (*charity*), he would become joined with five great<sup>6</sup> sins and also minor sins Moreover, in this matter it has been said by the venerable Vyāsa. "the giver of land enjoys in heaven for sixty thousand years, (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*) and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*) shall dwell for the same number of years in hell," and so forth (in other) verses In the year of the Guptas in hundreds 200, 80 2 (*in the month of*) Bhādra on the day 10 8(<sup>7</sup>). Prince Subhadra was the *dātaka* (officer carrying the king's orders) Engraved by Lakshmana

<sup>1</sup> Read *caṣṭyāṭ*.<sup>2</sup> Read *pīdām kuryyāt*.<sup>3</sup> I am indebted to Dr Konow in helping me to elucidate these somewhat curiously formed figures<sup>4</sup> A grant made in favour of a god or a Brāhmana<sup>5</sup> I.e. regardless of the consequences which may follow in this and the next world<sup>6</sup> For these see *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, verse 227 of the Prāyaścittādhyāya They are killing a Brāhmana, drinking, theft, visiting a preceptor's wife, and association with any of these offences The minor offences are enumerated further on from verses 234 to 242



# INDEX.<sup>1</sup>

By H. KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A.

A	PAGE	PAGE
Abhimanya, <i>Rāshṭrakūṭa k.</i> , . . . . .	172	Ādinagar, vi., . . . . . 230, 231n, 233
Abhuanda, m., . . . . .	118	Ādinātha, <i>Jama samit.</i> , . . . . . 81n, 148, 151
Abhinavasiddharāja, <i>sur. of Jayantasimha</i> , . . . . .	118n	Ādipurāna, <i>quoted</i> , . . . . . 206n
Ābhīra, s. a. Ahir, . . . . .	279	Āditya I, <i>Chōla k.</i> , . . . . . 88, 89n
Ābhōna, vi., . . . . .	296	Āditya II, <i>do</i> , . . . . . 84, 234n, 235
Āblūr, vi., . . . . .	261	Ādityabhaṭa, m., . . . . . 190
Ābū, mo., 10n, 12, 62n, 63, 64n, 67n, 71n, 72n, 78, 79, 80n, 81, 82, 89n, 114n, 143, 153, 159, 189		Āditya-bhaṭṭāraka, te., . . . . . 47
Abūhūlā, <i>queen</i> , . . . . .	140, 141	Ādityama Penna, m., . . . . . 316
Abul Fazl, . . . . .	307, 309n	Ādiyapaṣeṭṭi, m., . . . . . 22
Achala (Sthānu), s. a. Śiva, . . . . .	155n	Ādonḍai, <i>mythical Chōla prince</i> , . . . . . 89n
Achalēśvara, te., . . . . . 79, 80, 143, 149		aḍukku, . . . . . 93n
Achæmenide, . . . . .	189	Aghaṭēśvari, te., . . . . . 74
Āchārya, . . . . . 139, 140, 145, 146		aguihōtra, . . . . . 40, 299
a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-prāvēśya, . . . . .	296	agnihōtrin, . . . . . 108, 107, 115, 116, 117, 119
Achohuvadi, s. a. Aśvati, . . . . .	237	Agnikūlas, the thirty-six, . . . . . 178
Achyutadēva:āya, Achyutarāya or Achyutēndra, <i>Vijayanagara k.</i> , . . . . .	330, 340	agmukūṇḍa, . . . . . 151, 155n
Achyutarāya-bhilyudayam, <i>poem</i> , . . . . .	330	Āgrā, vi., . . . . . 181n, 241
Ādam Shāh, ch., . . . . .	308n	agrahāra, . . . . . 40, 95, 132, 133, 300, 345
Adarśanadēva, m., . . . . .	283	Āgrahāyana, s. a. Mārgaśīrsha, . . . . . 119
Adbhutakṛishṇarāja, <i>Paramāra k.</i> , . . . . .	11	agraja or agrajaman, <i>the first born son</i> , . . . . . 55n
Adānūki, vi., . . . . .	50	Ahlochhaṭṭapūra, vi., . . . . . 71n
addhika, s. a. Ārūhika, . . . . .	59n	Ahila, <i>Chāhamāna k. of Naddāla</i> , . . . . . 71, 83
adbhikāri, . . . . . 236, 239, 316		Ahir, <i>tribe</i> , . . . . . 279n
adhirājārāja, . . . . . 22, 23		Āhlādāna, s. a. Ālhaṇa, . . . . . 72, 83
adishāthāna (residence?), . . . . .	47	Ahmad Nāṭṭigā, ch., . . . . . 321
Ādichokan, m., . . . . . 235, 237, 238, 239n		Ahmad Shāh, ch., . . . . . 308n
Ādil Khān, <i>Edāḍgi k.</i> , . . . . . 367, 308, 310		Ahmad Shāh Bahmani, <i>Bahmani k.</i> , . . . . . 165n
Ādil Khān, <i>sur. of Miran Ghani</i> , . . . . .	310	Āhmapasvāmin, m., . . . . . 296, 299
Ādil Shāh, <i>sur. of Miran Ādil Khān</i> . . . . .	307	Ahman Khān, <i>sur. of Miran Ghani</i> , . . . . . 307, 310
Ādil Shāh, <i>sur. of Rāja Alī Khān</i> , 303, 307, 308n, 309, 310		āi (kryā), . . . . . 169n
Ādil Shāh Aynā, <i>sur. of Miran Ghani</i> , . . . . .	307, 310	Aihole, vi., . . . . . 317
Ādil Shāh Āzim-ū-Hamājra, s. a. Ādil Khān, 307, 308n, 309, 310		Aihavāṭṭapūravārāhikēśvara, <i>bruce</i> , . . . . . 302, 341
		Āma-i-Ahmad, <i>quoted</i> , . . . . . 124n, 142n, 207
		Airāvata, <i>elephant</i> , . . . . . 181
		Ākasa, m., . . . . . 316
		Āvarmalet, vi., . . . . . 88
		Aipakūlam or Ainakūlam, vi., . . . . . 331, 341
		Ajabakumāri, <i>queen of Dikpālādēva</i> , . . . . . 165

<sup>1</sup> The figures refer to pages; 'n' after a figure, to footnotes; and 'add' to the Additions and Corrections on pp. vii and viii. The following other abbreviations are used: —ch. = chief, co. = country, di. = district or division, do. = ditto, dy. = dynasty; E. = Eastern; f. = female; k. = king, m. = male; mo = mountain; vi. = river; s. a. = same as; sur. = surname; te. = temple; vi. = village or town, W. = Western.

	PAGE		PAGE
Ajaina, m., . . . . .	6	Ālupa, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	15, 16, 17, 20, 22
Ajayadēva, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	119	Alupa, s. a. Ālavāy, . . . . .	15
Ajayavarma, <i>Paramāra k.</i> , . . . . .	105, 114, 121	Ālupādūra, <i>duṣṣaḍa</i> , . . . . .	16, 20, 21, 22, 23
Ajayī, m., . . . . .	116	Ālupa, s. a. Ālupa, . . . . .	15, 16, 17, 20
Ajja, s. a. Ārya, . . . . .	278	Ālupakhūṇa, six thousand, <i>di</i> , . . . . .	16, 17
Ajjhita-bhaṭṭārikā, <i>queen of Nandīdrasēna</i> , . . . . .	269	Āluparāja, <i>brūda</i> , . . . . .	16
Ajjhita-dēvi, <i>queen of the Uchiakalpa ch.</i>		Āluparasa, <i>do</i> , . . . . .	21, 23
Vyāghra, . . . . .	269n	Ālupāy (Alwyer), m., . . . . .	15
Ajmaḥ Singh, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	166	Ālva, s. a. Ālupa, . . . . .	17, 23
ājñapti, . . . . .	48, 50, 133	Ālvakhūḍa, s. a. Ālupakhūḍa, . . . . .	16
Akalanka, <i>Jaina teacher</i> , . . . . .	266n	Ālvarasa, s. a. Āluparasa, . . . . .	22
Akālavarsha, <i>sur. of Kṛishna II.</i> , . . . . .	25, 28, 40	Ānadōva, m., . . . . .	119
Akbar, <i>Mughal emperor</i> , . . . . .	306	Amarakantak, <i>hill</i> , . . . . .	269, 343
Akola, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	107	Amaraṇabhaṣṭri, <i>Jaina teacher</i> , . . . . .	154
Akōlā or Akōlā-sthāna, s. a. Akola, . . . . .	107, 116	Amarāvati, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	136, 262n
akshasīlīn, . . . . .	272, 274	Amarāśvara or Amarāśvara-tīrtha, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	120
akshaya-trītiyā, . . . . .	71n, 74	Amarāśvaradōva, <i>to</i> , . . . . .	119
ākṣaku (ākṣku), <i>measure</i> , . . . . .	92, 93	Amarāśvara-kshōṭra, s. a. Amarāśvara, . . . . .	119, 120
alamkāra, . . . . .	166	amātya, . . . . .	132
Alandi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	200	Ambā or Ambikā, <i>goddess</i> , . . . . .	257n
Al Beruni, . . . . .	284n	Ambalavāsi, <i>caste</i> , . . . . .	236
Alexander, . . . . .	139	Ambāsamudra, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	84, 85n, 88, 89n, 238n
Ālhana or Ālhapadēva, <i>Chāḍhamāna k. of Naddūla</i> , . . . . .	62, 63, 64, 67, 72, 80, 83, 159	Ambikā, <i>Jusna goddess</i> , . . . . .	161, 166n
Alī Khān, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	303n	Āmbūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	87
Ālikuḍi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	331, 341	Ammā or Ammarāja I., <i>E Chalukya k.</i> , . . . . .	49, 50, 55, 134
Āliahābād, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	181n, 184n, 293	Ammā or Ammarāja II., <i>do</i> , . . . . .	47, 48, 50, 55, 56, 131, 132, 133n
Ali, m., . . . . .	116	Ammakunda, s. a. Ammakopā, . . . . .	267, 269, 266
alphabets —		Amoghavarsha I., <i>Edakṣṭrakūṭa k.</i> , . . . . .	26, 27, 261
box-headed, . . . . .	171, 268, 282, 343	Amoghavarsha III., <i>do</i> , . . . . .	8n, 28
Brāhmī, . . . . .	139n, 239, 240, 242, 243, 244, 245, 247, 302	Amoghavarsha, <i>sur. of Kakkarāja II.</i> , . . . . .	8n
Dēvanāgarī, . . . . .	123	Amoghavarsha, <i>sur. of Yākapatirāja II.</i> , . . . . .	71
Grantha, . . . . .	85, 234	Amritadēvi, <i>queen of Pārnapāla</i> , . . . . .	11
Hindī, . . . . .	294	Amritaghaṭṭavara, <i>to</i> , . . . . .	208, 209, 213
Kanarese or Kannaḍa, . . . . .	258, 328, 389n, 341	Amritakund, <i>lake</i> , . . . . .	185
Kharoṣṭhī, . . . . .	136n, 137, 139n, 240	amritayōga, . . . . .	207
Malayālam, . . . . .	284	amrtaṇḍavaragapā, . . . . .	339
Nāgarī, . . . . .	1, 2, 11, 63, 67, 70, 79, 94, 104, 117, 150, 161, 163, 166, 167, 175, 182, 302, 306, 311, 312, 319	Amuktamālyada, <i>Telugu poem</i> , . . . . .	330n and add.
Nandināgarī, . . . . .	328	Amvulaka (Ambulaka), s. a. Amvullaka, . . . . .	2
Oṛiyā, . . . . .	293, 294	Amvullaka (Ambullaka), <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	2
Persian, . . . . .	137, 306	Apahilapāṭaka, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	71, 73, 105
Śāradā, . . . . .	800	Apahilla, <i>Chāḍhamāna k. of Naddūla</i> , 64, 67, . . . . .	71, 80, 88
Telugu, . . . . .	48, 131, 162, 163, 164, 175, 311	Apahillapara, s. a. Apahilapāṭaka, . . . . .	72
Vajjīluttu, . . . . .	85, 88, 284	Apahula, <i>Edakṣṭraṇḍa ch.</i> , . . . . .	87
Ālva, s. a. Ālupa, . . . . .	16	Ānandajñāna, <i>Advaita teacher</i> , . . . . .	296
Ālvarasa, <i>sur. of Guṇa 4r</i> , . . . . .	16	Ānandasūtri, <i>Jaina teacher</i> , . . . . .	154
		Ananta, m., . . . . .	116
		Anantapāla, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	261

	PAGE		PAGE
Amantavāmi, m., . . . . .	288	ariyasacchāras, the four, . . . . .	292
Amantavarman, sur. of E. Gāṅgā kiṅgs, . . . . .	95, 322	Arjuna, mythical k., . . . . .	165
Amardha, m., . . . . .	303	Arjuna, Arjunadēva or Arjunavarman, . . . . .	104, 105, 107, 108, 109n, 114, 118n, 120, 121n
Āṇḍī, Śrīvaiṣṇava saint, . . . . .	330n	Arjunadēva, te, . . . . .	223, 224
Āṇḍī, s. a. Āṇḍī, . . . . .	167, 168, 170	Arkkadēva, ch., . . . . .	272
Āṇḍī, co., . . . . .	257, 260, 269	Armian Shāh, ch., . . . . .	308n
Āṇḍī (Āṇḍī), vi., . . . . .	168	Arṇorāja, Chāḍhamāna k. of Śākambhārī, . . . . .	67n
āṇḍī, . . . . .	102	Arrian, . . . . .	348, 344
Āṇḍī, co., . . . . .	326	Āṅṅal, vi., . . . . .	234n
Āṇḍī (Āṇḍī), rishi, . . . . .	184	Artas, ch., . . . . .	139
Āṇḍī-Āṇḍī-Punyavallabha, m., . . . . .	208n	artha, . . . . .	113n
Āṇḍī, vi., . . . . .	256, 257, 259n, 260, 261, 262	Arundhattī, f., . . . . .	316
Āṇḍī, s. a. Āṇḍī, . . . . .	257, 265	Ārya, tribe, . . . . .	277, 278
Āṇḍī, Chāḍhamāna k. of Śākambhārī, . . . . .	67n	Āryadīpa, m., . . . . .	192
Āṇḍī, queen of Alhapadēva, . . . . .	67, 83	Āryan, . . . . .	311
Āṇḍī or Āṇḍī, Baatar ch., . . . . .	165, 166	Āśādhara, Jaina author, . . . . .	107, 108, 118
āṇḍī, a frontier-guard, . . . . .	2n	Āśādhara, m., . . . . .	116
Āṇḍī, s. a. Āṇḍī, . . . . .	210n	Āśādhara, Kēṇḍu ch., . . . . .	72
Āṇḍī, s. a. Āṇḍī, . . . . .	257n, 261	Āśārāja or Āśārāja, s. a. Āśārāja, . . . . .	67, 80, 81, 82, 83, 152
Āṇḍī, m., . . . . .	288	Āśārāja, Chāḍhamāna k. of Naddāla, . . . . .	64, 67n, 72, 82, 83
āṇḍī, 25, 41, 57, 176, 182, 188, 247, 258, . . . . .	273, 277, 812	Ashab Shāh, ch., . . . . .	308n
Anyor, vi., . . . . .	147	Ashghar, ch., . . . . .	308n
Aparājita, Guhila k., . . . . .	188	Ashṭasāhasikā, work, . . . . .	321
Aparājita or Aparājita-vikramavarman, s. a. . . . .	87, 88	Aśṭarṣi, vi., . . . . .	306
Aparājita-chaturvēdimabgalaṇ, s. a. Ukkal, . . . . .	87, 88	Asṭī, vi., . . . . .	4
Aparājītā, te., . . . . .	74	Āśoka, Maurya emperor, . . . . .	136, 137, 248, 287n
aparakāyikarī, . . . . .	92n	Āśrama-sthāna, vi., . . . . .	107, 115
Arasṭī, vi., . . . . .	86, 88, 91	āśvamedha, sacrifice, . . . . .	133
Arakella, m., . . . . .	28	Āśvapāla, Chāḍhamāna k. of Naddāla, . . . . .	71, 83
Ārah, vi., . . . . .	171, 172, 282n, 283, 342, 344	āśvapati, . . . . .	321
Ārāyārāja, Paramāra k., . . . . .	11	Āśvati, s. a. Āśvini, . . . . .	210n, 235, 237
Ārāyārāja or Ārāyārāja, vi., . . . . .	191	Atharva-Vēda, . . . . .	146, 240
Ārāyārāja-Bukka, Karṇāḍ ch., . . . . .	329	atthāntarāpana, . . . . .	40
Ārāyārāja, vi., . . . . .	329	Atthāntarāpana-Pāṇḍya, Pāṇḍya k., . . . . .	331
Arbuda, s. a. Ābā, 12, 71, 80, 81, 148, 149, . . . . .	151, 152, 154, 189n	Attri, rishi, . . . . .	26, 38, 185n, 186
Arbuda-māhātmya, . . . . .	189n	Attam, s. a. Hasta, . . . . .	210
Arbuda-māṇḍala, co., . . . . .	11, 12, 151	aṭṭippēru, . . . . .	235, 237n
Arrot, vi., . . . . .	281	avabhritha, . . . . .	204
Arhatintripi (Arappuṇi F), . . . . .	331, 341	avagrāha, . . . . .	67, 70, 104, 117
Arhika or arhadārin, . . . . .	59n	Āvalladēvī, Hūna princess, . . . . .	8
Arhat, . . . . .	67	Āvalokiteśvara, Buddhist god, . . . . .	301, 302
Ārīgōm, s. a. Hāḍīrāma, . . . . .	300, 301	Avāṅṅana, family, . . . . .	199
Ārikēari Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, Pāṇḍya k., . . . . .	330, 331n	Avanvarman, Choulukya ch., . . . . .	3
Ārīṣṭha, author, . . . . .	78n	Avanvarman I., Chāḍukya ch., . . . . .	1, 2, 3
Ārīyakulam, vi., . . . . .	331, 341		

	PAGE
Avanavaman II, <i>Chālukya ch.</i> , 1, 2, 3, 4, 9n,	130, 131
Avanti, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	269
āvasthika, . . . . .	106, 107, 116, 117
Avālladdva, <i>mistake for Ānnalladdva</i> , . . . .	67n
Avittam, <i>s a Dhanishthā</i> , . . . . .	210n, 255
ayana, <i>s a uchārya</i> , . . . . .	140
Ayasa Kōmāśa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	141
Āyimsa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	140, 145
Ayūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	236
Ajurar, <i>s a Ayūr</i> , . . . . .	236 and add,
	236 and add, 237 and add, 238 and add
Ayya, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	263n
Āzua Shāh, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	308n

## B

Baben, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	29
bābū, . . . . .	316
Badagabett, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	21
Bādamera, <i>s a Bāmer</i> , . . . . .	72
Bādāmi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	102
Badapāl, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	344
Baderi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	11, 12
Baddiga, <i>var. of Amoghavaraha III.</i> , . . . .	3n
Bāgalkōt, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	312
Bagumrā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	25, 29, 104n
Bahadur Khān, <i>sur. of Khizr Khān</i> , . . . .	306,
	307, 310
Bahādur Shāh, <i>Gujarat k.</i> , . . . . .	310n
Bāhūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	85n
Bajjnāth, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	800
Bakṣa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	102
Bala, <i>Buddhist friar</i> , . . . . .	201
Bālgāhāt, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	267
Bāla-Nāyapa, <i>sur. of Jaitugidra</i> , . . . .	118n
Bālaprasāda, <i>Chāhamāna k. of Naddāla</i> , . . . .	64, 72, 88
Balaverman, <i>Chālukya ch.</i> , . . . . .	1, 2, 3, 4, 130
bali, . . . . .	40, 95, 269
Bali, <i>demon</i> , . . . . .	38, 114n, 116n
Bahrāja, <i>Chāhamāna k. of Naddāla</i> , . . . .	64, 67, 71, 80, 88
Balkh, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	308n
Ballāmbikā, <i>queen of Āravīṭi-Bukka</i> , . . . .	329
Balōdā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	263
Belotia, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	73
Bēmaṅgāṭi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	272n, 273n
Bēmrā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	184n
Bepa, <i>poet</i> , . . . . .	28, 201

	PAGE
Banāras (Benares), <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	131
Banāra, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	81
Banavasi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	16
Banavasi or Banavase, <i>s. a Vanavāsi</i> , 16, 204n,	230, 313 and add
bandha, . . . . .	126, 138
bandhu or bandhava, <i>a brother</i> , . . . . .	71
Baṅgulava, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	192
Baṅguddva, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	192
Banjās, <i>tribe</i> , . . . . .	169n
Banākhi rā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	286
Bapakā, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	192
Bapāmandi, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	192
Bappaśavāmin, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	243, 245
Bapuka, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	199
Baragan, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	304
Bārānāsi, <i>s a Vārānāsi</i> , . . . . .	22
Barapāl, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	344
Barā Surajgon, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	169n
Barbharavāmi, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	282, 284
Bārājoli, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	29
Bārner, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	72n, 73
Baroda Museum, . . . . .	24
Bārūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 166
basadi, <i>a Jaina temple</i> , . . . . .	267
Bastar, <i>State</i> , 160, 161, 162, 163n, 164, 165,	169n, 174, 175, 176, 178, 179, 180n, 181n,
	269n, 312, 313
Baudha, . . . . .	266n
Bāuka, <i>Pratikāra ch.</i> , . . . . .	277, 278, 279
Bayāwān, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	181n
Bayyana Nāyaka, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	269n
Belāṭṭi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	201
Belvaha or Belvola, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	201
Benares, <i>vi.</i> , 21, 27, 42, 59, 60, 61n, 292, 302,	304, 320, 321
Bengal, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	42
Bengipura, <i>s. a (?) Vēhgi</i> , . . . . .	261
Bepaṭṭi, <i>s. a. Belāṭṭi</i> , . . . . .	201, 206
Bēra, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	181n, 231n
Bēta, <i>Amardavāsi ch.</i> , . . . . .	262n
Bēta, <i>E. Chālukya ch.</i> , . . . . .	323
Bēta or Bētana, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	259, 266, 267
Bēta or Bētana, <i>Kākatīya k.</i> , 165, 253, 260,	265, 266
Betipāndi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	182, 183
Betana or Betmarāja, <i>s. a. Bēta</i> , . . . . .	165, 260
Betal, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	284n, 285n
Besvāḍa, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	269n, 262
Bhadra, <i>wife of Harichandra</i> , . . . . .	279

	PAGE		PAGE
Bhadradēva, <i>m.</i>	193	Bheem Sen pillar,	243
Bhadra-vāsi, <i>m.</i>	288	bhikkhu,	144, 146
Bhadreśvara, <i>m.</i>	115	bhikṣu,	291
bhāgabhogakara, <i>tax.</i>	306	Bhil, <i>tribe.</i>	188
Bhāgalpur, <i>vi.</i>	26n, 28	Bhīlamālu, <i>m.</i>	192
Bhagavadgītā,	200	Bhīlma, <i>s. a.</i> Bhīllama,	72
Bhagavat,	172, 269, 284, 317, 319	Bhīllāditya, <i>Pratikhara ch.</i>	280
Bhāgavata, <i>purāna.</i>	343	Bhīllama, <i>Yādava k.</i>	72, 83n
Bhagavati, <i>goddeś.</i>	236	Bhīlma, <i>ch.</i>	260
Bhāgīratha, <i>mythical k.</i>	164n	Bhīlma, <i>k.</i>	323
Bhāgrathi, <i>s. a.</i> Gaṅgos,	270	Bhīlma, <i>m.</i>	127, 163
Bhāgudalana, <i>m.</i>	289, 290	Bhīlma I, <i>s. a.</i> Chālūkyā-Bhīlma I,	132n
Bhai Raj, <i>s. a.</i> Bhairavādēva,	165	Bhīlma or Bhīmadēva I, <i>Chālūkyā k.</i>	71, 72, 81, 83n, 148, 149, 151
Bhairamadēva, <i>Bastar ch.</i>	166	Bhīlma or Bhīmarāja II, <i>s. a.</i> Chālūkyā-Bhīlma II,	133, 134
Bhairamgarh, <i>vi.</i>	160, 161, 164	Bhīlma or Bhīmasēna, <i>mythical k.</i>	113, 255
Bhairangudi, <i>shrīna.</i>	161, 164	Bhīmadēva II, <i>Chālūkyā k.</i>	73, 83
Bhairava II, <i>Kāṣṇa-Kārkāṣa ch.</i>	174	Bhīmānā, <i>vi.</i>	159
Bhairavādēva, <i>Bastar ch.</i>	165	Bhīmasēna I, <i>k.</i>	342, 345
Bhāudaka, <i>vi.</i>	163n	Bhīmasēna II, <i>k.</i>	342, 343, 344, 345
bhāṇḍārī,	313, 316 and add.	Bhīmānā (Bhīmānā), <i>vi.</i>	72, 73, 74
Bhāṇḍī, <i>family.</i>	273, 274	Bhīttarās, <i>vi.</i>	185
Bhānu or Bhānūdēva, <i>Kāṣṇa ch.</i>	123, 124, 127, 128, 183, 184	bhōga, <i>a district.</i>	16
Bhācāśva, <i>tribe.</i>	269n, 270	Bhōga, <i>m.</i>	169
Bharata (author of the <i>nāṭyasastra</i> ),	73	Bhōgasvāmī, <i>m.</i>	288
Bharatapāla, <i>m.</i>	116	Bhōgavardhana, <i>di.</i>	296, 299
Bhārati, <i>s. a.</i> Sarasvatī,	266	Bhōgavati, <i>vi.</i>	161, 163, 178, 181, 312, 315, 316
Bharhut, <i>vi.</i>	136	bhōgika or bhōgin,	273, 299
Bhārūṇḍa, <i>vi.</i>	11n, 13n	Bhōja, <i>k.</i>	28, 329
Bhāskara, <i>m.</i>	6	Bhōja or Bhōjadēva, <i>Paramāra k.</i>	72, 88n, 105, 113, 118, 151, 230
Bhāskaraśaṭṭha, <i>astronomer.</i>	28	Bhōjadēva I, <i>Kanavya k.</i>	1, 2, 3, 4, 199, 249, 250
Bhāskara-Ravivarmān, <i>k.</i>	85, 238n	Bhōpallādēvi, <i>queen of Karpārāj,</i>	182, 183, 185, 187
Bhāskarasāmi, <i>m.</i>	232, 284	Bhramarakōṭya-maṇḍala, <i>di.</i>	176, 178, 179, 181, 312
Bhaṭārka, <i>Valabhī k.</i>	195	Bhrīgu, <i>m.</i>	115
bhaṭṭa,	278n	Bhrīgukachōḥa, <i>vi.</i>	251
bhaṭṭānāyaka,	313, 316	bhā, <i>land measure (?)</i>	341
bhaṭṭāraka (bhaṭṭārakar),	235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 316	Bhūya, <i>tribe.</i>	184n
Bhaṭāraka, <i>Śrīrūpa of Vijayāditya I.</i>	55, 184	Bhujabala-Mahārāja, <i>Vijayanagara k.</i>	174
bhaṭṭārāyaka,	169, 170	bhukti,	282, 284
Bhaṭṭājī-dikṣita, <i>grammarian.</i>	206n	Bhūmbhuvaka, <i>ch.</i>	199
Bhāra, <i>m.</i>	6	btāmīchōhīdīra-nyāya,	5, 10, 299
Bhāva-Bhīlaspātī, <i>temple priest.</i>	4	Bhūmīśvara, <i>te.</i>	224
Bhavadēva, <i>ch.</i>	162n	Bhupān, <i>s. a.</i> Bhāṇḍī,	274n
Bhavadēva, <i>m.</i>	316	Bhāpālādēva, <i>Bastar ch.</i>	166
Bhavagupta, <i>ch.</i>	11	bbōsphōta, <i>a mushroom.</i>	71
Bhavanāśi, <i>Bhārasēva ch.</i>	270n	Bhāsuratātaka, <i>s. a.</i> Pāppāṭkūlam,	331, 341
Bhavanī, <i>s. a.</i> Pārvaṭī,	33, 60, 61		
Bhavanī, <i>te.</i>	60, 61n, 62		
Bhaviṣya-purāṇa,	279		
Bhavya, <i>the Jaina community.</i>	265		

	PAGE
bhuvana śāle, . . . . .	174
Bihar, <i>co</i> , . . . . .	42
biyak, . . . . .	126
Biṣaṇi, Biṣolia or Biṣoh, <i>s. a.</i> Biṣoli, . . . . .	62
Biṣalāndra, <i>k</i> , . . . . .	329
Biṣoli, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	62, 71n
Biṣhapa, <i>ch</i> , . . . . .	107
Biṣhapa, <i>poet</i> , . . . . .	15, 178
Biṣhari, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	3
biradamamnyavibhāḥa, . . . . .	330
boar, <i>crest</i> , . . . . . 48, 99, 131, 133, 201, 274n, 328	
Bōdh Gayā, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	286, 287
Bōdhisattva, . . . . .	190n, 290, 291
Bōdrā, <i>fort</i> , . . . . .	161
Borai, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	344
botasalo, <i>the Matsya Pātra</i> , . . . . .	177n
Bōṭaka, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	190
Bōṭasāmi, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	282, 284
bow, <i>crest</i> , . . . . .	181, 313
Bōya-Padda, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	259, 267
Bōyavarma, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	21
Brahmakshatri, <i>caste</i> , . . . . .	195
Brahman, <i>god</i> , 26, 37, 38, 42, 67, 75 <i>add</i> , . . . . .	
115n, 125n, 191, 266, 327, 343	
Brahman, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	116
Brahma-siddhānta, 12, 119, 130, 208, 209, 210, . . . . .	
211, 212, 213, 214, 216, 217, 223, 224, 225, 226	
Brahmaujhaka, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	316 <i>and add</i>
Bṛihadāraṇyakōpaniṣadbhāṣyāṭikā, <i>quoted</i> , . . . . .	296n
bṛihadbhāṣya, . . . . .	273n
Bṛihad-gaehohha, <i>school of Jaina teachers</i> , . . . . .	71
Bṛihatsaṁhitā, <i>quoted</i> , . . . . .	269, 278
British Museum, 57, 135, 239, 248, 329, 330n, . . . . .	
332n, 336n	
Broach, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	344n
Buachalā, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	198, 199
Buddha, <i>god</i> , . . . . . 141, 146, 190, 292, 298, 320, 327	
Buddha, <i>Nāṭavāḍa ch</i> , . . . . .	262n
Buddhadēva, <i>Buddhist teacher</i> , 139, 140, 144, 145	
Buddharāja, <i>Kalachuri k</i> , . . . . .	296
Buddharāja, <i>Kaṇḍapadmaṣi ch</i> , . . . . .	260n
Buddhila (Buddhila), <i>Buddhist teacher</i> , 189, . . . . .	
140, 144, 146	
Buddhism, . . . . .	301
Buddhist, 56n, 135, 138, 140, 162n, 190, 201, . . . . .	
266n, 290, 291, 292, 298, 321	
Bukkamā, <i>queen of Īśvara</i> , . . . . .	340
Bugūḍa, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	42, 272, 274, 320n
Bundellā, <i>di</i> , . . . . .	169n
Bundelkhand, <i>di</i> , . . . . .	284n

	PAGE
Burlānpūr, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	306, 308
Burma, <i>co</i> , . . . . .	231
Burud, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	120
Buṣabharo, <i>Vijayanagara prince</i> , . . . . .	174
Būṭā, <i>f</i> , . . . . .	189
Butkā Sudh, <i>tribe</i> , . . . . .	184n

## C

Calcutta Museum, . . . . .	281
calf, <i>crest</i> , . . . . .	161, 163, 312, 315, 316
Cambay, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	27
Ceylon, <i>island</i> , . . . . .	37n, 178, 280, 294n
Chabbi, Chhabbi or Chhebbi, <i>s. a.</i> Sebbi, . . . . .	259n
Chacha, <i>ch</i> , . . . . .	11
Chācha, <i>s. a.</i> Chāchiga, . . . . .	74, 88
Chāchiga or Chāchigaddāva, <i>Chādhamaṇa k of</i>	
<i>Naddāla</i> , . . . . . 70, 71, 73, 74, 83, 276n	
Chāgi, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	260n
Chāhamāna, <i>do</i> , . . . . . 18n, 62, 63, 67, 71, 79,	
80, 81, 152, 153, 261	
Chāhamāna, <i>k</i> , . . . . .	71
Chāhamāna, <i>s. a.</i> Chāhamāna, 62, 64, 71n, 73, . . . . .	
74, 79, 82	
Chāhuvāma, Chāhuvāna or Chāhuvāpa, <i>do</i> , . . . . .	81, 152
chaitya, . . . . .	160
Chakrakōṭa or Chakrakōṭṭa, <i>s. a.</i> Chakrakōṭya, . . . . .	
178, 179, 230	
Chakrakōṭya, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	178, 179
Chakrakōṭya-maṇḍala, <i>di</i> , . . . . .	181
Chakrakōṭya, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	48, 49
Chakrapāṇi, <i>s. a.</i> Vīṣṇu, . . . . .	270
Chakrāyudha, <i>k</i> , . . . . .	4, 26, 28
chakrin (chakravartin), . . . . .	258, 266
chakrin, <i>a provincial chief</i> , . . . . .	259n
Chalikka, <i>k</i> , . . . . .	329
Chalikya, <i>s. a.</i> Chalukya (Western), . . . . .	99, 101
Chālukya, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	1, 2, 3, 7n
Chalukya or Chālukya, <i>Eastern, dy</i> , 37, 39, 47, . . . . .	
48, 49, 50, 55, 56, 132, 133, 179n, 261n, . . . . .	
317, 322	
Chalukya, Chalukya, Chālukya or Chālukya, . . . . .	
<i>Western, dy</i> , 15, 16, 26, 33, 162, 165,	
166n, 201, 202, 204, 230, 258, 260, 261, . . . . .	
282, 265, 266, 317, 319	
Chālukya-Bhīma I., <i>E. Chalukya k</i> , . . . . .	50, 55, 134
Chālukya-Bhīma II., <i>do</i> , . . . . .	48, 49
Chālukya-chakravartin, <i>sur. of Taila III</i> , . . . . .	258n
Chālukya-chāḍmagāni, <i>tella</i> , . . . . .	260n
Chamba, <i>State</i> , . . . . .	284n
Chammak, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	258, 271n



	PAGE		PAGE
Chamupā, goddess, . . . . .	74	Chhikkōra, family, . . . . .	320, 322, 326
Chamupāpāl, f., . . . . .	233	Chhindaka, s. a. Sinda, . . . . .	178, 178, 181
Chamupārāja, Chhāmadā h. of Naddāla, 73, 83		Chhittā, m., . . . . .	116
Chāpālā, an outcaste, . . . . .	125n	Chhurikāra Māpīpōta, s. a. Māpīpōta, . . . . .	178, 177, 181
Chāpāstūtha, m., . . . . .	149	Chhūrāpābandha, . . . . .	177, 181
Chāpāvarman, Śālanādyana h., . . . . .	58	Chhācōle, vi., . . . . .	95
Chandayika, m., . . . . .	195	Chhikhal, vi., . . . . .	187, 168, 169
Chand Bardai, poet, . . . . .	178	Chhikhalvājaka, vi., . . . . .	95
Chandāla, family, . . . . .	63, 165	Chhīpurapālā, vi., . . . . .	318
Chandīkā, s. a. Pārvatī, . . . . .	71	Chhitrakāpātha, horse, . . . . .	101, 201, 205
Chandra or Chandradēva, Kanau, k., 302, 303, 304, 320, 323, 327		Chhitrakūt, vi., . . . . .	181
Chandrāditya, W. Chālukya prince, . . . . .	102	Chhitrakūta or Chhitrakōta, vi., . . . . .	179
Chandragupta I., Gupta k., . . . . .	348	Chhitrarathasavāmin, te, . . . . .	58, 59
Chandragupta II., do., . . . . .	342n	Chhitravāha or Chhitravāhana I., Ālupa k., . . . . .	16
Chandruka, m., . . . . .	192	Chhitravāhana, Ālupa (?) k., . . . . .	16
Chandrukāpātha, m., . . . . .	115	Chhitravāhana II., Ālupa k., . . . . .	18, 17, 19
Chandrasāmi, m., . . . . .	288	Chhitrōtpālā, s. a. Mahānadi, . . . . .	184n
Chandravati, vi., 12, 62n, 80, 81, 82, 88n, 149, 151, 302, 304		Chhōda, s. a. Chōla, . . . . .	322
Chanduka, Pratihāra ch., . . . . .	280	Chhōda or Chhōdī, s. a. Rājendra-Chhōda, . . . . .	282n
Chāngāla, family, . . . . .	16	Chhōdagagadēva, B. Gāṅga k., . . . . .	95, 222
Chāpa, do., . . . . .	3, 4	Chhōhān, s. a. Chāhamāna, . . . . .	82n
Chāpā, vi., . . . . .	160, 161, 166	Chhōla, co., 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 92n, 93n, 101n, 165, 166n, 178, 179n, 201, 205, 206, 207, 217, 225n, 229, 230, 231, 238n, 234n, 235, 280, 322, 340	
Chār, . . . . .	234n	Chhōla-Pāṇḍya, family, . . . . .	84
Charu, . . . . .	40, 95, 299	Chhōlikā, . . . . .	5n
Chāradēvi, queen of Vijaya-Buddhavarman, . . . . .	67	Chhōlāmā, family, . . . . .	4
Chāpa, s. a. Chār, . . . . .	172n, 284n	Chhulapāraka (Chulādur), vi., . . . . .	282, 283, 284
Chāpābhāṣa, . . . . .	5	Cochin, vi., . . . . .	85
Chāpāllika, vi., . . . . .	42, 43, 47	Conjeeveram, vi., . . . . .	88n, 92n, 205n and add
Chaturvēda, . . . . .	106, 116, 117, 119	Contack, do., . . . . .	286
Chāudharī, m., . . . . .	316		
Chāulukya, family, 3, 71, 72, 73, 81, 82n, 105, 118n, 148, 149, 151, 168n			
Chauri, . . . . .	24		
Chāvaḍī, . . . . .	321, 341		
Chābrōla, vi., . . . . .	259, 260		
Chēdi, co., . . . . .	2, 27, 29, 43, 269, 321, 322		
Chēṅguppār (Chēṅgaṇḍr), vi., . . . . .	236		
Chēra, co., . . . . .	86n, 234n, 340		
Chhādrā, m., . . . . .	316		
Chhādrāka, m., . . . . .	316		
Chhāharāta, s. a. Khaharāta, . . . . .	189n		
Chhālamattigāpāda, sw. of Gaṇapadī, . . . . .	165		
Chhāpā, m., . . . . .	169		
Chhātrapa, s. a. Khātrapa, . . . . .	139		
Chhāttigayā, do., . . . . .	184n, 204, 243, 244		
Chhāḍā, s. a. Chhāpā, . . . . .	170		
Chhāḍīavāmi, m., . . . . .	288		
Chhāḍīavāmi, m., . . . . .	288		

D

Dabhālā, co., . . . . .	343
Dadhikarpa, Nāga te, . . . . .	241
Dāhala or Dāhāla, s. a. Chēdi, . . . . .	48, 55, 821
Daityanādāna, te, . . . . .	106
Dakshipakōśala, co., . . . . .	294
Dakshipasamudrādhipati, brūda, . . . . .	330
Dakshipa-Virāta (Southern Berār), co., . . . . .	281
Dālāpa, m., . . . . .	116
Dālhapadēvi, queen of Gōvindhachandra, . . . . .	321
Dālāpa, m., . . . . .	116
Dalpatidēva, Bāstār ch., . . . . .	166
Dāmara Prithvīnara, ch., . . . . .	300
Dāmbāra, m., . . . . .	68, 115, 127, 169, 170
Danārdana (Janārdana), m., . . . . .	180n, 181
Dānavīra, . . . . .	214n

	PAGE		PAGE
Chamupā, goddess, . . . . .	74	Chhikkōra, family, . . . . .	320, 322, 326
Chamupāpāl, f., . . . . .	233	Chhindaka, s. a. Sinda, . . . . .	178, 178, 181
Chamupārāja, Chhāmadā h. of Naddāla, 73, 83		Chhittā, m., . . . . .	116
Chāpālā, an outcaste, . . . . .	125n	Chhurikāra Māpīpota, s. a. Māpīpota, . . . . .	178, 177, 181
Chāpāstūtha, m., . . . . .	149	Chhūraprabandha, . . . . .	177, 181
Chāpāvarman, Śālanādyana h., . . . . .	58	Chhacole, vi., . . . . .	95
Chandayika, m., . . . . .	195	Chikhall, vi., . . . . .	187, 168, 169
Chand Bardai, poet, . . . . .	178	Chikhaltāpaka, vi., . . . . .	95
Chandalla, family, . . . . .	63, 165	Chipurupalle, vi., . . . . .	318
Chandika, s. a. Pārvati, . . . . .	71	Chitrakāpātha, horse, . . . . .	101, 201, 205
Chandra or Chandradēva, Kanau, k., 302, 303, 304, 320, 323, 327		Chitrakūt, vi., . . . . .	181
Chandrāditya, W. Chālukya prince, . . . . .	102	Chitrakūta or Chitrakōta, vi., . . . . .	179
Chandragupta I., Gupta k., . . . . .	348	Chitrarathasavāmin, te, . . . . .	58, 59
Chandragupta II., do., . . . . .	342n	Chitravāha or Chitravāhana I., Ālupa k., . . . . .	16
Chandrika, m., . . . . .	192	Chitravāhana, Ālupa (?) k., . . . . .	16
Chandrikāpātha, m., . . . . .	115	Chitravāhana II., Ālupa k., . . . . .	18, 17, 19
Chandrasāmi, m., . . . . .	288	Chitrōtpālā, s. a. Mahānadi, . . . . .	184n
Chandravati, vi., 12, 62n, 80, 81, 82, 88n, 149, 151, 302, 304		Chōda, s. a. Chōla, . . . . .	322
Chanduka, Pratihāra ch., . . . . .	280	Chōda or Chōdī, s. a. Rājendra-Chōda, . . . . .	282n
Chāngikva, family, . . . . .	16	Chōdagabādēva, B. Ganga k., . . . . .	95, 222
Chāpa, do., . . . . .	3, 4	Chohān, s. a. Chāhamāna, . . . . .	82n
Chāpā, vi., . . . . .	160, 161, 166	Chōla, co., 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 92n, 93n, 101n, 165, 166n, 178, 179n, 201, 205, 206, 207, 217, 225n, 229, 230, 231, 238n, 234n, 235, 280, 322, 340	
Chār, . . . . .	234n	Chōla-Pāṇḍya, family, . . . . .	84
Charu, . . . . .	40, 95, 299	Chōllikā, . . . . .	5n
Chāradēvi, queen of Vijaya-Buddhavarman, . . . . .	67	Chōḍāśamā, family, . . . . .	4
Chāpa, s. a. Chār, . . . . .	172n, 284n	Chullapāraka (Chulādur), vi., . . . . .	282, 283, 284
Chāpābhāṣa, . . . . .	5	Cochin, vi., . . . . .	85
Chāpāllika, vi., . . . . .	42, 43, 47	Conjeeveram, vi., . . . . .	88n, 92n, 205n and add
Chaturvāda, . . . . .	106, 116, 117, 119	Contack, do., . . . . .	286
Chāudharī, m., . . . . .	316		
Chaulukya, family, 3, 71, 72, 73, 81, 82n, 105, 118n, 148, 149, 151, 168n			
Chauri, . . . . .	24		
Chāradī, . . . . .	321, 341		
Chābrōla, vi., . . . . .	259, 260		
Chēdi, co., . . . . .	2, 27, 29, 43, 269, 321, 322		
Chēguppār (Chēggaṇḍr), vi., . . . . .	236		
Chēra, co., . . . . .	86n, 234n, 340		
Chhādrī, m., . . . . .	316		
Chhādrāka, m., . . . . .	316		
Chhaharāta, s. a. Khaharāta, . . . . .	189n		
Chhālamattigāpāda, sw. of Gānapatī, . . . . .	165		
Chhāpā, m., . . . . .	169		
Chhātrapa, s. a. Khātrapa, . . . . .	139		
Chhattīgāpā, do., . . . . .	184n, 204, 243, 244		
Chhāḍā, s. a. Chhāpā, . . . . .	170		
Chhāḍīśāmi, m., . . . . .	288		
Chhāḍīśāmi, m., . . . . .	288		

## D

Dabhālā, co., . . . . .	343
Dadhikarpa, Nāga te, . . . . .	241
Dāhala or Dāhāla, s. a. Chēdi, . . . . .	48, 55, 821
Daityanādāna, te, . . . . .	106
Dakshipakōśala, co., . . . . .	294
Dakshipasamudrādhipati, brūda, . . . . .	330
Dakshina-Virāta (Southern Berār), co., . . . . .	281
Dālāpa, m., . . . . .	116
Dālhapadēvi, queen of Gōvindhachandra, . . . . .	321
Dālāpa, m., . . . . .	116
Dalpatidēva, Bāstār ch., . . . . .	166
Dāmara Prithvīnara, ch., . . . . .	300
Dāmodara, m., . . . . .	68, 115, 127, 169, 170
Danārdana (Janārdana), m., . . . . .	180n, 181
Dānavīra, . . . . .	214n

PAGE	PAGE
Wednesday, 81, 124, 129, 158, 159, 161, 162, 176, 181, 208, 209, 212, 213, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 226, 227, 228, 229, 278, 312, 316	Dēvendravatman, <i>E Ganga k.</i> , . . . 95
Thursday, 56 and add., 106, 119, 120, 212, 214, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 226, 227, 229, 304	Devā, <i>sub-tribe of Chohāna</i> , . . . 82n
Friday, 56 add., 124, 152, 212, 218, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 266	Dēvu, <i>m.</i> , . . . 19
Saturday, 208, 214, 215, 217, 219, 220, 221, 222, 224, 226, 227, 228, 229	Dēvulapalli, <i>vi.</i> , . . . 330n
deer, <i>crest</i> , . . . 313	dhakkā, . . . 205
Dēg, <i>m.</i> , . . . 153	Dhāladi, <i>s. a. Dhalaga</i> , . . . 49
Dēheda, <i>m.</i> , . . . 6	Dhalaga, <i>ch.</i> , . . . 49
Dhā, <i>m.</i> , . . . 199	Dhāmādēva, <i>m.</i> , . . . 181
Delhi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . 62, 67n, 154, 293, 294, 296	Dhāmadēvasarman, <i>m.</i> , . . . 119
Dēmati, <i>f.</i> , . . . 153	Dhāmōkh stūpa, . . . 319
Dēndānaka, <i>s. a. Didwāna</i> , . . . 107	Dhammapada, . . . 137
Dēgadh, <i>vi.</i> , . . . 120n, 250	Dhantari, <i>vi.</i> , . . . 183
Dēo Kōngērā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . 167, 168	Dhaandatta, <i>m.</i> , . . . 192
Dēōl, <i>vi.</i> , . . . 28, 43, 194	Dhanadattabasu, <i>m.</i> , . . . 192
Dēōri, <i>vi.</i> , . . . 169n	Dhapadēva, <i>m.</i> , . . . 288
Dēōla, <i>m.</i> , . . . 153	Dhanagara, <i>m.</i> , . . . 192
Dēōlāmāmā, <i>quoted</i> , . . . 320	Dhanāñjaya, <i>poet</i> , . . . 206n
Desari, <i>vi.</i> , . . . 68	Dhanāñjaya-Punyavallabha, <i>m.</i> , . . . 206
Dēuka, <i>m.</i> , . . . 12	Dhanasumba, <i>m.</i> , . . . 150, 153
Dēutha, <i>m.</i> , . . . 6	Dhāndhaladēvi, <i>f.</i> , . . . 153
Dēvohārya, <i>Jaina teacher</i> , . . . 71	Dhandhu, Dhandhuka or Dhandhurāpa, <i>Paramāra k.</i> , . . . 21, 13n, 72, 151
dēvāḍā (dōvara, dēvī), <i>a younger brother</i> , . . . 82	Dhanōrā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . 183
Dēvādā, <i>m.</i> , . . . 316	Dhāōka, <i>m.</i> , . . . 181
Dēvādā-vainśa, <i>family</i> , . . . 83n	Dhār, <i>vi.</i> , . . . 103
Dēvadharma, <i>m.</i> , . . . 116	Dhārā, <i>s. a. Dhār</i> , 28, 72n, 106, 114, 121, 151, 179, 230
Dēvāditya, <i>s. a. Nēmadītya</i> , . . . 29	Dhārāditya, <i>m.</i> , . . . 6
Dēvagiri, <i>vi.</i> , . . . 72, 83n, 119n, 165, 200	Dhārāpa-Mahādēvi, <i>queen of Sōmēśvaradēva</i> (I), . . . 162, 163, 316
Dēvagupta, <i>k.</i> , . . . 268	Dharandihara, <i>m.</i> , . . . 116
Dēvahrada or Dēvahradatīrtha, <i>s. a. Sihāwa</i> , 182, 184, 187	Dharapigga, <i>ch.</i> , . . . 64
Dēvakt, <i>queen of Timma</i> , . . . 340	dharapīvarāha, <i>bruda</i> , . . . 330
dēvakula, . . . 290	Dharapīvarāha, <i>Chāpa ch.</i> , . . . 2, 3, 4, 9n
Dēvakūṭa, <i>hill</i> , . . . 184, 185n and add.	Dhārāvareha or Dhārāvarehadēva, <i>Nāga-</i> <i>vahsi k.</i> , . . . 161, 164, 179, 312, 315
Dēvam-Pavittiran, <i>m.</i> , . . . 239	Dhārāvareha, <i>Paramāra prince</i> , . . . 159
Dēvapāla, <i>Pāla k.</i> , . . . 3n, 231	Dhārēśvara, <i>m.</i> , . . . 181
Dēvapāla, <i>Paramāra k.</i> , 108, 109, 109, 115, 118	dharma, . . . 113, 114n, 146, 326
dēvaputra, . . . 239, 240, 242, 244, 245	Dharma, <i>s. a. Dharmapāla</i> , . . . 2, 3, 26n
Dēvarāja, <i>Paramāra k.</i> , . . . 72	Dharmachakra, . . . 136
Dēvarājī, <i>Ediṭṭakāḍṭa k.</i> , . . . 173	Dharmachakra-Jina, <i>s. a. Buddha</i> , . . . 320, 327
Dēvarak-hita, <i>ch.</i> , . . . 320, 322, 323, 326	Dharmachakra-mudrā, . . . 292
Dēva-āna, <i>Vāḍṭaka k.</i> , . . . 369	Dharmaghoṣha or Dharmaghoṣha-āri, <i>s. a.</i> Dharmasūri, . . . 164
Dēva-hita, <i>s. a. Desuri</i> , . . . 67, 68	Dharmakalāśa, <i>sur of Vidyādharaśhaṇḍadēva</i> , 273
	Dharmānṛita, <i>Jaina work</i> , . . . 107 11n
	Dharmakūṭya, <i>m.</i> , . . . 24
	Dharmapāla, <i>ch.</i> , . . . 231, 233, 22
	Dharmapāla, <i>Pāla k.</i> , . . . 3, 4, 26, 28, 51, 27, 2

	PAGE
Dharmapuram or Dharmavaram, <i>vi</i> , . . .	50
Dharmapuri, <i>s. a.</i> Dharmapuram, . . .	49, 50, 56
dharmasāstra, . . . . .	47, 274
Dharmasōka, <i>k</i> , . . . . .	320, 323
Dharmasūri, <i>Jaina teacher</i> , . . . . .	153, 154
Dharmavaram, or °varamu, <i>s. a.</i> Dharmapuri, . . . . .	50, 56
Dhanu, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	287n
Dhavalā, <i>Maurya k</i> , . . . . .	188
Dhavalā, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa ch of Hastikundī</i> , . . . . .	71, 83n
Dhika, <i>ch</i> , . . . . .	2, 6n
Dholkā, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	73
Dhondhaka, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	193
Dhruva, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa k</i> , . . . . .	26, 184, 195
Dhruva, <i>the Pole star</i> , . . . . .	75 add.
Dhruva I, <i>Gujarātī Rāshtrakūṭa ch</i> , . . . . .	39
Dhruva or Dhruvarāja II, <i>do</i> , . . . . .	3, 29
Dhulā, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	26
Dhūra, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	6
Dhūrtarāsī, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	189
Didwāna, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	107
Digbhañjadēva, <i>Bhañya ch</i> , . . . . .	273
Dikpāladēva, <i>Bastar ch</i> , . . . . .	164, 166, 166
dikṣita (dikṣit), . . . . .	106, 107, 116, 116, 117, 119
Dindavānapanagara, <i>s. a.</i> Didwāna, . . . . .	107n
dināra, <i>coin</i> , . . . . .	290
Dundigul, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	86
Dindvānaka-sthāna, <i>s. a.</i> Dēpēdvānaka, . . . . .	107, 116
dipapūjā, . . . . .	95
Dipavāha, <i>quoted</i> , . . . . .	248n
Dipavāmi, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	268
dīṭham (dīṣṭam), . . . . .	268, 270n
ditya, . . . . .	299
Divākara, <i>Jaina teacher</i> , . . . . .	56
Divākara, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	119, 189
Divān tank, . . . . .	123, 125
Domma, <i>ch</i> , . . . . .	185
Dōṇḍā, <i>s. a.</i> Dūṇḍā, . . . . .	342, 344, 345
Dōṅgar, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	160, 161, 166
Doorga Poojah, . . . . .	177n
dōha, . . . . .	265n
Drākṣhārāma, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	182, 183
draṇḍika, . . . . .	5
Draṇḍiya, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	6
dramma, <i>coin</i> , . . . . .	25, 40, 63, 67
Draviḍa, <i>co</i> , . . . . .	205n
Dvijahagura, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	192
Drōpaṅga, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	171
Duba-cheruvu, <i>tanḥ</i> , . . . . .	56
Dudhpani, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	287

	PAGE
Dudā, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	268
Duhāana, <i>Epic warrior</i> , . . . . .	285
Dupā, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	344
Durgā, <i>goddess</i> , . . . . .	165n, 189, 237
Durga, <i>s. a.</i> Durgārka, . . . . .	12
Durgagana, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	188
Durgarāja, <i>ch</i> , . . . . .	49, 50, 56
Durgārka (Durgāditya), <i>m</i> , . . . . .	12
Durjaya, <i>Kakatiya k</i> , . . . . .	165, 259, 260
Durjaya-kula, <i>s. a.</i> Chāga, . . . . .	260n, 262n
Darlabbadēvi, <i>queen of Kakka</i> , . . . . .	290
Darlabharāja, <i>ch</i> , . . . . .	11
dāta or dātaka, . . . . .	64, 107, 113n, 119, 272, 274, 300, 345
davagga (dvārḡa), . . . . .	59n
Dvandvānakavya, <i>quoted</i> , . . . . .	206n
dvivēda, . . . . .	106, 116, 117, 119

## E

eclipse, lunar, . . . . .	95, 105, 106, 201, 206, 304
eclipse, solar, . . . . .	95, 96, 101, 102, 120, 163, 167, 170
Edamap, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	234
Edovelai(-vishaya), <i>di</i> , . . . . .	16
Ekāmramātha, <i>te</i> , . . . . .	164n
Ekāṣṭhānagara or Ekāṣṭhānagari, <i>s. a.</i> Waran-gal, . . . . .	165, 257
Ekāvali, <i>quoted</i> , . . . . .	113n, 114n, 115n, 263n
Eklingī, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	180n
Elamēti, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	99, 101
Elavayra, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	132, 133, 135n
Ellore, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	58
Elurā, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	26
Eluru or Elūra, <i>s. a.</i> Ellore, . . . . .	58, 59
Elvānsār, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	209, 210, 213, 217
Erannobosa, <i>s. a.</i> Hirapayāha, . . . . .	343
eras :—	
Chāḷukya-Vikrama, . . . . .	255, 259, 260, 261, 266
Gāṅḍya-samvat, . . . . .	95
Gupta (or Gaupṭa), . . . . .	4, 235, 285, 287, 288, 342, 343, 345
Gupta-Valabhi, . . . . .	1, 2, 4
Harsha, . . . . .	235, 236, 289, 290
Hijra, . . . . .	306, 308
Kalachuri (Chāḍi), . . . . .	129, 130, 166, 167, 169, 170, 184, 294, 296, 300, 321
Kaliyaga, . . . . .	129, 130, 217
Kollam, . . . . .	234, 235, 237
Laṅkika-samvat, . . . . .	200, 201, 203



	PAGE
Ghazni- or Ghizni-Khān I <i>Fārāqī k.</i> , 307, 308n, 309, 310	
Ghazni-Khān II, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	307, 310
Ghoraghāt, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	181n
Ghughaka, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	192
Ghughī, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	816
Ghumara, <i>the falls of Indravati.</i> , . . . . .	179
Girnār, <i>mo.</i> , . . . . .	4
Godarpura, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	117
Gōdāvari, <i>ri.</i> , . . . . .	160, 170
Gōggā, <i>f.</i> , . . . . .	296, 299
Gōvindarasa, <i>s. a. Gōvinda III.</i> , . . . . .	16
gōkarna, . . . . .	303
gōkula, . . . . .	303
Gollan-gunṭha, <i>pond.</i> , . . . . .	56
Gōmādhītāl, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	286
Gōmibhāṭa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	290
Gōmidēvasāmi, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	288
Gōmika, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	192
Gōmivāmi, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	288
Gond tribe, . . . . .	43, 811
Gondwana (Central Provinces), <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	124n
Gonika or Gonkaya I, <i>Velandāṭu ch.</i> , . . . . .	261n
Gonka II, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	261
Gonka or Kulōtunga-Chōḍa-Gonka III, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	261, 262n
Gōpāditya, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	300
Gōpāḷasāmi, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	287, 288
Gōsala, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	116, 153
Gōsaladēvi, <i>queen of Gōvindahandra.</i> , . . . . .	321
gōsani (gōsanga), . . . . .	22n
Gōśi, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	106, 116, 119
Gōśaka, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	106n, 119
gōśhī, . . . . .	189, 191
gōśhika, . . . . .	188
gōtra, <i>a family.</i> , . . . . .	132
gōtras —	
Audalya, . . . . .	115
Babhura (Babhrū), . . . . .	59
Bharadvāja or Bhāradvāja, 115, 116, 119, 195, 342, 345	
Bhāgrava, . . . . .	116, 119
Dhaumya, . . . . .	116
Gutama, . . . . .	116, 119, 296, 299
Ghrita-Kausika, . . . . .	170
Harita-Kutas, . . . . .	116
Kāśyapa, 115, 116, 161, 206, 312, 315, 316, 431	
Kāśhyana, . . . . .	115
Kausika, . . . . .	172, 282, 284
Kausa, . . . . .	116

	PAGE
Lakṣmīpāṇi, . . . . .	25, 40
Mānavya, . . . . .	183, 204, 319
Mārkaṇḍēya, . . . . .	116
Mudgala, . . . . .	116
Parāsara or Pāṭisara, . . . . .	116, 116
Parāvasu, . . . . .	116
Pavitra, . . . . .	115
Śāṇḍilya, . . . . .	28, 116
Vasishṭha or Vāseṣṭha, 102, 116, 132, 262, 303	
Vata, . . . . .	71n, 116
Vishpuvridha, . . . . .	270
Upamanya, Upamanayava, or Aupatna-nyava, . . . . .	274, 276n
Gōvardhana, <i>k. (P).</i> , . . . . .	40, 194
Gōvardhana, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	181
Gōvardhana, <i>mo.</i> , . . . . .	40, 194, 255
Gōvāsa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	6
Gōvinda, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	117, 169, 170
Gōvinda or Gōvindadandēsa, <i>s. a. Gōvindarasa.</i> , 261	
Gōvinda or Gōvindarāja I, <i>Rākṣtrakūṭa k.</i> , . . . . .	193
Gōvinda or Gōvindarāja II, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	26, 193, 194
Gōvinda or Gōvindarāja III, <i>do.</i> , 15, 16, 17, 26, 28, 42, 195, 261	
Gōvindahandra, <i>Kanauj k.</i> , 291n, 320, 321, 322, 323, 327	
Gōvindahandra (Gōvindahandra), <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	231, 263
Gōvindapātra, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	316
Gōvindarāja, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	165
Gōvindarasa or Gōvindarāja, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	261
grāmapatra, . . . . .	169n
Grāmārdhanāśbhēṣvara, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	209, 210, 213, 217
grāmāṭikā, <i>a small village.</i> , . . . . .	50
gribaveṭaka, . . . . .	316
Guḍimallam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	92n
Guḍimallār, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	224, 231
Guhāvihār, . . . . .	146
Guhila, <i>family.</i> , . . . . .	143, 149, 188
Gujarāt, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	42, 231n, 278, 310n, 348
Gujarāt-Rākṣtrakūṭa, <i>family.</i> , . . . . .	3, 39
Gujarātī, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	278
Gumār, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	272, 273, 274, 275, 276n
Gupachandra, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	154
Gupadēvi, <i>f.</i> , . . . . .	153
Gupaga, <i>sur of Vijayāditya III.</i> , . . . . .	134
Gupakonalla, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	50
Gupamahārāva, <i>E. Gaiga k.</i> , . . . . .	95
Gupasāgara, <i>Alupa k.</i> , . . . . .	16, 17
Gupḍa, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	165, 261
Gupḍa-Mahādēvi, <i>queen of Dhāravaraha.</i> , 161, 179, 311, 312, 313	

	PAGE
<i>Velandaia quera</i> , . . . . .	261n
<i>weight</i> , . . . . .	176n
<i>dy</i> , . . . . .	246, 248, 286, 319, 342n, 343
<i>pydgaru</i> , . . . . .	70
<i>tyan, co</i> , . . . . .	27, 89, 71, 72, 73, 105, 114, 121
<i>Gujaratrā (Gurjaratrā), s a Gujaratrā</i> , . . . . .	277, 278
<i>urba, vi</i> , . . . . .	250
<i>re</i> , . . . . .	63, 99, 107, 153, 164
<i>draka I., Chāḍamda k. of Śākambharī</i> , . . . . .	62, 251
<i>valur, vi</i> , . . . . .	26n, 249

H

<i>ladāḥ, vi</i> , . . . . .	4 and 11
<i>ladāḥma, vi</i> , . . . . .	300 and
<i>ladāya, family</i> , . . . . .	184, 293, 294, 295
<i>ladaya, s a Kalacī vi</i> , . . . . .	27, 29
<i>id</i> , . . . . .	175
<i>ladātūr, vi</i> , . . . . .	312 and 111
<i>Halyudra, lexicographer</i> , . . . . .	
<i>Hala (Hālā), tribe</i> , . . . . .	14n, 189, 184n
<i>Hamaḍāra, Buxar ch</i> , . . . . .	165
<i>Hamaḍāra, f</i> , . . . . .	159
<i>Hama-sanghātama</i> , . . . . .	116
<i>hapa, covm</i> , . . . . .	267n
<i>Hapa, princess</i> , . . . . .	140, 141
<i>Havunkopā, s a Aumakopā</i> , . . . . .	265, 267n, 268n
<i>Hava, s a Riva</i> , . . . . .	27, 74, 75
<i>Havagya, ch</i> , . . . . .	149
<i>Havavāla, vi</i> , . . . . .	107
<i>Havapaya, quoted</i> , . . . . .	115n
<i>Havi, m</i> , . . . . .	6, 12, 117
<i>Havi, s a Vishnu</i> , . . . . .	1, 19, 40, 153, 250, 256, 257
<i>Harebandra, founder of the Prasthāra family</i> , . . . . .	279
<i>Hariḍhara, m</i> , . . . . .	117
<i>Hari Gupta, m</i> , . . . . .	192
<i>Harihar, vi</i> , . . . . .	16
<i>Hariharman, m</i> , . . . . .	119
<i>Hariśchandra, mythical k</i> , . . . . .	216, 216
<i>Hariśchandra or Hariśchandraśāva, Parāśara k</i> , . . . . .	105, 116, 121
<i>Hariśrām, m</i> , . . . . .	342, 345
<i>Haritputra, Haritputra or Haritputra</i> , . . . . .	133, 204, 219
<i>Harivamśa-purāṇa</i> , . . . . .	2, 19
<i>Harmand, vi</i> , . . . . .	102
<i>Hareś k</i> , . . . . .	62, 8, 2, 1
<i>Hareś m</i> , . . . . .	25, 261
<i>Harshacharita</i> , . . . . .	201

	PAGE
<i>Harehādāra, m</i> , . . . . .	119
<i>Harehavadhana, Kanak, k 1</i> , . . . . .	201, 205, 286, 289
<i>Harega, m</i> , . . . . .	284
<i>Hareṇ Khān, Fārūqī prince</i> , . . . . .	307, 308, 309, 310
<i>Hastikundī, vi</i> , . . . . .	71, 83n
<i>Hastinapura, s a Hastinapura</i> , . . . . .	107, 116n, 116
<i>Hāthamo, vi</i> , . . . . .	72
<i>Hathinavara, vi</i> , . . . . .	107
<i>Hāt-kōngōrā, vi</i> , . . . . .	168
<i>haṭṭa</i> , . . . . .	279
<i>Havurā, m</i> , . . . . .	141
<i>Hebbill, vi</i> , . . . . .	201
<i>Hebur, vi</i> , . . . . .	201
<i>Himachandra</i> , . . . . .	207, 220
<i>Hima, P. d. d. c</i> , . . . . .	182
<i>Himamji, vi</i> , . . . . .	81
<i>Hichaurji or Hēhaurji, s a Hetamji</i> , . . . . .	80, 81
<i>Himālaya, mo</i> , . . . . .	26n, 61, 189n
<i>Himāyuta, m</i> , . . . . .	316
<i>Himā s a Himalaya</i> , . . . . .	71n, 89
<i>Hirahadagali, vi</i> , . . . . .	57, 268
<i>Hirayavāha or Hirayavahin, s a Rōn</i> , . . . . .	24
<i>Hind nagar-Gharākōṭā, vi</i> , . . . . .	169n
<i>Hindū-Shah, Bhandā cā</i> , . . . . .	169n
<i>Hitōpadeśa</i> , . . . . .	
<i>Huen Tsang</i> , . . . . .	2, 201
<i>hōra or hō-aka, d</i> , . . . . .	140, 141
<i>Hotūr, m</i> , . . . . .	163n
<i>Huy via f. n. i</i> , . . . . .	179n
<i>Hameha, vi</i> , . . . . .	16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23
<i>Hūpa, family</i> , . . . . .	2, 3
<i>Havashka, s a Haviashka</i> , . . . . .	244n
<i>Haviashka or Haviashka, Kusāna k</i> , . . . . .	244, 245, 291

I

<i>Ibrāhīm Shāh, ch</i> , . . . . .	202n
<i>Iḍadural, s a Yedatara</i> , . . . . .	230, 232
<i>Iḍaiyāman, s a Eḍaman</i> , . . . . .	230, 230
<i>Iḍaiyān</i> , . . . . .	235, 236, 236
<i>Iḍavai, vi</i> , . . . . .	24, 27, 28
<i>Iḍikkār, Fārūqī prince</i> , . . . . .	210
<i>Iḍhāka, mythical k</i> , . . . . .	260
<i>Iḍā, s a Yāḍā</i> , . . . . .	231n
<i>Ilam or Ilam n. d. s a Ceylon</i> , . . . . .	214, 230, 232
<i>Ilam k. n. d. o   g'y k. s a Amb</i> , . . . . .	
<i>modram</i> , . . . . .	
<i>Imam Nūr Ab ul</i> , . . . . .	
<i>Immaḍi Bhauram-Odeyar, Kalas</i> , . . . . .	
<i>cā</i> , . . . . .	

	PAGE
Immaḍi-Nṛsiṁha, <i>Sāḥwa k.</i> , . . . . .	330n
Indian Museum, . . . . .	285n, 287, 289
Indra, <i>god</i> , 40, 114, 115n, 118, 161, 206n, 230, . . . . .	233, 284, 299, 340
Indra II., <i>Edāprabāṭa k.</i> , . . . . .	196
Indra or Indrarāja III., <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	24, 25, 26, 27,
38, 29, 38, 40, 41, 194n	
Indrarāja, <i>H Chalukya k.</i> , . . . . .	55, 133
Indrarāja, <i>s. a.</i> Indrāyudha, . . . . .	4
Indraratha, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	230, 233
Indrasthāna, <i>s. a.</i> Delhi, . . . . .	304
Indravarman, <i>E. Gaṅga k.</i> , . . . . .	42, 95
Indrāvati, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	161, 178, 179, 311
Indrāyudha, <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	4, 26
Iravi-Parasudavaṇ, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	239
Iron valley, . . . . .	43
Īśāna, <i>s. a.</i> Śiva, . . . . .	63
Isuva, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	6
Īśvara, <i>s. a.</i> Śiva, . . . . .	226
Īśvara, <i>Tuḥwa ch.</i> , . . . . .	340
I-tsing, . . . . .	190
Īttampāṭṭu, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	331, 341

## J

Jābālipura, <i>s. a.</i> Jāvālipura, . . . . .	73n
Jabalpur, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	73n, 107, 134n
Jāharpa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	193
Jagadāla-Mummaḍi, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	259n
Jagaddēva, <i>Sāntara ch.</i> , . . . . .	165, 261
Jagadēkabhūṣaṇa-Mahārāja, <i>sur. of</i> Bōmāśa- varadēva II., . . . . .	163n
Jagadēkamalla II., <i>W. Chalukya k.</i> , 258n, 261, 262	
Jagadēśvarādēva, <i>Bastar ch.</i> , . . . . .	165, 166
Jagannātha or Jagannāthapurī, <i>s. a.</i> Purī, 43, 134	
Jagadīśvarin, <i>sur. of</i> Prōla, . . . . .	165, 260
Jagattūṅga, <i>Rāṣṭraprāḍa prince</i> , . . . . .	27, 28, 29
Jagattūṅga, <i>sur. of</i> Gōvinda III., . . . . .	26, 29, 255n
Jagdālpur, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	160, 161, 173, 259n, 311
Jaggatī, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	316
Jaggayyapēta, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	50
Jahlaṇa, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	27
Jaina, 26, 43, 63, 67, 71, 92n, 139, 146, 163, . . . . .	155n, 199, 230, 231, 267, 265n, 266, 277
Jāhika, <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	4
Jaiṣarṇ, <i>s. a.</i> Jēṣṭh, . . . . .	167, 168, 180
Jaitarāja, <i>Kāḥara ch.</i> , . . . . .	124, 127, 133
Jaitrasimha, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	118n
Jaitrasimha, <i>s. a.</i> Jayantasimha, . . . . .	118n, 121

Jaitugidēva, <i>Paramāra k.</i> , . . . . .	103, 108, 118, 119
Jaitugidēva, <i>Śūdra k.</i> , . . . . .	119
Jājalladēva, <i>Ratnapura ch.</i> , . . . . .	43n, 3
Jajhaṇṭi, <i>s. a.</i> Jēṣṭhukṭi, . . . . .	36
Jajjaka, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	6, 10
Jajjapa, <i>Hūna k.</i> , . . . . .	2
Jālor, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	62n, 7
Jambai, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	21
Jambukēśvara, <i>ts.</i> , . . . . .	216,
Jambukī, <i>f.</i> , . . . . .	230, 3
Jambunātha, <i>ts.</i> , . . . . .	
Jamna, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	31
Jamvuvāmi, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	2
Janārdana, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	117, 1
Jāṅgī, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	16
Jaśodēva, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	1
Jaśadhavala, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	3
Jaśōdhara, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	1
Jaśwantapura, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	
Jaśavarman Kuladēkhara, <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> , . . . . .	
Jaśavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	226, 1
Jaśavarman Sundara-Chōḷa Pāṇḍya, <i>Chōḷa- Pāṇḍya k.</i> , . . . . .	
Jaśavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I., <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> , . . . . .	227,
Jaśavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II., <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	
Jaśilavarman, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	
Jaśilavarman (Śaḍaiyaṇ), <i>sur. of Pāṇḍya kings</i> , . . . . .	
Jaśilavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya Arikkēaridēva, <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> , . . . . .	
Jaśilavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya Kuladēkhara, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	
Jaśilavarman Śrīvallabha, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	
Jaśilavarman Śrīvallabha Ativraṭama, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	
Javalakūṭaka, <i>s. a.</i> Jōḷa, . . . . .	23, 29,
Jāvālipura, <i>s. a.</i> Jālor, . . . . .	62n, 73, 73,
Jayāditya, <i>grammarian</i> , . . . . .	
Jayādityadēva II., <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	
Jayakṭēṇ I., <i>Kāḍamba k.</i> , . . . . .	
Jayamahāgala, <i>Jaina teacher</i> , . . . . .	
Jāyana, <i>Ayya ch.</i> , . . . . .	
Jayanātha, <i>Ucchakalpa ch.</i> , . . . . .	
Jayabōṇḍa-Chōḷa-maṇḍala, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	231,
Jayantasimha, <i>Chalukya k.</i> , . . . . .	
Jayantasimha, <i>s. a.</i> Jaitrasimha, . . . . .	
Jayanṭi, . . . . .	
Jayapura, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	
Jagasthha, <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	200
Jayasthha I., <i>K. Chalukya k.</i> , . . . . .	66



	PAGE		PAGE
Jayasmṛha II, <i>E Chakṛkya k.</i> , . . .	55, 183	Juṇḡgudh, vi, . . .	4
Jayasmṛha, <i>s. a. Jayantasimha</i> , 105, 114, 118n, 120		Jupiter cycle, . . .	138
Jayasmṛha, <i>sur of Siddhārtha</i> , . . .	72	Jupiter, planet, . . .	285, 287
Jayasmṛha II, <i>W Chakṛkya k.</i> , . . .	280, 288	Jyēshṭhasvatī, m., . . .	288
Jayasmṛhadēva, <i>Bastar ch.</i> , . . .	165		
Jayasmṛhadēva, <i>Nāgavanṣī k.</i> , . . .	163, 164		
Jayasmṛgha, m., . . .	274		
Jayasmṛghadēva, <i>k.</i> , . . .	118		
Jāyavall, <i>f.</i> , . . .	199		
Jayavardhana I., <i>Sāilavamśa k.</i> , . . .	42, 46		
Jayavardhana II., <i>do.</i> , . . .	41, 42, 44, 46, 47		
Jayavarman II. or Jayavarmadēva, <i>Para-</i>			
<i>māra k.</i> , . . .	103, 117, 118, 119		
Jābhuktī, <i>s. a. Bundeikhand</i> , . . .	284n and add.		
Jāja, <i>Rākṣapṛakṣa k.</i> , . . .	250, 251, 252, 255		
Jāhā or Jāhāka, m., . . .	153, 154, 157n		
Jendrarāj, <i>Chākhamaṇa k. of Naddāla</i> , 64,			
	67, 72, 83		
Jiprā, vi, . . .	168		
Jesalmēr, <i>State</i> , . . .	278		
Jhalla, m., . . .	6		
Jowa, . . .	85		
Jhātrāpān, vi., . . .	60 and add., 198		
Jhōṭa, <i>Pratidhā ch.</i> , . . .	280		
jihvāmālīya, . . .	48, 171, 188		
Jimṭavāhana, <i>mythical k.</i> , . . .	114n		
Jina, <i>god</i> , . . .	49, 50, 56, 64, 67, 281, 280, 282		
Jinabhadra, m., . . .	118n		
Jinandin, <i>Jaina teacher</i> , . . .	58		
Jinaprabhasūri, <i>Jaina author</i> , . . .	149		
Jinśeṇa, <i>do.</i> , . . .	205n		
Jindarāja, <i>s. a. Jendrarāja</i> , . . .	73, 80, 93		
Jinśeṇa, <i>s. a. Jina</i> , . . .	55, 258, 265		
Jinśendrabuddhi, <i>author</i> , . . .	190		
Jinapāla, m., . . .	70		
Jināraṇi, m., . . .	70		
Jānāchandra, <i>Jaina teacher</i> , . . .	154		
Jānāśakti, <i>Saiva teacher</i> , . . .	180		
Jānāśrīyōdaya, <i>Jaina work</i> , . . .	154n		
Jānāśvara, m., . . .	200		
Jānāśvartī, <i>commentary on Bhagavadgītā</i> , . . .	200		
Jōdhā, <i>k.</i> , . . .	278n		
Jōdhpur, <i>State</i> , . . .	4n		
Jōdhpur, vi., . . .	72, 74, 180n, 198, 277, 278, 279		
jōrīnī, . . .	178, 181		
Jōjāla or Jōjāla, <i>Chākhamaṇa k. of Naddāla</i> , 64, 72, 83, 158, 159			
Jōṭna, vi., . . .	20		
Jōṭhōhārya, m., . . .	183		
Jubbulpore, vi., . . .	243		
Kachāndur, vi, . . .	283		
Kadalālāya, <i>Jaina goddess</i> , . . .	267		
Kadalālāya-basadi, <i>to</i> , . . .	259, 266		
Kādamba, <i>family</i> , . . .	273a		
Kādamba, <i>do.</i> , . . .	15		
Kādamba-maṇḍala, <i>s. a. Vanavān</i> , . . .	16		
Kādām, vi, . . .	281		
kadeyārāya, <i>s. a. kaṭakārāya</i> , . . .	50		
kādī, <i>measure</i> , . . .	89n		
Kadphese, <i>k.</i> , . . .	140		
Kaikar, <i>s. a. Kanker</i> , . . .	124n		
Kailāsa, <i>mo.</i> , . . .	88, 42, 46		
Kāṭigōda, vi., . . .	42		
Kaiser (Qaisar) Khān, <i>Fārūqī prince</i> , . . .	307,		
	308, 309, 310		
Kākaira, <i>s. a. Kanker</i> , 124, 125, 127, 128, 167,			
	168, 182, 183, 184, 187		
Kākati, <i>family</i> , . . .	262n		
Kākati, <i>goddess</i> , . . .	165n		
Kākati or Kākati, <i>s. a. Kākatiya</i> , . . .	165, 258,		
	259, 265, 266		
Kākatiya or Kākatiya, <i>family</i> , . . .	161, 164,		
	165, 256, 257 and add., 258, 259, 260, 262n, 266		
Kākōr, <i>s. a. Kanker</i> , . . .	124n		
Kaklaka, m., . . .	192		
Kakṭa, <i>Pratidhā ch.</i> , . . .	278n, 279		
Kakṭarāja I., <i>Rākṣapṛakṣa k.</i> , . . .	194		
Kakṭarāja II, <i>do.</i> , . . .	8n		
Kakṭuka, <i>Pratidhā ch.</i> , . . .	277, 278, 279		
Kalabha, <i>co.</i> , . . .	205, 206		
Kalāchuri, <i>dy.</i> , . . .	3, 27		
Kālāhandī, vi., . . .	180n, 184n		
kalān, <i>measure</i> , . . .	89, 92, 93		
Kalamba, vi., . . .	163		
kaṭajāya, . . .	89n, 238		
Kalasa or Kalasa, vi., . . .	16, 174		

	PAGE		PAGE
Kalūṅganagara, <i>s. a.</i> Mukhalīngam, . . .	42, 95	Kaneshka, <i>s. a.</i> Kapishka, . . .	241
Kalūṅgarāja, <i>Kalachuri</i> ch., . . .	294	Kānhada, <i>m.</i> , . . .	117, 119
Kalūṅga, the three, . . .	95	Kānhadādēva, <i>Chāhamāna</i> k. of <i>Nadāla</i> , . . .	82, 83, 183
Kalūṅgattu-Parappi, <i>Tamil poem</i> , . . .	170n, 322	Kānhadādēva, <i>Paramāra</i> k., . . .	161
Kalvaṅkaba-Narēndradēva, <i>sur</i> of <i>Dhruva</i> , . . .	195	Kanbaka, <i>m.</i> , . . .	6
Kalla, <i>Chāḍuka</i> ch., . . .	2	Kanharadēva, <i>Nagavarmā</i> k., . . .	161, 163, 164, 312, 316
Kallīvaṅ, <i>s. a.</i> Kalavāna, . . .	293, 294	Kanharadēva, <i>m.</i> , . . .	316
Kalūṅkabhūrichchi, <i>m.</i> , . . .	84	Kanishka or Kānishka, <i>Kushana</i> k., . . .	140, 239, 240, 241, 291
Kallikūḷam, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	331, 341	kanishtha (kanishtha), . . .	140, 143
Kāltide, <i>m.</i> , . . .	18	kaṭkaṭa, <i>a boundary</i> , . . .	105, 123
Kalaelumbargu, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	49	Kanker, <i>m.</i> , . . .	123, 124, 128, 129, 168, 167, 168, 169n, 176, 183, 184n, 185
Kalāṭi, <i>m.</i> , . . .	140, 143	Kanpachi, <i>m.</i> , . . .	21
Kalvakkuru, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	50, 56	Kan-nivāṇ, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	188
Kalyāna, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	261n	Kanṭhika-Bhūti, <i>s. a.</i> Vijayaditya V, . . .	49
Kalyānakalaka, <i>sur</i> of <i>Nētrībhaṣya</i> , . . .	273, 275n	Kanṭhikā-Vijayaditya, <i>du.</i> , . . .	49, 56
Kalyāṇpuranātha, <i>biruda</i> , . . .	330	Kaṭakūḷya, <i>s. a.</i> Kannauj, . . .	304, 321
kāma, . . .	113n, 340	kapardikā, <i>a rowery</i> , . . .	126n
Kāmakōḍa, <i>m.</i> , . . .	19	Kapardīvara, <i>te.</i> , . . .	211
Kamalakādali, <i>banner</i> , . . .	181, 313	Kapilā, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	119, 120
Kamma, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	243	Kapila Sangam, . . .	120
Kamandakiyanthiara, <i>quoted</i> , . . .	212n	Karavali, <i>du.</i> , . . .	231, 233
Kāmārpava II., <i>E Ganga</i> k., . . .	95	karambam (karambu), <i>sterile ground</i> , . . .	267n
Kāmarūpa, <i>co.</i> , . . .	178	karapa, . . .	181, 316
Kambay, <i>Tamil poet</i> , . . .	92n	karana-kūṭṭiyam, . . .	313
Kammāka-rāshṭra or Kamma-rāshṭra, <i>s. a.</i> . . .		karapas —	
Kamma-nāṇḍu, . . .	50	Gara, . . .	176, 181
Kammāka-rāshṭra, <i>s. a.</i> Kammāka-rāshṭra, . . .	50	Vapiya, . . .	309
Kamma-nāṇḍu, <i>du.</i> , . . .	50, 56	kārpaka, . . .	189
Kammapiya, <i>s. a.</i> Kāmrej, . . .	28, 29, 40	Karṇāḍ, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	27, 28, 194
Kāmrej, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	29	Karna, <i>s. a.</i> Kharidr, . . .	171
Kamha, <i>demon</i> , . . .	88, 113, 255	Karikkha, <i>sur</i> of <i>Aditya</i> II., . . .	84
Kāmūḷ, <i>m.</i> , . . .	140, 143	Karikāla-Chōla, <i>mythical Chōla</i> k., . . .	260
Kanakāchala, <i>fort</i> , . . .	73	Kārtakāli, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	269n
Kānasuvam, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	67	Kariyamāṇikka-Perumāl, <i>te.</i> , . . .	236
Kanauj, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	1, 3, 4, 26, 27, 28, 130, 291n, 320, 321	Karka, <i>Bakṣṭrakṣa</i> ch., . . .	26
Kanaujya, <i>sect</i> of <i>Brahmanas</i> , . . .	304	Kārkala, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	16, 174
Kapavrikā, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	2, 3, 4	Karkarāja, <i>Bakṣṭrakṣa</i> k., . . .	260, 251, 255
Kāṭobana-gaṭha, <i>s. a.</i> Kanakchala, . . .	73	Karva, <i>Chāḍuka</i> k., . . .	72, 83n
Kāṭohi or Kāṭohīpura, <i>s. a.</i> Conjeevaram, . . .	26, 39, 165, 178, 201, 202, 205, 206, 209, 260, 341	Karva, <i>Karpadēva</i> or <i>Karparāja</i> , <i>Kāṭava</i> ch., . . .	183, 183, 184, 185, 187
Kāṭohīpuravarādībāvara, <i>biruda</i> , . . .	330	Karva, <i>Kalachuri</i> k., . . .	2, 321, 323
Kandamāmbā, <i>f.</i> , . . .	132	Karvāṇa, <i>co.</i> , . . .	260, 261, 255, 340
Kanḍap-Dhondarag, <i>m.</i> , . . .	239	Karvāṇa, <i>s. a.</i> Bakṣṭrakṣa, . . .	2, 3
Kandapāṭika, . . .	236n	Karvāṇa, <i>sur</i> of <i>Karvāṇa</i> , <i>te.</i> , . . .	182
Kandrupa, <i>Cupid</i> , . . .	40	Karvāṇamāṇjari, <i>quoted</i> , . . .	4
Kandh, <i>tribe</i> , . . .	184n	Kartukēya, <i>god</i> , . . .	161, 204, 205 and add.
Kapḍ yūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	231		
Kandirōḍava-Chōḷa, <i>ch.</i> , . . .	262n		
Kandhar, <i>s. a.</i> Karvāṇa, . . .	182		

	PAGE		PAGE
Kārtiki, <i>zithi</i> , . . . . .	47	Kerāḍu, <i>vs.</i> , . . . . .	72
Karūr or Karuvūr, <i>vs.</i> , . . . . .	231n	Kēraja, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	101n, 178, 201, 205, 206, 230, 233
Karuvai, <i>s a</i> Karūr, . . . . .	231n	Kēralavarmān II, <i>Vēnāḍu k.</i> , . . . . .	234n
Kāsadrām, <i>s a</i> Kāyadrām, . . . . .	159	Kēramayuka or Kēramayuka, <i>s a</i> Kōḍuśalnār,	162, 163
Kāśhrada, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	72, 73, 159	Kēśava, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	117, 167, 169, 170, 274
Kāśhrada, <i>s a</i> Kāsandra, . . . . .	73	Kēśava, <i>s a</i> Viśhnu, . . . . .	182, 185, 187
Kāsandra or Kāśandhra, <i>vs.</i> , . . . . .	73	Kōta II, <i>Amarāvati ch.</i> , . . . . .	262n
Kāshmir, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	301	Kōyūravārsha, <i>sur. of</i> Yuvarāja I, . . . . .	3
Kāśi, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	46	Kūhadikā, <i>s a</i> Khadi, . . . . .	42, 43, 47
Kāśi, <i>s a</i> Bonares, . . . . .	42, 46, 304	Khaḍḡāvalōka, <i>sur of</i> Dantidurga, . . . . .	251n
Kāśilāvṛttii, . . . . .	190	Khadi, <i>vs.</i> , . . . . .	48
Kāśu, . . . . .	86, 89, 91, 92, 98n, 238	khaḍḡa, . . . . .	146
Kāśachchūrī, <i>s a</i> Kalachūrī, . . . . .	296, 299	khaḍḡrikā, . . . . .	146
Kāśha, <i>s a</i> Kāḍḡram, . . . . .	231	Khaharāta (Kshaharāta), <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	139
Kāśakāśharana-Jinālaya, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	49, 56	Khajjuri-bandha, <i>tank.</i> , . . . . .	161
kaśakādhīpati, kaśakādhīśa or kaśakōśa, <i>s a</i>		Khakharāta, <i>s a</i> Khaharāta, . . . . .	139n
kaśakurāja, . . . . .	49, 50, 56	Khalama or Khalamasa, <i>prince.</i> , . . . . .	140, 143
kaśakurāja, <i>a superintendent of the royal</i>		Khalasamśo, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	140, 145
camp, . . . . .	49, 50, 56, 133	khalula, . . . . .	146
Katangi, <i>vs.</i> , . . . . .	43	Khumba, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	274
Katera, <i>vs.</i> , . . . . .	43	Khun, <i>title.</i> , . . . . .	306
Kāṭṭrakā, <i>s a</i> Katera, . . . . .	42, 43, 47	Kbāndāśh, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	306, 310
Kāṭṭhāwād or Kāṭṭhāwār, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	4, 28, 195, 343	Khān Jahān, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	308n
Kāṭṭuka, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	117	Kharamōṣṭa, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	139
kaṭṭumukhavāditra, <i>musical instrument.</i> , . . . . .	206	Kharaṣṭa, <i>Sutrap.</i> , . . . . .	139, 140, 141, 143, 147
Kāṭṭyāni, <i>s a</i> Purvatī, . . . . .	168	Khaśpalluna, <i>Kshatrapa ch.</i> , . . . . .	139
kauḍi or kauḍika, <i>s a</i> kapurdikā, . . . . .	125	Kharatara-gaohobha, <i>school of</i> Jaina teachers, . . . . .	149
kauḍika, . . . . .	125n	Kharda, <i>vs.</i> , . . . . .	3n
Kauḍika-bandha, <i>tank.</i> , . . . . .	125 and add, 128	Khardas, <i>Sutrap.</i> , . . . . .	140, 147
Kauḍinya, <i>sur of</i> (?) Rachhila, . . . . .	147	Khāreṇāṭṭa, <i>vs.</i> , . . . . .	28
Kaurava, <i>s a</i> Kuwar, . . . . .	298n	Khaṇāt, <i>vs.</i> , . . . . .	170, 172, 282 and add, 288 and add
Kausalyā, <i>queen of</i> Daśaratha, . . . . .	340	Khajjuri-bandha, <i>tank.</i> , . . . . .	312, 313, 316
Kausikī, . . . . .	138	Kharpna, <i>Buddhist preacher.</i> , . . . . .	245
Kaustubha, <i>gem.</i> , . . . . .	88	khaṭvānga-dhvaja, . . . . .	206
Kavra, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	205	Khēḍa, <i>s a</i> Kher, . . . . .	73
Kāvēri (Cauvery), <i>vs.</i> , . . . . .	87, 340	Kher, <i>vs.</i> , . . . . .	73
Kavillāḍa, <i>vs.</i> , . . . . .	67	Kherārū, <i>vs.</i> , . . . . .	72n
Kāvyaprakāśa, <i>quoted.</i> , . . . . .	114n	Khilaku, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	192
Kāwadgaon, <i>vs.</i> , . . . . .	175	Khimel Mātā, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	188, 189, 191
Kawar, <i>tribe.</i> , . . . . .	294, 295, 296	Khizr Khān, <i>Fārāḡi k.</i> , . . . . .	310
Kāyadrām, <i>vs.</i> , . . . . .	159	Khond, <i>tribe.</i> , . . . . .	176, 177
Kāyastha, . . . . .	68, 161	Kigga, <i>vs.</i> , . . . . .	16, 17
kāyakkaj, . . . . .	92	Kilāḍi, <i>vs.</i> , . . . . .	223, 224
Kēkd, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	119	Kilappērār, <i>vs.</i> , . . . . .	254
Kejaya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	20n	Kilavēmbu-nāḍu, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	331, 341
Kēlhapa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	117	kilṭu, . . . . .	235, 237, 238, 239n
Kēlhapa or Kēlhapaśva, <i>Chāḍamāna k. of</i>		Kilār, <i>vs.</i> , . . . . .	89n
Naddāla, . . . . .	67, 68n, 72, 83	Kirāṇapura, <i>vs.</i> , . . . . .	48, 49, 56, 56
kēli, <i>the earth.</i> , . . . . .	71	Kirāṇakṛpa, <i>s a</i> Kerāḍu, . . . . .	72n
Kēndūr, <i>vs.</i> , . . . . .	200, 201		S A 2

	PAGE
Kirāṭakūṭa, <i>s. a.</i> Kēṛāṭu, . . . . .	72
Kirtikaumudi, <i>quoted</i> , . . . . .	62n
Kirti-Nārāyaṇa, <i>sur. of</i> Indra III, . . . . .	27, 40
Kirupāla, <i>Chāḍaśākhā k of</i> Naddāla, 66, 67, . . . . .	68, 72, 73, 80, 83
Kirtivarman I., <i>W. Chalukya k.</i> , . . . . .	99, 101, 201, 204, 317, 319
Kirtivarman II., <i>do</i> , . . . . .	102, 200, 301, 203, 206
Kisumabāgalam, <i>s. a.</i> Kusugalla, . . . . .	201, 206
Kōḍai, <i>title</i> , . . . . .	234n
Koḍalasetti, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	24
Kōḍikūlam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	381
Kōḍmalnār, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	163
Kōḍarā, <i>s. a.</i> Dēo Kōṅḍērā, . . . . .	167, 168, 170
Kokkalla I., <i>Kalachuri k.</i> , . . . . .	27, 39, 48
Kokkantāmpārai, <i>s. a.</i> Kōṅḍāntāmpārai, . . . . .	331, 341
Kokkali, <i>E. Chalukya k.</i> , . . . . .	55, 133
Kōkkilī, <i>mythical Chōḷa k.</i> , . . . . .	89n
Koḍavenon, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	49
Koḷobhūṁkōṅḍa, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	99, 102
Kollabigandā, <i>sur. of</i> Vijayāditya IV., . . . . .	132
Kollam, <i>s. a.</i> Quilon, . . . . .	236, 237, 239n
Kolleru, <i>lake</i> , . . . . .	68
Kollipāke, <i>s. a.</i> Kollippākkai, . . . . .	230
Kollippākkai, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	230, 233
Komaramā, <i>queen of</i> Kēta II., . . . . .	262n
Kōma-Kaṇḍavādī, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	262n
Kōṁaruk, <i>is.</i> , . . . . .	43n
Koṇḍapadmaṭi, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	260n, 262n
Koṇḍapellī, three hundred, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	261
Koṇḍarāja, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	229, 230
Koṇḍavīḍu, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	174
Kōṇḍapamkōṇḍāṅ Vikrama-Pādya, <i>Pādya k.</i> , . . . . .	223
Kōṇḍapamkōṇḍāṅ, <i>devada</i> , . . . . .	86n
Kōṇḍāva, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	16
Kōṅḍāntāmpārai, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	331
Kōṅḍāṇimār, <i>sect</i> , . . . . .	238n
Kōṅḍōḍa, <i>s. a.</i> Kaṅḍōḍa, . . . . .	42
Kōṅḍu, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	223, 225n
Kōṅḍu-to, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	42
Koṭṭapachakravartin, <i>sur. of</i> Jaitugīdēva, . . . . .	119n
Koṭṭabūy-tāṭāka, <i>tanak</i> , . . . . .	56
Kōṭṭiṭhaka, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	3
Kōṭṭajā, . . . . .	316
Kōṭala, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	26, 28, 269
Kōṭala or Kōṭala (South), <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	131, 231
Kōṭala: nāḍa, <i>s. a.</i> Kōṭala (South), . . . . .	231, 233
Kōṭambakūṭi, . . . . .	291
Kōṭa, <i>sur. of</i> Amardasī chief, . . . . .	262n

	PAGE
Kōṭṭikūlam, <i>s. a.</i> Kōḍikūlam, . . . . .	341
Kōṭṭimaḍuva (P-)gapa, . . . . .	66
Kōṭṭivara, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	96
Kōṭṭayam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	85
Kōṭṭiya (Kōṭṭika)-gapa, . . . . .	246
kōṭwāl, . . . . .	173n
kōṭwār, . . . . .	173n
Kowiah, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	160, 163
Krishna, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	26, 38, 113n, 115n, 193, 260, 255, 294, 295, 340
Krishna, <i>Kṛṣṇa ch.</i> , . . . . .	124, 127, 133
Krishna, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	117
Krishnā, <i>ra.</i> , . . . . .	28, 178, 260n, 262n
Krishna or Krishnarāja I., <i>Rāṣṭrakūṭa k.</i> , 26, . . . . .	38, 133, 194
Krishna or Krishnarāja II., <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	25, 27, 29, 39, 43, 49, 66
Krishna III., <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	27, 28, 43, 194
Krishnabhaṭpati, <i>s. a.</i> Krishnappa-Nāyaka, . . . . .	329, 341
Krishnapādēva, <i>s. a.</i> Krishnarāja, . . . . .	72, 83n
Krishnagiri, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	42
Krishnappa-Nāyaka, <i>Madura Nāyaka</i> , . . . . .	329
Krishnapāram, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	323, 329, 331, 341
Krishnarāja, <i>Kalachuri k.</i> , . . . . .	295, 299
Krishnarāja, <i>Paramdra k.</i> , . . . . .	48, 73
Krishnarāja, <i>Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince</i> , . . . . .	49
Krishnarāja or Krishnapādēvarāja, <i>Vijaya-nagara k.</i> , . . . . .	174, 263, 330, 340
Krishnādēvara, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	279
K(r)ōṇina, <i>Satrap</i> , . . . . .	140, 147
kṛṭā, . . . . .	136n
Kahatrapa, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	136, 139
Kahatrapa, <i>Western, dy.</i> , . . . . .	246
Kahatriya, <i>caste</i> , 43, 113, 114, 162, 279, 293, 340 . . . . .	
Kahēmā, <i>Kahemakari or Kahemankari, s. a.</i> . . . . .	160n
Dargā, . . . . .	189, 191
Kahēmāryā, <i>s. a.</i> Khimā Mātā, . . . . .	246
Kahēmāndra, <i>antkor</i> , . . . . .	74, 82n
Kahētraśūha, <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	173
Kahitimaṇḍa-āḥara, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	189, 223, 299
Kubēra or Kuvēra, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	116, 123, 124
Kubja-Vishnupardhana I., <i>E. Chalukya k.</i> , . . . . .	55, 133
Kūṭhikara, <i>tanak</i> , . . . . .	266, 267
Kudagōṭṭār, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	235, 236
Kudrāḥara, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	58
Kudriyama Vīmāna, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	214
Kuladhara, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	116, 123, 124

	PAGE
Isapati, . . . . .	289, 290
Kalappiriyankulam, s. a. Pirayāṅkulam, . . . . .	341
Kalapatra, . . . . .	6
Kalavardhana, m., . . . . .	192
Kaladhara, m., . . . . .	301, 302
Kalātūga, sur. of Vijayālaya, . . . . .	89n
Kalātūga-Chōḍa or -Chōḷa I., <i>Chalukya-Chōḷa k.</i> , . . . . .	179n, 218, 280, 281n, 322
Kalātūga-Chōḷa II., <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	219
Kalātūga-Chōḷa II., <i>Chōḷa k.</i> , . . . . .	207, 219n
Kalātūga-Chōḷa III., <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	213, 214, 220
kalra, . . . . .	140, 143, 181
kalra, an heir-apparent, . . . . .	67
kalra (Skanda), god, . . . . .	55
kalra, m., . . . . .	117
kalraohandra, m., . . . . .	274
kalraṣaṭṭa, m., . . . . .	272
kalraḍḍi, queen of Gōvindaachandra, . . . . .	319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 326, 327
kalra Eṣṣa, m., . . . . .	21
kalraḍḍiḍḍa, tar, . . . . .	305
kalra-Nāṣṭya, sur. of Śiṇḍharāja, . . . . .	118n
kalrapāḍa, <i>Chalukya k.</i> , . . . . .	72, 83n, 149
kalraṣaṭṭi, m., . . . . .	238
kalrakōṣṭha, vi., . . . . .	87
kalra-amuda, . . . . .	92n
kalrayam, . . . . .	92
kalra, vi., . . . . .	817, 319
ka, m., . . . . .	321, 323, 328
kalraḍḍi, queen of Amōghavaraha III., . . . . .	8n
kalra, <i>Chōḷa princess</i> , . . . . .	231
kalraṣaṭṭa, m., . . . . .	21n
kalra, co., . . . . .	269
Kāpāḍa, co., . . . . .	234n
Kuppanāṣṭya, s. a. Kuppanayya, . . . . .	133
Kuppanayya, m., . . . . .	132
Kurandaka, s. a. Kurandak, . . . . .	25, 28, 40
Kurandak, vi., . . . . .	28
kurupi, measure, . . . . .	89, 93
Kurupāl, vi., . . . . .	160, 161, 163, 164, 179
Kushapa, dy., . . . . .	239, 241, 242, 243, 245, 246
Kūḍamāṇḍini, Jaina goddess, . . . . .	156n and add., 266n
Kuḍika, s. a. Kanauj, . . . . .	304
Kuṅgalla, vi., . . . . .	201
Kuṇḍala (Kuṇḍala) Pādika, <i>Satrap</i> , . . . . .	139, 140, 144
Kuṣumapāḍa, m., . . . . .	116
kuṣṭha, . . . . .	319, 316n
Kuṭṭakal, vi., . . . . .	331 and add., 341

## L

	PAGE
Laobham-dāt, queen of Narasimhadēva, . . . . .	165
lagitvā, . . . . .	67
languages.—	
Ghaṭa, . . . . .	56, 134
Kanyā, . . . . .	309
Lāhaḍa, m., . . . . .	116
Lāhaḍa, <i>Prāḍya ch.</i> , . . . . .	151
Lāhina, queen of Vīrabharāja, . . . . .	11, 13
Lakhamapa, m., . . . . .	316
Lakṣmibikā, queen of Rāmarāja I., . . . . .	329
Lakṣmapa, m., . . . . .	345
Lakṣhama, mythical hero, . . . . .	340
Lakṣhama I., <i>Chāḍamāna k. of Naddāla</i> , . . . . .	62, 64, 67, 71, 80, 82, 83
Lakṣhama (II.), <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	80, 83, 152
Lakṣhamapaṣṭami, <i>to.</i> , . . . . .	153, 159
Lakṣmīdēva, vi., . . . . .	201
Lakṣmī, goddess, . . . . .	38, 39, 40, 171, 187, 233, 249n, 255, 266, 326
Lakṣmī, queen of Jagattinga, . . . . .	27, 39
Lakṣmīdēvi, queen of Chāḍagadēva, . . . . .	74, 83
Lakṣmīdēvi, queen of Pamparājadēva, . . . . .	167, 168, 170, 183
Lakṣmīdhara, ch., . . . . .	64
Lakṣmīdhara or Lakṣmīdharaśarma, m., . . . . .	167, 169, 170
Lakṣmīvarmadēva or Lakṣmīvarman, <i>Para-māra k.</i> , . . . . .	106, 120
Lala-dāṇayaga, ch., . . . . .	246
Lāḍiga, <i>Prāḍya ch.</i> , . . . . .	152
Lāḍiga, s. a. Lalla, . . . . .	149, 151, 152, 153
Lalla, m., . . . . .	149, 151, 153
Lāphā, s. a. Lāphā, . . . . .	294, 296
Lāphāna, . . . . .	274
languages:—	
Arabic, . . . . .	306
Hindī, . . . . .	124n, 148, 166
Kannara, . . . . .	16, 21, 150, 258
Māhārāṣṭri-Prākṛit, . . . . .	320
Maithilī, . . . . .	164
Malayālam, . . . . .	86, 324
Marāṭhī, . . . . .	63n, 124n, 200
Oriyā, . . . . .	134n
Pahlavi (Afghan), . . . . .	140
Pāli, . . . . .	247, 292, 293
Persian, . . . . .	140, 248
Prākṛit, . . . . .	50, 67, 68, 69n, 133, 293, 317

	PAGE		PAGE
Sanskrit, . . . . .	1, 2, 11, 25, 41, 48, 57, 58, 60, 63, 67, 70, 79, 85, 88, 95, 99, 104, 117, 123, 131, 138, 139, 150, 161, 162, 163, 164, 167, 171, 175, 182, 188, 193, 199, 201, 249, 251, 258, 268, 273, 277, 282, 293, 296, 301, 302, 306, 312, 317, 320, 328, 342	Lāpa-vasahikā, s. a. Lāpiga-vasahikā, . . . . .	146n
Tamil, . . . . .	18n, 20n, 21n, 85, 86, 280, 281, 234	Luppha, s. a. Luptiga, . . . . .	80, 81, 82, 83, 153
Telugu, . . . . .	48, 131, 162, 181 add	Luppha or Lūpḍhaka, do., . . . . .	81
Zeud, . . . . .	140	Lupphāgara or Lūpṭhāgara, do., . . . . .	80
Lanji, vs., . . . . .	43	Lutgā, m., . . . . .	294, 295, 296
Lanjikā, s. a. Lanji, . . . . .	43	Lūniga, s. a. Lāvanyakarna, . . . . .	81, 82, 83, 153
Lankā, s. a. Ceylon, . . . . .	280, 312, 340	Lūnigaddōva, s. a. Lāvānaprasāda, . . . . .	82n
Lāphā, vs., . . . . .	293, 294, 295	Luniga-sahika, s. a. Lūpiga-vasahikā, . . . . .	146n
Lāshū, m., . . . . .	119	Lūpiga-vasahikā, Lūniga's temple, . . . . .	146n
Lāṣa, co., . . . . .	26, 28, 40, 231n, 250, 251, 252, 255, 269, 277, 278	Lūpiga-vasati, s. a. Lūpiga-vasahikā, . . . . .	146n
Lāvānaprasāda, Vāghēlā k., . . . . .	78n, 82n	Lūpṭhāka, s. a. Luptiga, . . . . .	81
Lāvanyakarna, Chāḍamāna k. of Naddūla, . . . . .	80, 82, 83, 152	Luptiga or Lūpṭigaddōva, Chāḍamāna k. of Naddūla, . . . . .	82n, 71n, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 152, 153
Lenden plates, . . . . .	84, 281		
Letter numerals, . . . . .	199n, 272	M	
Līlaka Kusūlaka, Satrap, . . . . .	139	Machāndur, vs., . . . . .	283
Līlādēvi, queen of Bhīmadēva II., . . . . .	73, 88	Māda, s. a. Jāśalmār, . . . . .	277, 27
Līmadēva, m., . . . . .	119	Māhula, vs., . . . . .	27
Līnga, . . . . .	24, 162, 166, 175, 181	Mādānū-champṭi, name of a work, . . . . .	28
Līngāyat, caste, . . . . .	162	Madāmas, m., . . . . .	2
Lūngo, Gond leader, . . . . .	48	Madana, Cupid, . . . . .	3
ion, crest, . . . . .	272, 243	Mā-lana, m., . . . . .	117
ion-capital, of Mathurā, . . . . .	135, 147	Madana, poet, . . . . .	107
Lōhata, m., . . . . .	116	Madanachandra, s. a. Madanapāla, . . . . .	321, 323, 337
Lōkamahādēvi, queen of Chālūkyā-Bhīma II., . . . . .	55, 134	Madanapala, Kunay k., . . . . .	321
Lōkanātha, s. a. Avalokiteśvara, . . . . .	301	Madanār, vs., . . . . .	32
ōkapālas, . . . . .	338	Maṇḍōdara, s. a. Maṇḍōr, . . . . .	271
Lōkaprakāśa, work, . . . . .	248	Mādhava, m., . . . . .	111
Lōkēśvara, &c., . . . . .	161, 312, 316	Mādhava, s. a. Vaiśākha, . . . . .	71n
Lōpa, m., . . . . .	158	Mādhavabhaṭṭa, m., . . . . .	133
Lōṭhana, k., . . . . .	300	Mādhavarāja II., Śailōdbbhava ch., . . . . .	4
Lucknow Museum, . . . . .	59, 290, 291	Mādhavavarman, m., . . . . .	119, 171
Lumbha or Lumbhaka, s. a. Lūpavarman, 81, 82, 83, 152, 153		Mādhavasūri, m., . . . . .	2
Lumbhā or Rāvalumbhā, Chāḍamāna k. of Naddūla, . . . . .	152	Mādhavavarman, ch., . . . . .	28
Lumbhāka, do., . . . . .	152	Mādhavavarman, mythical ch., . . . . .	259, 262, 26
Lūpasimha (Lūpasimha)-vasahikā, s. a. Lūpiga-vasahikā, . . . . .	148n	Mādhavavarman, Śailōdbbhava ch., . . . . .	42, 272
Lūpavarman, Chāḍamāna k. of Naddūla, 80, 82, 83, 152			274, 290
		Madhu, demon, . . . . .	25
		Madhu, m., . . . . .	17
		Madhuban, vs., . . . . .	2
		madhika, tree, . . . . .	80
		Madhukapṭha, m., . . . . .	11
		Madhurā, s. a. Madura, . . . . .	25
		Madhurāntaka, Chāḍu k., . . . . .	293
		Madhurāntakadōva, Nāgavahā k., . . . . .	174
			176, 178, 11
		Madhurūdāna, m., . . . . .	11

	PAGE		PAGE
Madhyadēsa, <i>co.</i>	26, 38, 107, 115n, 116	mahārāja, 16, 57, 58, 59, 62, 63, 64, 95, 101,	
Madra, <i>co.</i>	2n	105, 108, 119, 158, 161, 163, 239, 240,	
Madra Museum, .	85, 94, 99	242, 244, 245, 257n, 269, 273, 285, 288,	
Madura, <i>vi.</i> ,	380, 331, 340	289, 290, 312, 313, 315, 316, 317, 319,	
Madura, <i>s a</i> Madura, .	213, 214	342, 343, 345	
Madura mandala, <i>ds.</i>	230, 233	mahārājādhirāja, 1, 2, 4, 25, 28, 40, 42, 47,	
maga, <i>a Śākhadvīptiya Brāhmaṇa,</i>	279	56, 68n, 72, 73, 95, 101, 105,	
Magha, <i>poet,</i>	190, 250, 251	118, 119, 132, 159, 163,	
Maghavan, <i>s a</i> Indra, .	327	190, 253, 265, 268, 295, 304	
Mahaban, <i>vi.</i> ,	107	mahāitājakula, .	67n, 73, 74, 80, 81, 82
Mahābhairava, <i>god,</i>	270	mahāitāja-pandita, .	106, 116
Mahābhāṇḍapāla, <i>m.</i>	47	mahāitājaputra, .	68
mahābhāṇḍasī-parvan, <i>the fourteenth day of</i>		mahāsāmanta, .	1, 2, 289
<i>the bright half,</i>	63	mahāsāmanta-dhīpati, .	3, 4, 251
mahābāṇḍanāyaka, .	246	mahāsāndhivigrahādhikarapādhiprita, .	300
Mahādēva (Mādhava), <i>Kākatīya prince,</i>	165	mahāsāndhivigrahika, .	107
Mahādēva, <i>s a</i> Śiva, .	43, 124, 126, 128, 162, 185	Mahāśāṅghika, <i>school of Buddhist teachers,</i>	130, 146
Mahādēvi, <i>queen of</i> Jayasinhadēva, .	163	Mahāśāṇa, <i>s a</i> Skanda, .	133, 319
Mahāditya, <i>m.</i>	117	Mahāśāpasvāmi, <i>m.</i>	288
mahādīvādasi (pāpanāśini), <i>tiśhi,</i>	211n, 216	Mahā-Sudēva or Sudēvarāja, <i>ch.</i>	170, 171,
mahājāna, .	278, 279	172, 281, 282, 283, 284	
Mahā-Jayadēva, Mahā-Jayarāja or Jayarāja, <i>ch.</i>	171, 172, 282, 283, 284	mahattara, .	2, 6
Māhaka, <i>m.</i>	268n	Mahā-Vaiśākha, .	105n
Mahākābhayā, <i>m.</i>	183	Mahāvama, <i>quoted,</i>	87n, 142, 230, 234n
Mahākālī, <i>goddess,</i>	125n	Mahāvana-sāthāna, <i>s a</i> Mahāban, .	107, 115, 116
Mahākāntāra, <i>co.</i>	184n	Mahāvīra or Mahāvīradēva, <i>te.</i>	63, 64, 67
Mahā-Kaśala, <i>co.</i>	288, 343	Mahāyāna, <i>sect of Buddhists,</i>	321
mahākshatrapa, .	243, 245, 247	Mahēndra, <i>Chāḍamāna k. of Naddāla,</i>	64,
mahākumāra, .	105	67, 71, 83	
Mahalla, <i>Chāḍuka rā.</i>	2	Mahēndra, <i>Mahākōśala k.,</i>	343
mahāmapdalaśakravartin, .	165	Mahēndrapāla, <i>Kanauy k.,</i>	1, 2, 3, 4,
mahāmapdālōvāra, .	149, 165, 267n,	9n, 27, 130, 199n	
258, 269, 269n, 265, 267		Mahēndriyudha, <i>s a</i> Mahēndrapāla, .	1, 2, 3, 4
mahāmapdālīka, .	124, 167, 168, 170	Mahēsa, <i>s a</i> Śiva, .	56
mahāmātya, .	265	mahēśvara, .	58, 59
Mahapa, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa ch.</i>	330, 331,	Mahēśvara, <i>m.</i>	169, 170
322, 323, 326		Mahēśvara, <i>s a</i> Śiva, .	11, 43, 47, 55, 67, 95,
Mahānadi, <i>rt.,</i>	184n, 283, 344	125n, 181, 265, 273, 288, 315, 316	
Mahapaka, <i>m.</i>	316	Maheswar, <i>vi.,</i>	108
Mahānāman, <i>Buddhist teacher,</i>	286	Mahābhāndra, <i>k.,</i>	303
Mahapanda, <i>m.</i>	304	Mahābhāra, <i>m.,</i>	79, 117
Mahapāsaiṇha, <i>m.</i>	149, 153	Mahāduka or Mahāmduka, <i>Prāgveda ch.</i>	152
Mahapāsaiṇha or Mahapāsaiṇhabhāṇḍa, <i>s a.</i>		Mahindra, <i>s a</i> Mahēndra, .	71
Mānavasaiṇha, .	81, 82, 63, 152	Mahindu, <i>do.,</i>	71, 80, 83
Mahapādaka, <i>m.</i>	316	Mahipāla or Mahipālādēva, <i>Kanauy k.</i>	4, 28, 199n
mahāpādita, .	107	Mahipāla I, <i>Pāla k.,</i>	231, 233, 321
mahāpālipati, .	300 and add.	Mahipāla II, <i>do.,</i>	321
mahāpradāna, .	119	Mahipāla, <i>Paramāra k.,</i>	11
mahāpratibhāra, .	289, 290	Mahipālādēva, <i>Bastar ch.</i>	166
		Mahāśauramardinī, <i>goddess,</i>	160, 161

	PAGE		PAGE
Māhishmati, s. a. Maheswar, . . . . .	105, 106	maṇḍala, . . . . .	27, 56
Mahmūd, of Ghazni, . . . . .	321	Māndalādvāra, <i>te</i> , . . . . .	289, 290
Mahmūd Shāh, <i>ch</i> , . . . . .	308n	mandalika or maṇḍalika, . . . . .	178, 258, 268, 269
Mahōdaya, s. a. Kanauj, . . . . .	4, 27, 28, 40	Mandapadurga, s. a. Mandōgarh, . . . . .	119, 120
Mahuaḍa, s. a. Mohod, . . . . .	105, 106, 119, 120	Maṇḍapapūra, s. a. Maṇḍapadurga, . . . . .	120n
Māi, <i>f</i> , . . . . .	153	mandapikā, . . . . .	68n
Mailama, <i>f</i> , . . . . .	257n, 259, 268	Mandara, <i>mo</i> , . . . . .	331, 341
Maigiddva, <i>ch</i> , . . . . .	165	Maṇḍasār, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	288
Maikapāṭa, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	65n	Māndavyapūra, s. a. Mandor, 73, 154, 157n, 278n	
Maithila, . . . . .	164	Māndhātā, <i>island</i> , . . . . .	103, 105n, 106, 117, 120
Matra, s. a. Anurādhā, . . . . .	56, 134	Māndhātā, <i>mythical k.</i> , . . . . .	268
Matraka, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	269	Mandōdarī, <i>wife of Rāvana</i> , . . . . .	113
Maja, <i>prince</i> , . . . . .	140, 143	Mandōgarh (Māṇḍā), <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	120
makara, <i>banner</i> , . . . . .	319n	Mandor, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	73, 154, 273
Mākaya, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	206	Maṇḍuka, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	23
Malabar, <i>co</i> , . . . . .	230, 234, 313	Maṇḍalika, <i>W. Chalukya k.</i> , . . . . .	201
Māladhara, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	119	Maṇḍalūru (Mangalore), <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	174
Mālava, <i>co</i> , 26, 71, 72, 103, 104n, 105, 107n, 108, 115, 118, 151, 178 and add., 269		Maṇḍi or Maṇḍirāja, <i>Nalamba k.</i> , . . . . .	48, 49, 55
maḷave, . . . . .	82	Maṇḍiyavarāja, <i>E. Chalukya k.</i> , . . . . .	55, 138
Malaya, <i>hill</i> , . . . . .	178	maṇḍura, <i>fish</i> , . . . . .	288
Malay, <i>peninsula</i> , . . . . .	231	Māpikāla, s. a. Manikāla, . . . . .	137, 143
Malayālam (Malabar), <i>co</i> , . . . . .	236	Mānikavāsagar, <i>Saiva saint</i> , . . . . .	89
mālī, . . . . .	318	Mānikyādēvi, s. a. Iṇḍādēvi, . . . . .	164
Malik Khān, s. a. Rāja Malik, . . . . .	308n	Manikyalā, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	240, 246
Malyapūṇḍī, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	47, 48, 49, 50, 55, 132	Māpika-mahādēvi, <i>queen</i> , . . . . .	272, 274
Malkapargu, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	55	Māpikyādevarī, s. a. Iṇḍādēvi, . . . . .	164
Mālkheḍ, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	27, 28, 251, 255u	Maṇḍarī-kāṇḍikkam or-kāṭaka, s. a. Maṇḍarī, 280, 283	
Mallāṇī, <i>ds</i> , . . . . .	278	Maṇḍarkuyil, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	84
Mallapādva, <i>E. Chalukya ch</i> , . . . . .	48	Maṇḍar, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	380
Mallinātha, <i>commentator</i> , . . . . .	104n, 165n, 250n	Maṇḍarāla, <i>di</i> , . . . . .	87
Mallishēpa, <i>Jaina teacher</i> , . . . . .	266n	Maṇḍarāla, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	64
Malliyūr, s. a. Guḍimallūr, . . . . .	231, 233	Maṇḍarāla, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	136
Mālwa (Mālava), <i>co</i> , . . . . .	189	Mantani, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	261n
Māmā bhāṇjā-kā mandir, <i>te</i> , . . . . .	160	Mantena, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	261
Māmbaḷi, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	234	Mantena, s. a. Mantena, . . . . .	261
māṇḍavi, a <i>custom house</i> , . . . . .	63n	Maṇḍrakūṭa, <i>do</i> , . . . . .	165, 261
Maṇa, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	337, 338	Manu, <i>sage</i> , . . . . .	95, 360, 341
Mānābharaṇa or Mānakavaṇa, <i>sur of</i> Arikēsarī Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, . . . . .	331n	Maṇḍasāṭṭava, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	24
Mānabhāṭa, <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> , . . . . .	330, 331, 340	Mānyakhēṭa, s. a. Mālkheḍ, . . . . .	25, 28, 40
Maṇalmittku, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	236, 239	Māmarāyalār, s. a. Mārasintha, . . . . .	68n
Mānamātra, s. a. Mānāṭika, . . . . .	173	Mārama, <i>sur of Vijayāditya</i> , . . . . .	17, 23, 33
Mānāṭika, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa k.</i> , . . . . .	173	Māra, <i>the Pāṇḍya king</i> , . . . . .	89n
Mānapura, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	173	Mārasijadaiyag, <i>sur. of Varaguna</i> , . . . . .	86, 87
Mānasāra, <i>work</i> , . . . . .	135n	Mārasintha, <i>W. Ganga k.</i> , . . . . .	68n
Mānasasinha, <i>Chāḍamāna k. of Naddāla, 76a</i> , 80, 83, 88		Marāṭhā, <i>co</i> , . . . . .	43n, 201
Mānavira, <i>ch</i> , . . . . .	165	Mājavarmān, <i>sur. of Pāṇḍya king</i> , . . . . .	86n
Maṇavirāḍi, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	181	Mājavarmān Kulāśekhara I., <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> , 223, 223, 224, 225, 227	
		Mājavarmān Kulāśekhara II., <i>do</i> , 223, 224, 225, 228	



	PAGE		PAGE
Māyavarmaṇ Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> , .	228	Mevaku, <i>Satrap</i> , . . . . .	140n
Māyavarmaṇ Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, <i>do.</i> , .	223, 226	Mihira, <i>sur. of Bhōjadēva</i> , . . . . .	3
Māyavarmaṇ Sundara-Pāṇḍya II, <i>do.</i> , .	223, 227	Mihira-vihāra, . . . . .	146
Māyavarmaṇ Sundara-Pāṇḍya III, <i>do.</i> , .	229	Miraboyana, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	140
Māyavarmaṇ Vira-Pāṇḍya, <i>do.</i> , . . . .	229	Mīraṇ Ādil Khān, <i>Fārūqī k.</i> , . . . .	310
Māyā, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	316	Mīraṇ Ghānī, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	310
Mārdian hills, . . . . .	311	Mīraṇ Husain Khān, <i>Fārūqī prince</i> , .	308n, 310
Mārjāsakṣī, <i>s. a.</i> Narasimhanāth, . . .	184n	Mīraṇ Mubārak Shāh, <i>Fārūqī k.</i> , . . .	310
Mārkaṇḍa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	117	Mīraṇ Mubārīk Khān, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	310
Mārkaṇḍēya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	116	Mīraṇ Muḥammad Khān or Mīraṇ Muḥammad	
Māriamḍa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	272	Shāh I, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	310
Maru or Maru-māḍa (Mārwaḍ), <i>co.</i> , .	79, 278	Mīraṇ Muḥammad Khān II, <i>do.</i> , . . . .	308n, 310
Marusthali-maṇḍala, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	81, 152	Mīraṇ Shāh, <i>sur. of Mīraṇ Ādil Khān</i> , .	307, 310
Māsapīḍḍa, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	233	Mīrochēbigam, <i>s. a.</i> Vṛśobika, . . . .	237
Mātā-ki-sāl, <i>Jaina temple</i> , . . . . .	191n, 277, 278, 279	Mīrāz Ālī Isfahānī, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	303
māṭha, . . . . .	18, 290	Mitākshatā, <i>commentary</i> , . . . . .	59n
Mattha a or Mahana, <i>s. a.</i> Mahana, . .	322	Mithra (Mihra), . . . . .	140
Mathurā or Mathurā-sthāna, <i>s. a.</i> Muttra, .	107,	Mitrāya, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	132
116, 135, 136, 138, 139, 147, 230,		Mlēcchabhaṣa, . . . . .	149
240, 241, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 280, 291		Mōga (Mauaka), <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	139, 140, 141, 147
Mātrāḍasvāmī, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	238	Mōgalitā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	28, 29, 40n
Māṭṭiravi, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	279	Mōha, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	153
māṭṭis, the seven, . . . . .	319	mohalza-shud, <i>it has been seen</i> , . . .	268n
Māṭṭisarmaṇ, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	12	Mōhapa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	153
mattar, <i>measure of land</i> , . . . . .	259, 267	Mohod, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	106
Maues Mauakes, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	140, 147	mōkālīpaṭṭavardhana, <i>biruda</i> , . . . .	330, 341
Maukhari, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	60, 138	mōkeha, . . . . .	113n
Mauḍḍēvi, <i>to.</i> , . . . . .	124n	months, lunar —	
Māṭṭirāḍī, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	87	Āśvina, . . . . .	129, 130
Māvālī, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	16, 17	Bhādra or Bhādrapada, 67, 102, 105, 106,	
Mayapalladēvi, <i>f.</i> , . . . . .	158	129, 130, 159, 167, 169, 343, 345	
Mayidavōlu, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	268	Chaitra, . . . . .	81, 199, 250, 256, 278, 279
Mayūradhivaja, <i>mythical k.</i> , . . . .	294	Jyēshṭha or Jyāishṭha, 68n, 82, 119, 124,	
Meohakā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	184	128, 139, 152, 154, 155, 163	
Mēpīpōta, . . . . .	176, 177, 181	Kārtika, 42, 47, 129, 161, 167, 170, 176,	
Mēharipaka, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	6	181, 290, 303, 312, 316	
Mēhra (Mēhara), <i>family</i> , . . . . .	28	Māgha, . . . . .	1, 2, 3, 4, 218n, 294, 296
Mēkala, <i>mo</i> , . . . . .	269	Mārgaśīra or Mārgaśīraha, 56, 95, 119, 134,	
Mēkala-kanyā, <i>s. a.</i> Narwadā, . . . .	269	801, 302	
Mēlambikā, <i>Kākatīya princess</i> , . . .	262n	Pausha, Pausya, or Pushya, 57, 69, 269,	
Mējarasa, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	250, 262, 267	267, 306, 309, 350, 340	
mellish, mallia or mōlī (mōḍī), <i>a kidnapper of</i>		Phālguna, . . . . .	25, 40, 102, 139, 162, 163n, 218n
victims for sacrifice, . . . . .	177, 178n	Śrāvana, 12, 63, 64, 67, 68, 101, 102, 159,	
Mēlśēvūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	212	171, 296, 300	
meriah, <i>a victim to human sacrifice</i> , . .	176, 177	Vaiśākha (Baisākh), 71, 74, 80, 81, 158,	
Mēra, <i>mo</i> , . . . . .	40, 139, 340	159, 164, 201, 306	
Mēru, <i>s. a.</i> Mahōḍaya, . . . . .	28, 40	month, solar —	
Mēru or Mēra, <i>s. a.</i> Mēhra, . . . . .	28	Purāṭṭhādi, . . . . .	308
Mēratunga, <i>Jaina author</i> , . . . . .	105n, 149n, 166n	Moodamdamore, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	21
Mevaki Miyika, <i>Satrap</i> , . . . . .	140, 144		3 B

	PAGE		PAGE
Nāharni, <i>vs.</i>	175	Nandipōtavarmān, <i>Pallava k.</i>	202, 205
Nahnā, <i>vs.</i>	172	Nandi-saṃgha,	56n
Nahusha, <i>mythical k.</i>	340	Nandivardhana, <i>s a</i> Nagardhan.	43, 44
Nagama, <i>family.</i>	64, 68	Nanna, <i>Rāshtrakūta ch.</i>	194, 195
Nanā, <i>s a</i> Nahnā,	172	Nannaka, <i>m.</i>	6
Naiśadhiyaacarita, <i>quoted.</i>	113n, 115n	Nannappaya, <i>m.</i>	233
Nakkavāram, <i>s a</i> Nicobar islands,	231	Nannai-aṭṭaṇṇa, <i>m.</i>	192
nakshatras —		Nanu, <i>m.</i>	192
Anurādhā,	56, 176, 181	Nānt, <i>m.</i>	318
Ārdra,	211	naptri, <i>a great-grandson.</i>	319n
Chitrā,	129, 167, 170, 214, 215	Narabhaṭa, <i>Pratīhāra ch.</i>	279
Dhanishṭhā,	224, 228n	Naraka, <i>demon.</i>	255
Hasa,	210, 225, 228n, 278	Nārālāi (Nārālāi), <i>vs.</i>	159
Kṛittikā,	217, 309	Nārāmbā, <i>queen of</i> Ganapanti,	262n
Maghā,	211, 212, 226	Naiapāla, <i>m.</i>	153
Mṛiga, Mṛigaśirā, Mṛigaśiras or Mṛiga-		narapati,	321
śiraḥ,	12, 129, 180, 167, 169, 209, 210	Narasa or Narasā-Nāyaka, <i>Tuluva ch.</i>	330,
Māla,	207		331, 340
Punarvasu,	208, 210, 211	Narasimha, <i>m.</i>	116, 117
Pūrva-Bhadrpadā,	214, 220n	Narasimhadēva, <i>Bastar ch.</i>	165, 166
Pūrva-Phalguni,	214, 220n, 226, 228n	Narasimhadēva, <i>Nāgavamsī k.</i>	163, 164
Pūrvāṣāḍhā,	119	Narasimhanāth, <i>te.</i>	184n
Puṣya,	209, 214, 223, 224, 228n	Narasimhapōtavarmān, <i>Pallava k.</i>	202, 206
Rēvaṭi,	208, 235	Naravarman, <i>Paramāra k.</i>	105, 114, 121
Rōhini,	212, 216, 224, 309	Nārāyaṇa, <i>m.</i>	116, 117, 170
Śravana,	208	Nārāyaṇa, <i>s a</i> Viṣṇu, 118, 133, 204, 311,	312, 316
Svāti,	212, 215		
Uttara-Bhadrpadā,	208, 220n	Nārāyaṇa, <i>te.</i>	161, 162, 290, 311, 313
Uttara-Phalguni,	223, 226	Nārāyaṇa I, <i>Ayya ch.</i>	262n
Uttarāṣāḍhā,	220n, 226	Nārāyaṇapara, <i>s a</i> Nārāyaṇpāl, 161, 163, 163,	179, 312, 313, 316
Nakṣispura, <i>vs.</i>	1, 4		160, 161, 162,
Nakṣispura, eighty-four, <i>di.</i>	1, 3, 4	Nārāyaṇpāl or Nārāyaṇpāla, <i>vs.</i>	168, 179, 311, 313
Nalā, <i>mythical k.</i>	340, 341		
Nalachampū, <i>kāvya.</i>	28	Narēndramṛigarāja, <i>sur of</i> Vijayāditya II., 27,	55, 134
nāli, <i>measure.</i>	89, 92, 93, 235, 288		
Nāmagrantha, <i>work.</i>	279	Narēndrasēna, <i>Vikṛāṭaka k.</i>	269
Nāmaladēvi, <i>s a</i> Nāmālladēvi,	81	Narmadā (Narbadā), <i>vs.</i>	27, 103, 105, 106,
Nāmālladēvi, <i>queen of</i> Viṇḍya,	80, 81, 83		107, 117, 119, 120, 269, 311, 343
Nāmapaikkōṇam, <i>di.</i>	283	Narasapur, <i>vs.</i>	57
Nambava <i>ch.</i>	260n, 262n	Narwar, <i>vs.</i>	181n
Nāmbhātaka, <i>s a</i> Nādida,	29, 40	Nāsik, <i>vs.</i>	139n, 194n
Nāmvastha, <i>m.</i>	70	Nasir Khān, <i>sur. of</i> Ghazni Khān I, 307, 308,	309n, 310
Nāpā, <i>vs.</i>	191n		
Nāpaka, <i>s a</i> Nāpā,	191n	Nātavāti or Nātavāḍi, <i>di.</i>	262n
Nanda, <i>k.</i>	329	nāthan,	313
Nandanpur, <i>vs.</i>	181n	nattam, <i>a village etc.</i>	313
Nandasī-Akasa, <i>queen of</i> Rājula,	141	nāṭṭa-mudumai,	21n, 181 add.
Nandavilmuḍi, <i>m.</i>	20	nāṭṭōḍ, <i>m.</i>	140, 143
Nandi, <i>bull.</i>	94	Nausāri, <i>vs.</i>	25
Nandi-gachohha, <i>school of</i> Jaina teachers,	56		3 B 2



	PAGE
<i>laṭṭi, m.</i>	169
<i>laṭṭiṣṭra, banner.</i>	205, 255, 256
<i>laṭṭiṣṭra records.</i>	131, 132n, 167, 169n, 273
<i>laṭṭiṣṭra, m.</i>	20
<i>laṭṭiṣṭra, m.</i>	73
<i>Pallava, dy.</i>	43, 88n, 89n, 201, 202, 205,
	206, 207
<i>Pallava, s. a. Gaṅga Pallava.</i>	84
<i>paṭṭiṣṭhandam.</i>	251, 257
<i>Paṭṭiṣṭra, m.</i>	62n
<i>Paṭṭiṣṭra, di.</i>	267 nll.
<i>Paṭṭiṣṭra, s. a. Pāṭṭiṣṭra.</i>	170
<i>Pāṅgarh, m.</i>	245
<i>Pāṅgarh-Bhārta, quoted.</i>	205n
<i>Pāṅgarh or Pāṅgarhādya, Kāṅgarh, m.</i>	124, 125n, 128, 129, 166, 167, 168, 169n,
	170, 173, 174
<i>Pāṅgarh, s. a. Pāṅgarh.</i>	283
<i>Pāṅgarhūlam, m.</i>	331, 341
<i>Paṭṭiṣṭra, m.</i>	28
<i>Paṭṭiṣṭra, m.</i>	199
<i>paṭṭiṣṭraṭṭi (paṭṭiṣṭraṭṭi).</i>	107, 117
<i>Paṭṭiṣṭra, m.</i>	4
<i>Paṭṭiṣṭra, W. Gaṅga k.</i>	264n
<i>paṭṭiṣṭraṭṭi, m.</i>	1, 208
<i>Paṭṭiṣṭra, the 13th sarga of the Nāṭika-</i>	
<i>dhīyāśāstra.</i>	115n
<i>Paṭṭiṣṭra, di.</i>	238
<i>Paṭṭiṣṭra, m.</i>	139
<i>Pāṅgarh or Pāṅgarhādya, m.</i>	49, 50, 56
<i>paṭṭiṣṭra, 106, 107, 115, 116, 117, 119, 164,</i>	
	165n, 169, 216
<i>Pāṅgarh rock.</i>	36n
<i>Paṅga, mythical h.</i>	28n
<i>Paṅga, m.</i>	84, 85, 86n, 87, 88, 89, 93n, 101n,
	201, 205, 206, 214, 223, 223, 230n, 236,
	230, 233, 234n, 230, 231, 240
<i>Paṅga-kulaśāstra-pāṅgarhādya, m.</i>	230, 231, 241
<i>Paṅga-maṅga, m.</i>	231, 241
<i>Paṅga-villarsa, m.</i>	19
<i>Paṅga-nāṅga, di.</i>	221, 223
<i>Pāṅga, quoted.</i>	46n, 46, 205n, 244, 250
<i>Pāṅga, m.</i>	69, 60, 61
<i>Pāṅga, m.</i>	176
<i>Pāṅga, m.</i>	192
<i>Pāṅga, m.</i>	231
<i>Pāṅga-kulam, m.</i>	231
<i>Pāṅga, Rāṅga-kāṅga k.</i>	23n, 245, 246, 251,
	262, 266
<i>Pāṅga-kāṅga, m.</i>	49, 56

	PAGE
<i>paṅga, m.</i>	236, 237
<i>Paṅga-kāṅga-kāṅga, m.</i>	49n
<i>Paṅga-kāṅga-kāṅga, m.</i>	89, 209, 210, 213, 214,
	217, 218, 219, 220, 244, 239
<i>paṅga-kāṅga-kāṅga, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10,</i>	
	170, 199, 204, 205, 206,
	244, 245, 246, 247, 248
<i>paṅga-kāṅga-kāṅga-kāṅga, m.</i>	249
<i>paṅga-kāṅga-kāṅga, m.</i>	249, 250
<i>Paṅga, dy.</i>	3n, 11, 12, 44, 62n, 71, 72, 81,
	83n, 103, 104, 105, 106, 112n, 113, 118
	120, 144, 151, 152
<i>Paṅga, m.</i>	151
<i>Paṅga-kāṅga-kāṅga-kāṅga, m.</i>	62
<i>paṅga-kāṅga-kāṅga, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10,</i>	
	50, 101, 132, 159, 160, 204, 205, 206, 207
	313, 315, 316
<i>Paṅga-kāṅga-kāṅga, s. a. Paṅga.</i>	109
<i>Paṅga-kāṅga-kāṅga, m.</i>	239
<i>Paṅga-kāṅga-kāṅga, m.</i>	217
<i>Paṅga-kāṅga-kāṅga, m.</i>	201
<i>Paṅga, m.</i>	153
<i>Paṅga-kāṅga-kāṅga, quoted.</i>	115n
<i>Paṅga-kāṅga, m.</i>	22
<i>Paṅga-kāṅga, m.</i>	153
<i>Paṅga-kāṅga, m.</i>	115, 116, 117
<i>Paṅga-kāṅga, m.</i>	106
<i>Paṅga-kāṅga, m.</i>	194
<i>Paṅga-kāṅga, m.</i>	104
<i>Paṅga-kāṅga-kāṅga, m.</i>	113n, 114
<i>Paṅga-kāṅga-kāṅga, m.</i>	242, 243
<i>Paṅga-kāṅga, m.</i>	24
<i>Paṅga-kāṅga, m.</i>	331
<i>Paṅga, m.</i>	93n
<i>Paṅga-kāṅga-kāṅga, m.</i>	247n
<i>Paṅga-kāṅga, m.</i>	106n
<i>Paṅga-kāṅga, m.</i>	129, 130
<i>Paṅga, m.</i>	277, 278
<i>Paṅga-kāṅga-kāṅga, m.</i>	71, 215, 216, 236, 237
<i>Paṅga-kāṅga-kāṅga, m.</i>	207n
<i>Paṅga-kāṅga, m.</i>	199, 199
<i>Paṅga-kāṅga, m.</i>	276
<i>Paṅga-kāṅga, m.</i>	14, 15
<i>Paṅga-kāṅga, m.</i>	200
<i>Paṅga-kāṅga, m.</i>	200
<i>Paṅga-kāṅga, m.</i>	20, 21, 22
<i>Paṅga, m.</i>	200
<i>paṅga (paṅga).</i>	200
<i>paṅga (paṅga).</i>	106, 107, 116, 119

	PAGE		PAGE
pathaka, <i>a district</i> , . . . . .	106, 119, 120	pīrāda, . . . . .	306
Pathādi, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	26n, 246, 251	Piṣṭhapura, <i>s. a.</i> Pāṭhāpuram, . . . . .	317, 319
Paṭi or Paṭṭi, <i>sur of</i> Humcha, . . . . .	17, 18, 19,	Pīspati, <i>f</i> , . . . . .	141
	21, 234	Pīṣamāha, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	189
Paṭṭakellā, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	285, 287	Pīṭhādi, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	149
Paṭika, <i>Satrap</i> , . . . . .	139	Pīṭhāpura or Pīṭhāpari, <i>s. a.</i> Pīṭhāpuram, . . . . .	322n
Paṭṭā, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	28	Pīṭhāpuram, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	48, 49, 317, 322
pātra, . . . . .	176, 177, 181	Pīṭhā or Pīṭhikā, <i>s. a.</i> Pīṭhāpuram, . . . . .	320, 321,
paṭṭa, . . . . .	154		322, 323, 326
paṭṭabandha, . . . . .	26, 28	Pitṛisvāmi, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	288
Paṭṭadakal, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	102	poduvai, . . . . .	235, 237, 238, 239
Pattah, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	181n	Pojalarasa, <i>s. a.</i> Prōla, . . . . .	269, 280, 286
Paṭṭaikkulam, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	331 and add, 341	poli, <i>s. a.</i> poliśai, . . . . .	86
paṭṭakula, . . . . .	105, 119	Polekōṣin or Polekōṣin I, <i>W. Chalukya</i>	
pattalaka, . . . . .	320n	<i>k</i> , . . . . .	99 and add, 201
paṭṭalikā, . . . . .	320, 327	Polekōṣi-Vallabha or Polekōṣi-Vallabha, <i>s. a.</i>	
paṭṭa-mahādōvi, . . . . .	316	Ponkaṣin I, . . . . .	101, 204
Pattana, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	114n	poliṁ (poliśai) or poliśa, . . . . .	86
paṭṭavall, . . . . .	149	Polakku, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	20
paṭṭi, <i>a plot of land</i> , . . . . .	189n	Pōlā <i>m</i> , . . . . .	127
Pātuka, <i>k</i> , . . . . .	73	Pōlū, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	230
Paṇḍia, <i>co</i> , . . . . .	42, 48	Pombuchcha or Pombuchchapura, <i>s. a.</i> Hum-	
Pavitra, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	117	<i>cha</i> , . . . . .	17, 18, 261
pavitra, 'the argha vessel,' . . . . .	115n	Pombuchha, <i>do</i> , . . . . .	17, 22
Pāṇuvāra-vishaya, <i>s. a.</i> Pāgunavāra-vishaya,	132, 133	Pombuchhu, <i>do</i> , . . . . .	16, 17
Pedda-Vēgi, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	58	Ponvula, <i>do</i> , . . . . .	17, 23, 24
Pēṭhlaka, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	2	Pollori, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	21
Penbasaaru, <i>s. a.</i> Hebsur, . . . . .	201, 206	Pocma, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	200
Pennai, <i>s. a.</i> Ponnar, . . . . .	86, 91	Poonnari, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	177n
Pennar (Southern), <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	88	Pōravāda, <i>s. a.</i> Prāgvāṭa, . . . . .	149
Pērāmbā, <i>queen of</i> Gaṇapati, . . . . .	262n	porikkhaṭi, . . . . .	92
Pēraṅgiyūr, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	208	ṛōta, <i>a sacrificial victim</i> , . . . . .	177
Pērbballi, <i>s. a.</i> Hebballi, . . . . .	201, 206	Pōtanabhaṭṭa, . . . . .	183n
pergaḍe, . . . . .	259, 266, 267	Potimar, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	160, 161, 164
Pēriyālvār, <i>Śrivaishnava saint</i> , . . . . .	330n	Potunāka, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	319
Peizan, . . . . .	136, 139, 141	Poyasa, <i>s. a.</i> Hoysala, . . . . .	16
Perumbānappādi, <i>do</i> , . . . . .	231, 233	Prabandhuohintāmapī, <i>quoted</i> , . . . . .	105n, 149n, 156n
Perunduvāṇar, <i>commentator</i> , . . . . .	230	Prabhākarabhaṭṭi, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	25, 40n
Peruṅgingadēva, <i>Pallava k</i> , . . . . .	207, 216, 217, 223	Prabhākarasvāmi, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	282, 284, 288
Peshwa, . . . . .	43	Prabhāvatiguptā, <i>queen of</i> Badrasēna	
Pēṭhaḍa, <i>s. a.</i> Pīṭhāda, . . . . .	160	<i>II</i> , . . . . .	268
Phalgasvāmi, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	282, 284	Prabhāṭiavaraha, <i>sur of</i> Gōvinda III, . . . . .	16
Pharasakōṭ (Parasakōṭṭa), <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	169n	prabōṭini śkādaśi, <i>tithi</i> , . . . . .	304
piḷḷayār śūli, . . . . .	318n	Prāchōṭasa, <i>s. a.</i> Vālmīki, . . . . .	11
Piḷḷvārā, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	188	Prāgvāṭa, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	64, 81, 149, 151
Pinnama II, <i>Karnāṭa ch</i> , . . . . .	329	Prāhārābhūṣana, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	19
Piplānagar, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	120	Prāhādanadōvi, <i>queen of</i> Udayasimha, . . . . .	78, 88
Pirayānkulam, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	841	prāṭāra, . . . . .	331
Pindupati, <i>s. a.</i> Prithivipati II, . . . . .	82n	prakṛiti, <i>the</i> Kshatriya caste, . . . . .	279
		Pralavā, <i>s. a.</i> Halibā, . . . . .	169

	PAGE		PAGE
Pramāra, s. a. Paramāra, 11, 12, 108, 116,		Indrapramada, . . . . .	276n
118, 121, 151		Jāmadagnya, . . . . .	110, 111, 112, 122
pransva, . . . . .	341	Kaikasa, . . . . .	110
Prāndoru, or, . . . . .	132, 133	Kāmkāyana, . . . . .	110
Piānkāśvara, te., . . . . .	168, 170	Kāśyapa, . . . . .	110, 111, 112
Prapañcāmrta, poem, . . . . .	380n	Mudgala, . . . . .	111
Prasanna, ch., . . . . .	172	Naidhava, . . . . .	110, 111, 112
prastāti, 41n, 71, 79, 107, 118, 123, 128,		Parāśara or Pāśāśara, . . . . .	109, 112
151, 182, 183, 189, 250, 251, 293,		Parāvasa, . . . . .	110
300, 321, 323		Śakti (Śakti), . . . . .	109, 112
Prasiddhadhava, sur of Mugdhatunga, . . . . .	27	Śāmditya, . . . . .	111, 112
prastha, measure, . . . . .	289, 290	Sārātasa, . . . . .	110
Pratāpa, Chāhamāna k. of Naddāla, . . . . .	80, 83	Vaitahavya, . . . . .	110
Pratāpachakravartin, sur of Jagadēkamalla		Vasisthā or Vāsisthā, 109, 110, 112,	
II, . . . . .	258n	276n, 303	
Pratāpamalla, s. a. Pratāpa, . . . . .	81, 152	Yauvanāśva, . . . . .	112
Pratāpajādēva, Bastar ch., . . . . .	166	Pravaraśeṇa I, Vākhāka k., . . . . .	268
Pratāparudra, k., . . . . .	163n	Pravaraśeṇa II, do, . . . . .	267n, 268, 269,
Pratāparudra or Pratāparudradēva, Kākhattya		270n, 271n	
k., . . . . .	165, 166, 257n, 259, 261n	Prāyasvāmi, m., . . . . .	288
Pratāparudrayasōbhishapa, s. a. Pratāparu-		pregaḍā, a minister, . . . . .	313
driya, . . . . .	168	Prithā, mythical queen, . . . . .	255
Pratāparudriya, . . . . .	165n, 166	Prithivipāla or Prithivipāla, Chāhamāna k	
prātibhōdikā, . . . . .	299	of Naddāla, . . . . .	84, 72, 83
pratihāra, . . . . .	119, 190, 199	Prithivipati I, W Ganga k., . . . . .	87, 88
Pratihāra or Pratihāra, dy., 28, 62n, 199, 277,		Prithivipati II, do., . . . . .	87n, 88n
278, 279		Prithivisāgara, Ālupa k., . . . . .	17, 19, 20, 21, 22
pratihārya or prātihārya, . . . . .	56	Prithivishēna I, Vākhāka k., . . . . .	268, 269
pratiḡgarānaka, s. a. parganā, . . . . .	106, 106, 120	Prithivishēna II, do, . . . . .	267, 269
pratōli, . . . . .	125	prithivivallabha, . . . . .	101
pravapikara, tax, . . . . .	305	Prithivivarmadēva, E Ganga k., . . . . .	274
Pravaraṇa, or, . . . . .	268	Prithuvaidhana, Śailavamā k., . . . . .	42, 46
Pravaras —		Prithvidēva, Ratnapura ch., . . . . .	293, 294, 295
Ābharadvasu, . . . . .	276n	Prithvidhara, m., . . . . .	117
Āmbarisha, . . . . .	112	Prithvirāja, Chauhān k., . . . . .	178
Āngirasa, . . . . .	109, 110, 111, 112, 122	Prithvirāja, s. a. Prithvidēva, . . . . .	294
Āpnavāna, . . . . .	110, 111, 112, 122	Prithvirāja II, Chāhamāna k. of Śākamāhart,	
Asita, . . . . .	111, 112	Prithvirāja Rāso, quoted, . . . . .	178n
Aurva, . . . . .	110, 111, 112, 122	prithvivallabha, . . . . .	265
Autatthya (Auchatthya), . . . . .	111, 122	Priyachelva, m., . . . . .	20
Āvatsāra, . . . . .	110, 111, 119	Prōdarāja, s. a. Prōla, . . . . .	185, 260
Bārhaaspatya, . . . . .	110, 111, 112, 122	Prōla or Prōlarasa, Kākhattya k., 165, 256,	
Bhāradvāja, . . . . .	110, 111, 112, 122	257n, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263	
Bhārgava, . . . . .	110, 111, 112, 122	Prōlarāja, s. a. Prōla, . . . . .	185, 260
Bhārmyasva, . . . . .	111n	Prōṇṇiyō, m., . . . . .	316
Chayavana, . . . . .	110, 111, 112, 122	Ptolemy, . . . . .	291
Dēvala, . . . . .	111, 112	Pudukkōttai, or, . . . . .	331
Gārgya, . . . . .	109	Pōli visūay i, ii, . . . . .	314
Gaurivita, . . . . .	109	Pulakēśin, s. a. Polikēśin I, . . . . .	317
Gautama, . . . . .	111, 122		

rājādhirāja or rājatarāja,	2, 4, 168, 242, 244,	Page
Rājādhirāja I, <i>Chōla k.</i>		245, 246
Rājādhirāja [I], <i>do.</i>	207, 210, 211, 212,	218, 230
rājādhirājarahi,		218, 219
Rājāditya or Rājādityarasa, <i>k.</i>		342a
Rāja-gachcha, <i>school of Jaina teachers,</i>		16
rāja-guru,		107
Rājaka, <i>m.</i>		122
Rājakśasavarman, <i>Chōla k.</i>		92a
Rājakśasavarman, <i>sur. of Chōla kings,</i>	86n,	
	88n, 179n, 207, 210, 211, 212, 213, 217,	
	218, 219, 221	
Rājakśasavarman Vira-Pāṇḍya, <i>Kongu k.</i>		228, 229, 230
rājakula,		67
Rāja Malik or Malik Rāja, <i>Fārdī k.</i>	307,	
	308, 309, 310	
Rājamārtanda, <i>F. Chalukya k.</i>		49, 56
Rājamayya, <i>s. a. Rājamārtanda,</i>		49
rājan,		82, 106, 116
Rājānāthakavi, <i>poet,</i>		350a
Rājapur, <i>fort,</i>		161
Rājapura, <i>vs.</i>	174, 175, 176, 178, 179,	151
rājaputra,		66, 67, 301
Rājārāja, <i>F. Chalukya ch.</i>		32c
Rājārāja I., <i>Chōla k.</i>	84, 89, 92n, 93n, 207,	
	217, 231, 235a	
Rājārāja II, <i>do.</i>	207, 209, 210, 213,	
Rājārāja III, <i>Chōla k.</i>	213, 215, 216, 221	
Rājārāja-chaturvedimuttigalam, <i>sur. of Amba-</i>		
<i>śamudraṇ,</i>		8
Rājārājakśasavarman, <i>s. a. Rājārāja I.</i>	207, 301	
Rājārāja-unapālam, <i>the Pāṇḍya country,</i>		201
Rāja-Rājāśādeva, <i>s. a. Rājārāja I.</i>		8
Rājasekhara, <i>poet,</i>		4, 27
Rājāsambhāra, <i>ts.</i>		302, 308
Rājasthāntya,		190, 385
Rājatarāṅgiṇī, <i>quoted,</i>	248, 300, 301n	
rājavall		81, 151, 152
Rājavall-kāthe,		266n
rājavallabha,		168n
Rājś, <i>sw.</i>		116
Rājendra-Chōla, <i>Volandugu ch.</i>		261, 262a
Rājendra-Chōla I., <i>Chōla k.</i>	84, 86n, 88,	
	179n, 217, 229, 230, 231, 232, 322	
Rājendra-Chōla II., <i>sur. of Kulōttunga I.</i>		213
Rājendra-Chōla III., <i>Chōla k.</i>		213, 232
Rājendra-Chōla-Viṅgaya, <i>ts.</i>		244

	PAGE		PAGE
Rājendradēva, <i>Chōla k.</i> , . . . . .	89, 218	Rajāsāgara, <i>Alupa k.</i> , . . . . .	17, 18, 19
Rājendrasimha-vaṇaśālin, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	87	Rajāsūtra, <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	281, 288
Rāj Goṇḍ, <i>tribe</i> , . . . . .	281	Rajavigraha, <i>s a</i> Mugdhatunga, . . . . .	27, 39
Rājula, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	192	Ranavikrama, <i>sur of</i> Polikēsin I., . . . . .	317, 319
Rājula, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	189, 191	Ranavikramanātha, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	21
Rājula, <i>Pratīhāra ch.</i> , . . . . .	279	Ranavira, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	316
rājūti, . . . . .	303	Rānāyini, <i>sākhā</i> , . . . . .	116
Rajpāldēva, <i>Bastar ch.</i> , . . . . .	186	Ratgakeshtindra, <i>brother of</i> Achyutaiāya, . . . . .	340
Rajputānā, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	150, 189, 279	ratga-mandapa, . . . . .	331, 341
Rājula, <i>Satrap.</i> , . . . . .	138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143 and add, 147	Ranganātha, <i>te</i> , . . . . .	330, 340
Rājyaghaṅgakaṁ, <i>et.</i> , . . . . .	199	Ranjubala, <i>s a</i> Rājula, . . . . .	142
Rājyamahādēvi, <i>queen</i> , . . . . .	284n	Rajpādēvi <i>queen of</i> Dharmapāla, . . . . .	251
Rājyasthala, <i>et.</i> , . . . . .	2	rāshtra, <i>a province</i> , . . . . .	40
rakābhōgam (rāja-bhōga n), . . . . .	238n	Rāshtrakūṭa, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	3, 15, 16, 25, 26, 27, 28, 39, 43, 44, 48, 49, 71, 172, 193, 194, 195, 250, 251, 255, 283, 323, 323
rākeṣa, . . . . .	55	rāshtrakūṭa, <i>the headman of a village</i> , . . . . .	56, 132
Raktapura, <i>s a</i> Lakshmiśvara, . . . . .	201, 208	Rāshtraudra, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	67
Rāma, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	115	Rāshtrōja, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	67n
Rāma or Rāmarāja II, <i>Karnāṭa</i> <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	329, 330, 340	Rājahra, <i>et.</i> , . . . . .	73
Rāma, <i>saint</i> , 80n, 113, 164n, 185, 266, 312, 340		Ratanpur, <i>et.</i> , . . . . .	27, 43n, 162n, 181n, 293, 295
Ramā, <i>s a</i> Lakshmi, . . . . .	236	Ratanpura, <i>et.</i> , . . . . .	73
Rāmachandra, <i>Jaina teacher</i> , . . . . .	71	Ratāwā, <i>et.</i> , . . . . .	184
Rāmachandra, <i>s a</i> Rāma, . . . . .	66, 181, 185	Rati, <i>goddess</i> , . . . . .	263
Rāmacharita, <i>poem</i> , . . . . .	321, 322	Ratidāsa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	192
Rāmadēva, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	301, 302	Ratnapura, <i>s a</i> Ratanpura, . . . . .	73
Rāmadēva, <i>Dēvagrī Yādava k.</i> , . . . . .	200	ratna-traya, . . . . .	265
Ramalava-vishaya, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	273, 277	Raṭṭa, <i>s a</i> Rāshtrakūṭa, . . . . .	27, 39
Rāmalingadēvarasvāmī, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	46	Raṭṭa-Kandarpa, <i>sur of</i> Indra III., . . . . .	27, 40
Rāmanāksana, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	316	Raṭṭapādī (Irattabādī), <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	230, 233
Rāmanāthapuram, <i>et.</i> , . . . . .	86	Raṭṭarāja, <i>Siddra ch.</i> , . . . . .	28
Rāmatgūṇam, <i>et.</i> , . . . . .	331, 341	Rāvana, <i>demon</i> , . . . . .	39, 113n, 260
Rāmapāla, <i>Pāla k.</i> , . . . . .	220, 321, 322, 326	Rāviparra, <i>et.</i> , . . . . .	132, 133
Rāmapālācharita, <i>s a</i> Rāmacharita, . . . . .	322	Rāvya penya-cheruvu, <i>tanke</i> , . . . . .	59
Rāmappa lake, . . . . .	257n	Rāyapāla, <i>Chōlamāna k of</i> Naddāla, . . . . .	158, 159
Rāmarāja I, <i>Karnāṭa ch.</i> , . . . . .	329	Rēbhilāka, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	192
Rāmasaṁya, <i>s a</i> Rāma, . . . . .	73, 74	Rēoharla, <i>family (?)</i> , . . . . .	257a
Rāmasarman, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	201, 206	Red hill, . . . . .	43
Rāmāyana, . . . . .	312, 343	Rēva, <i>s a</i> Narmadā, . . . . .	105, 119, 120
Rāmēśvara, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	119, 117	Rēvatīsvāmī, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	267, 288
Rāmaṇ, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	73	Rishabha, <i>s a</i> Ādinātha, . . . . .	148, 149, 151, 152, 154, 156n
Rāmtak, <i>et.</i> , . . . . .	43, 44	Rishi, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	117
Rāpabhaṭṭa or Rāpabhaṭṭadēva, <i>Bhaṭṭa</i> <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	272n, 273	Rōhana, <i>mo.</i> , . . . . .	323, 328
Rāpadhāri, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	22	Rōhimsaka, <i>s a</i> Ghaṭṭiyālā, . . . . .	273, 279
rāpaka, . . . . .	73, 168n	Rōhimsakūpa or 'kūpaka, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	273, 279
Rāpakesarin, <i>Kāṭura ch.</i> , . . . . .	138, 137	Rōhimsēvāmī, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	238
Rāpakīrti, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	86n	Rōḍaladēvi, <i>Chōlamāna princess</i> , . . . . .	73, 88
Rāpabhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	25, 40n	Rudhirādhyāya, <i>quoted</i> , . . . . .	177n
Rāparaga, <i>W. Chalukya k.</i> , . . . . .	317, 319	Rudra, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	257n



	PAGE
Rudra, Rudradēva or Rudradēva-Mahārāja, <i>Kākatīya k.</i> . . . . .	165, 256n, 257n, 259, 260, 261n, 262
Rudra, <i>Nāṭavāḍi ch.</i> . . . .	202n
Rudra, Rudramadēvi or Rudradēva-Mahārāja, <i>s a Rudrāmbā,</i> . . . . .	165n, 257n and add
Rudraka, <i>m.</i> . . . .	192
Rudrumahādēvi, <i>s. a. Rudrāmbā,</i> . . . .	257 add
Rudrāmbā, <i>Kākatīya queen,</i> . . . .	164n, 165n and add
Rudrapratāpādēva, <i>Bastar ch.</i> . . . .	166
Rudrasēna I, <i>Vākāṭaka k.</i> . . . .	268
Rudrasēna II, <i>do,</i> . . . . .	268
Rudrāsvara, <i>te,</i> . . . . .	257n
Rūpādēvi, <i>queen of Tōjasimha,</i> . . . .	74, 83
rūpakāra, . . . . .	119

## S

Sabbamā, <i>Konḍapadmalai princess,</i> . . . .	202n
Sabbamā, <i>Velanāṇḍu princess,</i> . . . .	262n
Sabbi-sāyira (Sabbi, one thousand), <i>di.</i> . . . .	258, 259, 260, 266
Śabdānuśāsanaṣṛitti, <i>quoted,</i> . . . .	207
śābdika, <i>a grammarian,</i> . . . . .	119
Sābhāpati Svayambhū, <i>m.</i> . . . .	331, 341
Sādāsiva or Sādāsivārāja, <i>T'ayanagara k.</i> . . . .	328, 329, 330, 331, 340, 341
Sādha, <i>ch.</i> . . . .	72
Sadbanva, <i>Chaulukya ch.</i> . . . .	8
Sādhārāpa, <i>m.</i> . . . .	117
sādhu, . . . . .	181, 238, 239n, 313, 316
Sādri, <i>vs.</i> . . . .	158
Saduktikarnāmrta, <i>poem,</i> . . . . .	323
Sagalarāja or Saḷagarāja, <i>ch.</i> . . . .	330
Sagara, <i>mythical k.</i> . . . .	164n, 206
sāgarakṣhōbha, <i>musical instrument,</i> . . . .	2n
Sāgguyayana, <i>k.</i> . . . .	280, 288
Saghatān, <i>s a Seistān,</i> . . . . .	137
Sahādēva, <i>ch.</i> . . . .	301
Sāhāratga (Sāhārasu), <i>m.</i> . . . .	181
Sāhasastunga, <i>sur of Dantidurga,</i> . . . .	255n
Sahasārjuna, <i>mythical k.</i> . . . .	89
Sahēt Mahēt, <i>vs.</i> . . . .	290, 291
Sāhila, <i>m.</i> . . . .	250
Sāhityapraśāsa, <i>quoted,</i> . . . . .	45n
Sālavamāsa, <i>family,</i> . . . . .	42, 43, 44, 46
Sālodbhava, <i>do,</i> . . . . .	42, 43
Sālodbhava, <i>ch.</i> . . . .	42
Saiva, . . . . .	18, 89
Saivism, . . . . .	287

Saka, <i>tribe,</i> . . . . .	PAGE 139, 147
Śakadvīpa- or Śakadvīpīya Bhāṣaṇa, . . . .	279
Śākambhari, <i>vs.</i> . . . .	82, 87, 71, 80, 82, 83, 154, 261
Śākambhari-maṇḍika, <i>sur of Lakṣmīnara,</i> . . . .	71n, 80
Sakotiana, <i>the Saka country,</i> . . . . .	139, 147
Śakakṛtōttan or Śakarakōttam, <i>s. a.</i> . . . .	Chakrakōṭya, 179n and add, 230, 233
Śaktikamāra, <i>m.</i> . . . .	128
Śakyamuni, <i>s a Buddha,</i> . . . . .	141
Śalankāyana, <i>family,</i> . . . . .	58, 66
Śaṇḍya, <i>do,</i> . . . . .	380n
Śilya, <i>mythical k.</i> . . . .	256
Śilya or Śatruśilya, <i>k.</i> . . . .	73
Samahartṭi, . . . . .	43
Sāmaḡ guthi, <i>vs.</i> . . . .	193
Sāmanta, . . . . .	71n, 132, 172, 273
Sāmanta, <i>Chāḍamāna k of Śākambhari,</i> . . . .	62
Sāmara, <i>m.</i> . . . .	318
Sāmarajura, <i>vs.</i> . . . .	73
Sāmarasila, <i>s a. Sāmarasimha,</i> . . . .	73
Sāmarasimha, <i>Chāḍamāna k of Naddāla,</i> . . . .	62n, 71, 74, 80, 81, 82, 83, 163
Sāmarasimha, <i>m.</i> . . . .	153
Sāmaravallaka, <i>sur of Śankaragana,</i> . . . .	193, 195
Sāmantabaliyavānārāja, <i>sur. of E Chalukya</i> <i>king,</i> . . . . .	43, 56, 132
Sāmantasimha, <i>Chāḍamāna ch.</i> . . . .	53
Sāmatyadīdharaṇḍa, <i>biruda,</i> . . . . .	330, 341
Sāmatyakōṭihala, <i>do,</i> . . . . .	330, 341
Sāmbharirāja, <i>a Chāḍamāna chief,</i> . . . .	71n
Śāmbhu, <i>s. a. Śiva,</i> . . . . .	71, 72, 271, 34 <sup>2</sup>
Śāmbhukallu, <i>te.</i> . . . .	17, 19
Śāmbulaka, <i>vs.</i> . . . .	173
Sāmgama, <i>m.</i> . . . .	6
Sāmgamarāja, <i>ch.</i> . . . .	11
Sāmgamasimha, <i>k.</i> . . . .	344 <sup>2</sup>
Sāmira, <i>vs.</i> . . . .	19
Sāmkara, <i>s a Śiva,</i> . . . . .	67, 187
Sāmkaravāmi, <i>m.</i> . . . .	282, 284
Sāmkī, <i>s a. Sankī,</i> . . . . .	28, 29, 40 <sup>2</sup>
saṃkrānti —	
Makara-saṃkrānti, . . . . .	380, 34 <sup>2</sup>
Uttarāyana saṃkrānti (Winter solstice), . . . .	42, 56, 259, 266
Sāmol, <i>vs.</i> . . . .	1
Samuddhara, <i>m.</i> . . . .	117
Samudraghōṣa, <i>musical instrument,</i> . . . .	208
Samudragupta, <i>Gupta k.</i> . . . .	184n, 3
Sāmyatasimha, <i>s. a. Sāmyantasimha,</i> . . . .	74n, 8

	PAGE		PAGE
Āmyantasiṃha, <i>Chāḥumāna k.</i> , . . .	74, 83	sarvamañya, . . . . .	341
ājāchi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	136, 244, 245, 246	Sarvāstivādin, <i>school of Buddhist teachers</i> , . . . . .	139, 141, 144, 146, 291
ājāchor, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	78	sarvātōbhadra, . . . . .	125
Āndavarada, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	21	Sarvavānu ( <i>Sarvabandhu</i> ), <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	24
Āpādra or Sanderaka-gaohcha, <i>school of Jain teachers</i> , . . . . .	63	śāsana, <i>religion</i> , . . . . .	55
Āndāśa, <i>s a</i> Sanderao, . . . . .	63n, 72	Śāsanadēvi, <i>goddess</i> , . . . . .	257n, 266
Ānderao, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	63n, 72	Śāshankarāja, <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	42, 286, 343a
āndhivigrahika, . . . . .	119, 272, 274	Satajana, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	106, 120
Āndhyākaranandi, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	321	Satājuna, <i>s a</i> Satajana, . . . . .	105, 106
Āndhīyakavichakravartin, <i>bird of Trivikrama</i> , . . . . .	28	Sātārā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	317
Āndimattivū, <i>the island of Sāntimat</i> , . . . . .	230, 233	sati pillars, . . . . .	161, 166
Āndohal, <i>s a</i> Dan Doil, . . . . .	172n	Satrap, <i>s a</i> Kshatrapa, . . . . .	138, 139,
Ān Doil, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	172n		140, 141, 143, 144, 147
Ānga, <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	78	Śatruñjaya, <i>hill</i> , . . . . .	153
āngha, . . . . .	141, 146	Śatrumajaya-māhātmya, <i>quoted</i> , . . . . .	155n
Āngli, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	27, 28	Sattamadēva, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	152
Āṅkarāchārya, <i>Advaita teacher</i> , . . . . .	206	Śātaṇ Śudaiyaṇ, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	239
Āṅkaradēvi, <i>Rāshīrakūṭa princess</i> , . . . . .	320,	Satyadēva, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	189, 192
	322, 323, 326	Satyagurinatā-Perumāl, <i>to</i> , . . . . .	225
Āṅkaragana, <i>Kaluchuri k.</i> , . . . . .	48, 296, 299	Sātyaki, <i>branch of the Yadu dynasty</i> , . . . . .	26, 38
Āṅkaragana or Āṅkaragapurāja, <i>Rāshīrakūṭa</i>		Satyapura, <i>s a</i> Sānchor, . . . . .	73
<i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	193, 195	Satyāśraya, <i>sur of W Chalukya kings</i> , . . . . .	55,
Śākhādā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	300 add		69, 101, 183, 201, 265, 317, 319
Śākhint, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	161, 164	Satyāśraya ( <i>Trivabedanga</i> ), <i>W. Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	166n
Śāki, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	29	Saurāshṭra-maṇḍala, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	3, 4
Śākhla, <i>s a</i> Śāṅkaragana, . . . . .	48, 49, 55	Saurāshṭrika, . . . . .	67
Śākhula, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	48	Śauri, <i>s a</i> Vishnu, . . . . .	250, 256
śankura ( <i>śankara</i> ), <i>a double sack</i> , . . . . .	22n	Śauri-Nārāyaṇ, <i>te</i> , . . . . .	303
Śānharan Kapḍaṇ, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	239	Sauvaidhana, <i>Saivamaṇsa k.</i> , . . . . .	42, 46
śānidhātṛ, . . . . .	43	Sauvargagiri, <i>s a</i> Sonalgarh, . . . . .	73
śāntāna, <i>tree</i> , . . . . .	340	Śavai-vāṭiyar, . . . . .	86n
Śāntara, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	16 and add., 261	Śavajakkāṇḍulam, . . . . .	331, 341
Śāntilla, <i>general</i> , . . . . .	300 add.	Śāvitrī, <i>f.</i> , . . . . .	316
Śāpādalaksha, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	154	śāva(śao), <i>s a</i> sēthi, . . . . .	167, 169, 170
śārā, <i>supervision (?)</i> , . . . . .	168n	Scythian, . . . . .	140
Śārabhapura, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	172, 262, 263, 284 and add	Sebbi, <i>thirty, di.</i> , . . . . .	268n
Śārangarh, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	281, 282, 283	Śagrava ( <i>Saigrava</i> ), <i>gōtra</i> , . . . . .	247, 248
Sarasvatī, <i>goddess</i> , . . . . .	114, 266, 316	Saistān, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	137, 139
Sarasvatī, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	12	Sēnavadi, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	22
Sarasvatī or Sarasvatī-śthāna, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	107, 116	Śendamil, <i>quoted</i> , . . . . .	330n
Sarasvatīkapṭhābharapa, <i>work</i> , . . . . .	28	Śēṇḍavika, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	8
Sargachh, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	181n	Seornārāyan, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	130, 283
Sarjupari, <i>seat of Brāhmaṇas</i> , . . . . .	304	Śēramāṇ, <i>the Chēra king</i> , . . . . .	231n
Sārāth, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	139, 140, 240n,		313
	241, 261, 292, 319	serpent, <i>banner</i> , . . . . .	206
śāṅga, <i>bow</i> , . . . . .	38	Śēsha, <i>serpent</i> , . . . . .	167, 169
Sarsavā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	296, 298n, 299n	sēthi, . . . . .	213
Saravigōśaṅga, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	24	Set-Mahet, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	33, 340
Sarvajñachakravartin, <i>sur. of Śōmēśvara III</i> , . . . . .	258n	Sētu, <i>s a</i> Rāmēśvaram, . . . . .	279
		Śēvak, <i>s a</i> Śākadvīpa-Brahmana, . . . . .	3 c 2

	PAGE
śevittu (śeviti), <i>measure</i> , . . . . .	86, 92, 93
Shāhībūgarhī, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	136, 142
Shāhī Vāsashika, <i>s. a.</i> Vāsushika, . . . . .	241
shambhālātmaka, . . . . .	105
Shandhraka-gachchha, <i>s. a.</i> Sandhira-gachchha, . . . . .	63n
Shasahasra, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	261n
Shao, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	278
Shārmāśvī, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	88n
Shimadhara, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	153
Shivallī, <i>s. a.</i> Śivallī, . . . . .	21
Sholinghur, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	18n, 89n
Siddhādhirāja, <i>s. a.</i> Siddharāja, . . . . .	72
Siddhapabbattā, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	25, 40
Siddharāja, <i>Chaulukya k.</i> , . . . . .	72, 83n
Siddhōvara, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	103
Siggava, <i>s. a.</i> Śāgrava, . . . . .	248
Siba, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	6, 153
Śihavāhalaka, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	2
Śihāwā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	124, 107, 182, 183, 184, 185
Śīlabhadrasūtri, <i>Jaina teacher</i> , . . . . .	154
Śīlabhātījadōva, <i>Bhañja ch.</i> , . . . . .	273
Śīlabhātīyapātī, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	278n
Śīlāra, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	119n
Śīlōdbhava, <i>s. a.</i> Śailōdbhava, . . . . .	42
Śilpin, . . . . .	323, 334
Śīluka, <i>Pratihāra ch.</i> , . . . . .	280
Śimha, <i>s. a.</i> Jayasimha, . . . . .	301, 302
Simha or Simharāja, <i>Kākasa ch.</i> , 182, 183, 184, 185	
Simhakaṭṭha, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	117
simhakarpa, . . . . .	15n
Simhaja, <i>s. a.</i> Ceylon, . . . . .	178, 203
Simharāj, <i>Kākasa ch.</i> , . . . . .	124, 127
Simhavarman, <i>Chaulukya ch.</i> , . . . . .	8
Simhavarman, <i>Pallava k.</i> , . . . . .	57
Simon Shāh, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	303n
Sinda, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	164, 178, 313
Sindho, <i>so.</i> , . . . . .	73
Sindhuputra, <i>s. a.</i> Sindhurāja, . . . . .	79n
Sindhurāja (Simharāja), <i>Chākhmāna k.</i> , . . . . .	79
Sindhurāja, <i>Paramāra k.</i> , . . . . .	3n, 118n
Siṅgadatta, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	21
Siṅghapa, <i>Dēvagrī Yādava k.</i> , . . . . .	165
Siṅyālāṅgulam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	331, 341
Sirohi, <i>State</i> , . . . . .	10, 82n, 148n, 188, 189
Sironcha, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	160, 162
Sirpur, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	312
Sijūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	238n
Sirāhi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	283
Śīsupālavadha, <i>poem</i> , 39n, 180, 250, 251,	
252n, 253n, 254n, 255n	

	PAGE
Śitala, <i>goddess</i> , . . . . .	12n, 13n
Śitalā, <i>tank</i> , . . . . .	123, 125
Śiva, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	25, 61, 72, 73, 86n, 96n, 105, 110,
132, 155n, 110, 163, 184, 108, 175, 181,	
182, 183, 185, 186, 190, 205, 208, 223,	
244n, 270, 275n, 294, 299, 301	
Śivalitiga, . . . . .	270
Śivallī (Shivallī), <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	21
Śivajāla, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	12
Śivarāja, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	285, 286, 288
Śivavallī, <i>s. a.</i> Śivallī, . . . . .	21, 22, 24
Śivaraṅgarāṭhasavāmin, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	207, 212
Śivālik, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	62, 67n, 154
Śivani, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	270n, 271n
Śiyadōni, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	63n, 180n and add.
Śībhanaśvā, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	149n
Śōbhita or Śōbhita, <i>s. a.</i> Śōhiya, . . . . .	67, 88n, 71,
80, 83	
Śōdha, <i>s. a.</i> Śūdhāsa, . . . . .	243, 245, 247, 248
Śōdha, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	68
Śōdhāsa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	118n
Śōdhāsa, <i>s. a.</i> Subhatavarman, . . . . .	106n
Śōhi, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	153
Śōhi, <i>s. a.</i> Śōhiya, . . . . .	80, 83
Śōhiya, <i>Chākhmāna k. of Naddūla</i> , . . . . .	64, 68n,
71, 80, 83	
Śōlar rana, . . . . .	164n, 260, 262
Śōmarchandra, <i>Kākasa ch.</i> , . . . . .	124, 137, 138
Śōmana, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	316
Śōmarājadōva, <i>Kākasa ch.</i> , . . . . .	167, 170, 183
Śōmōsa, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	72
Śōmōsvara, <i>Chākhmāna k. of Śākambhari</i> , . . . . .	62, 71n
Śōmōsvara, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	117
Śōmōsvara I., <i>W. Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	280
Śōmōsvara III, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	288n
Śōmōsvara or Śōmōsvaradōva (I), <i>Nāgasavali</i>	
<i>k.</i> , . . . . .	161, 162, 163, 164, 312, 316
Śōmōsvara or Śōmōsvaradōva (II), <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	180,
162, 164	
Śōmōdōva, <i>Karnāḍa ch.</i> , . . . . .	329
Śōn, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	343, 344
Śōnalgari, <i>fort</i> , . . . . .	73
Śōnāpam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	67
Śōnāsa, <i>Kakātrapa k.</i> , . . . . .	245, 247, 248
Śōnos, <i>s. a.</i> Śōn, . . . . .	343
Śōnpar, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	184n
Śōrab, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	19
Śivara-Brigola, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	359n
Śrāvasti, <i>s. a.</i> Bahēt Mābēt, . . . . .	291
Śrāvastāmi, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	288

[illegible]



	PAGE		PAGE
Takkathānam, <i>vs.</i>	87	Travanti, <i>s. a.</i> Tamapī,	277, 278
Talvāra, <i>vs.</i>	73	Trennā, <i>s. a.</i> Ten,	29
Tamma, <i>Tuluva ch.</i>	340	trōpūṭaka,	291
Tammāmbō, <i>queen of Raigak-kuttindra.</i>	340	Trētāyuga,	61n
Tammapuram, <i>vs.</i>	317	Trevandrum Museum,	86n
Tinnevely, <i>vs.</i>	328	Tribhuvanamalla, <i>sur. of Bēta,</i>	165, 258, 259,
Tippaji, <i>queen of Narasa,</i>	340		260, 266
Tirathgarh, <i>vs.</i>	100 and add, 181	Tribhuvanamalla, <i>sur. of Jagaddēva,</i>	261
Tirthakalpa, <i>Jasna work,</i>	149	Tribhuvanamalla or Tribhuvanamalladēva, <i>sur</i>	
Tirthamkara,	165n, 267n	of Vikramāditya VI,	278, 280, 281, 265
tirthika,	323	Tribhuvanavira, <i>sur. of Kulōttunga Chōla III,</i>	220
Tiruchohēngupūr, <i>s. a.</i> Chēngupūr,	235, 236,	Tribhuvanavira-Chōladēva, <i>Chōla k.</i>	222
	237, 239	Trichinopoly, <i>vs.</i>	86, 87, 88n, 90n, 92n, 94n,
tiruchohēnnadai-nel,	92n		215, 216
Tiruchohirambalakkōvaiyār, <i>Tamiḷ poem,</i>	89	Trikalīnga-mahādēvi, <i>queen,</i>	274
Tirukkaḍaiyūr, <i>vs.</i>	208, 209, 213	Trikūṭa, <i>co.</i>	289
Tirukkalayaparam, <i>vs.</i>	235, 236, 237	Trilōchana, <i>m.</i>	117
Tirukolūr, <i>vs.</i>	89n	Tripura, <i>demon,</i>	56
Tirumaiyam, <i>vs.</i>	223, 225	Tripurāntakam, <i>vs.</i>	257n, 259n, 261, 262n
Tirumala or Tirumalarāja I., <i>Karnāḍa ch.</i>	329, 330, 341	Tripurāntakēśvara, <i>te,</i>	257n
	229, 230, 231, 233	Tripuri, Tripurīsthāna, <i>s. a.</i> Tewar,	27, 107, 115
Tirumalāi, <i>vs.</i>	229, 230, 231, 233	trivēda,	106, 115, 116, 117
Tirumalāmbikā, <i>queen of Śrīraṅgarāja I.,</i>	329	Trivēdhavirachūdāmani, <i>sur. of Arjunavarman,</i>	114n
Tirunāḍarkunru, <i>hāl,</i>	85	Trivikrama, <i>poet,</i>	28
Tirunāḷār, <i>vs.</i>	212	Trivikrama, <i>s. a.</i> Viśhṇu,	319
Tirunelli, <i>vs.</i>	85, 238n	Trivikramabhāṭṭa, <i>poet,</i>	28, 41
Tiruppurambiyam, <i>vs.</i>	87	tuḷāpurnaha,	40
Tiruppōttuḍaiyār, <i>s. a.</i> Eriḥocha-ḍaiyār,	86, 92	Tulādā, <i>poet,</i>	343
Tirutṭani, <i>vs.</i>	87, 88	Tula-rājya, <i>co.</i>	330, 340
Tiraitonjattogai, <i>Tamiḷ work,</i>	89	Tuluva, <i>dy.</i>	
Tiruvāḍi-rājya, <i>the Travancore country,</i>	330, 341	Tupāka or Tupāka-vishaya, <i>s. a.</i> Tōṇḍai,	202, 205
Tiruvāḷatōḍḍu, <i>vi.</i>	84, 88, 214, 323	Tupāraka, <i>s. a.</i> Tūṇḍrā,	282, 283, 284
Tiruvāḷitjūḷi, <i>vi.</i>	211	Tūṇḍrā, <i>vs.</i>	283 and add
Tiruvāḷṣvaram, <i>vs.</i>	84, 238n	Tupārāva, <i>vs.</i>	273, 275
Tiruvārūr, <i>vs.</i>	210, 211	Tuṅga, <i>Rāṣṭrakūṭa k.</i>	255
Tiruvellārai, <i>vs.</i>	92n	Tuṅgarāja, <i>ch.</i>	181
Tiruvembāvat, <i>Tamiḷ poem,</i>	89	Tūrkaserman, <i>m.</i>	132n
Tiruvēṅkaṭānātha, <i>s. a.</i> Veṅkaṭāchalapati,	329,	Tūrkama, <i>m.</i>	132n
	331, 341	Tūrkaya-Pēḍḍiya, <i>m.</i>	132
Tiruvēḷūr, <i>vs.</i>	207, 214	Tūrkaya-Yajvan, <i>m.</i>	72, 73, 321, 327, 340
Tiruvāḍi-rājya, <i>s. a.</i> Travancore,	86n	Turushka,	305, 321
Asa Moggaliputta,	245	turushkadāḍḍa, <i>tax,</i>	830
toku poojah (noroboli),	177n	Turvasa, <i>mythical k.</i>	210, 211
Tōḷōḷaka, <i>vs.</i>	28, 29, 40n	Tyāgarājāsvāmin, <i>te,</i>	
Tōṇḍai, Tōṇḍai-maṇḍalam, or Tōṇḍai-nāḍu, <i>the</i>			
<i>Dravida country,</i>	86, 89n, 91, 205n, 313		
tōraṇa,	72		
Tōsalī, <i>co.</i>	285, 287n, 298		
Traḷḷōkyamalla, <i>sur. of Karpa,</i>	73		
Travancore, <i>co.</i>	85, 86n, 234n, 331		

## U

Uchehaṅgi, <i>vi.</i>	230
Uḍai (Uḍayī), <i>m.</i>	116

	PAGE
Udaipur, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	188
Udaya, <i>ch</i> , . . . . .	114n
Udaya or Chôdôdaya, <i>s a</i> . Kulôttunza-Chôdô-Gonka III, . . . . .	165, 261, 262n
Udayachandragiri, <i>Jaina author</i> , . . . . .	118n
Udayâditya, <i>Paramâra k</i> , . . . . .	103, 105, 114, 120
Udayâditya, <i>sur of Prithivisâgara</i> , . . . . .	21
Udayagiri, <i>hill</i> , . . . . .	342n
Udayagiri-râjya, <i>dt</i> , . . . . .	262
Udayâpura or Udayapura, <i>s a</i> Udiyâvara, 17, . . . . .	18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24
Udayapurânâgga, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	21
Udayasena, <i>k</i> , . . . . .	285, 290, 290
Udayasinha or Udayasinhadêva, <i>Chôdamâna k of Naddâla</i> , . . . . .	73, 74, 80, 83
Udayavarman or Udayavarmadêva, <i>Paramâra k</i> , . . . . .	105
Udayêndiram, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	87
Udaypur, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	118, 230
uddâman (uddâma), . . . . .	104
Uddyôta, <i>work</i> , . . . . .	170
Udayapura, <i>s a</i> Udiyâvara, . . . . .	17, 18, 19, 20
ûdhara, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	116
Udipi, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	18, 21
Udiyâvara, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23
udrânga, . . . . .	5
Ugravâdi, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	252, 252, 267
Ujjayini or Ujjain, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	104n, 296, 299
ûkôsa-vamâs, <i>s a</i> Ôsavâla, . . . . .	154
Ukkal, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	87, 88
ulakku, <i>measure</i> , . . . . .	92, 93
Ulhapa, <i>ch</i> , . . . . .	301
Ulhpa or Ulnadêva (âlnadêva), <i>s a</i> . . . . .	
Ulhapa, . . . . .	301, 302
Umâ, <i>s a</i> Pârâtî, . . . . .	55, 61n
Umayamma, <i>f</i> , . . . . .	235, 236, 237, 238, 239n
Ummatûr, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	174
Umvarâ (Umarâ), <i>s a</i> Bagumrâ, . . . . .	25, 28, 40n
ûnâ, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	1
upadhmanîya, . . . . .	11, 43, 99
upâdhyâya (padhye), . . . . .	106, 107, 116, 117
upânga, . . . . .	102
uparika, . . . . .	5, 288
Uparpallo, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	257n
upasampadâ, . . . . .	243
Upêndra, <i>k</i> , . . . . .	27, 28, 40
Upêndra, <i>s a</i> Vishnu, . . . . .	26, 38, 40
ûrlan, . . . . .	236, 238
uri, <i>measure</i> , . . . . .	92, 93
Uthmân Khân, <i>ch</i> , . . . . .	308n

	PAGE
Utpala, <i>Paramâra k</i> , . . . . .	3n
Utpalanâga, <i>do</i> , . . . . .	11
Uttama: hartrakathânsakam, <i>quoted</i> , . . . . .	70n
Uttama-Pandya, <i>sur of Prithivisâgara</i> , . . . . .	21
Uttama-Pândya, <i>sur of Vijayâditya</i> , . . . . .	22, 23
Uttarakôsalâ, <i>s a</i> Ayôdhyâ, . . . . .	304
Uttara-Virâta (northern Beâr), <i>co</i> , . . . . .	231
utlâna-dvâdâsî, <i>titls</i> , . . . . .	206n
Uttarakulam, <i>s a</i> Uttara-Virâta, . . . . .	231, 233
Uttiram, <i>s a</i> Uttara-Phalgunî, . . . . .	221n
Uttirattul, <i>s a</i> Uttara-Bhadrapadâ, . . . . .	221n

## V

Vâhaspatyâbhidhâna, <i>lexicon</i> , . . . . .	289n
Vachcha, <i>s a</i> Vates, . . . . .	71n, 79
Vadâgavâ, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	303, 304
Vadânakumârî, <i>queen of Virasinhadêva</i> , . . . . .	185
Vadupâpaya-maqqala (Vata Napaka-maqqala), <i>co</i> , . . . . .	191n
Vadaula, <i>s a</i> Kurud, . . . . .	119, 120
Vadiga, <i>s a</i> Badiga, . . . . .	28
Vâdichandra, <i>Jaina author</i> , . . . . .	154n
Vâdichandra, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	154
Vâghhata-nêra, <i>s a</i> Barmer, . . . . .	73
Vâgharâja, <i>Kâkura ch</i> , . . . . .	182, 183, 185n, 187
Vâghôâ, <i>dy</i> , . . . . .	73
Vâghu, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	170
Vâlukadhavala, <i>Chôlukya ch</i> , . . . . .	2, 3
Vaibhâshika, <i>school of Buddhist teachers</i> , . . . . .	139
Vaidumba, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	85
vaidra, . . . . .	301, 302
Vaidya, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	99, 102
Vaigavûr, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	231, 233
Vaija, <i>ch</i> , . . . . .	253, 259, 265, 266
Vaimbalguli, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	87n
Vairâ (Vajri) sâkhâ, . . . . .	245
Vaishnava, . . . . .	199, 237
Vaistavaqa, <i>s a</i> Kubêra, . . . . .	189
vaidvadâva, . . . . .	40, 299
vaidvâsika, . . . . .	220n
Vaidya, <i>caste</i> , . . . . .	279
vâjapêya, <i>sacrifice</i> , . . . . .	206
Vâjappasarmân (Vâjapâsarmân), <i>m</i> , . . . . .	204n, 206
Vâjrabhâta Satyâtraya, <i>ch</i> , . . . . .	189
Vâjrahaata III, <i>E. Ganga k</i> , . . . . .	24, 95
Vâjravarman, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	99, 102
Vâjrayadha, <i>k</i> , . . . . .	4
Vâkkâka, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	267, 268, 269
Vakkâdimalla, <i>sur. of Badra</i> , . . . . .	232n

	PAGE		PAGE
Vakkāṭi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	201, 206n	Vardhamānasūtri, <i>Jaina teacher</i> , . . . . .	149
Vakōmārya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	316	Vardhanapet, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	261n
Vākpatirāja, <i>Chāḥamāna k of Śākambhāri</i> , 67,	82, 83	Varmalāta, <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	10n, 11n, 12, 71n, 187, 189, 190
Vākpatirāja II, <i>Paramāra k.</i> , . . . . .	71, 104n	Varuna, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	299
Valabhi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	4, 63n, 195, 269, 343	Varunodvarasūman, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	303
Valasvāmi, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	288	Vāsadhara, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	117
Vāḷereya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	241	Vāsala ( <i>Vāsala P.</i> ), <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	64
Vāhna, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	242	Vāsantadōvi, <i>queen of Gōvīndachandra</i> , . . . . .	321
Vallāṣa or Balāṣa, <i>s a Wānasa</i> , . . . . .	29, 40	Vasantgadh ( <i>Basantgadh</i> ), <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	10, 12,
Valla, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	277, 278		71n, 187, 188, 189n, 191
Vallabha, <i>sur of W Chalukya kings</i> , . . . . .	196	Vāsavadattā, <i>quoted</i> , . . . . .	255n
Vallabha, <i>Chōḷa k.</i> , . . . . .	234n	Vasishṭha, <i>sage</i> , . . . . .	11, 12, 151, 189n
Vallabha or Vallabhendra, <i>sur. of Pulakōṣin II</i> , . . . . .	317, 319	Vastupāla, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	150
Vallabha or Vallabhendra, <i>sur. of Rāṣṭra-</i>		Vāsudēva, <i>Kuṣāṇa k.</i> , . . . . .	246
<i>kūṭa kings</i> , . . . . .	48, 55	Vāsudēva, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	6, 124, 127, 138, 316
Vallabhānarendra, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	195	Vāsudēva, <i>s a Vishṇu</i> , . . . . .	303
Vallabharāja, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	320, 323, 326	Vasudhārā, <i>Buddhist goddess</i> , . . . . .	320, 326, 327
Vallabharāja, <i>sur of Dantidurga</i> , . . . . .	196	Vāsushka or Vāsushka, <i>Kuṣāṇa k.</i> , . . . . .	246
Vallavarāyā-Vandyaśavar, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	231	Vaṭa, Vāṭanagara or Vāṭapura, <i>s. a. Vasant-</i>	
Valluikā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	296, 299	<i>gadh</i> , . . . . .	11, 12, 189, 191, 192n
Vālmiki, <i>sage</i> , . . . . .	11, 343	Vāṭāka or Vāṭākarasthāna, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	11n, 189, 191
Vāmana, <i>grammarian</i> , . . . . .	190	Vāṭapallikā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	342, 344, 345
Vāmana, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	321, 323, 328	Vāṭārapyaśvara, <i>te</i> , . . . . .	214
Vāmanakolārya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	114n	Vāṭchalīn, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	300
Vānāśāṭha, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	11, 12	Vāṭes, <i>rich</i> , . . . . .	71, 79
Vanavāṣi, Vanavāṣi or Vanavāṣi-map-		Vāṭsarāja, <i>mythical k.</i> , . . . . .	205
<i>ṣaṇa</i> , <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	16, 101, 201, 204, 230, 233	Vāṭsarāja, <i>Pratidhara ch.</i> , . . . . .	199
Vandram, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	181, 182	Vāvana-pattalā, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	308
Vaṅga ( <i>Baṅga</i> ), <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	323, 328	Vavulika, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	3
Vaṅgāla-dēśa ( <i>Bengal</i> ), <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	231, 233	Vavviyapa ( <i>Babbiyapa</i> ), <i>s. a. Babon</i> , . . . . .	29, 40
Vāpi, <i>s a. Sarasvatī</i> , . . . . .	11, 266	Vāyudēva, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	116
Vāṇikōṭṭa, <i>vi. (P)</i> , . . . . .	187, 188, 189	Vēda, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	119
Vaṇiyulaka, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	273, 275	Vēdāṅgas, . . . . .	206
vapṭaka, <i>a share</i> , . . . . .	106, 119	Vēdas and sākhās — . . . . .	61, 102, 206, 300, 319
Vappasvāmi, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	288	Rich, . . . . .	342, 345
Varadāmbā, <i>queen of Aśvīnādēvarāja</i> , . . . . .	330n	Āśvalāyana, . . . . .	115, 116, 119, 276n
Vārāḍapallikā or Bārāḍa, <i>s. a. Bārḍoli</i> , . . . . .	29, 40	Bahvricha, . . . . .	274
Varaguna or Varaguna-Pāṇḍya, <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> , . . . . .	84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 93n, 94n	Śāṅkhāyana, . . . . .	116
Varaguna-Mahārāja, <i>s. a. Varaguna</i> , 86, 87,		Sāman or Sāmavēda, . . . . .	115
	91, 92, 93, 238n	Chhandōga, . . . . .	317, 319
Varāhamihira, <i>astronomer</i> , . . . . .	278	Yajus, . . . . .	170
Varāhasvāmi, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	303	Kātha, . . . . .	116
Varāhasvantarī, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	95	Kaṭhuma, . . . . .	115, 116, 119
Vārāṣāṣi, Vārāṣāṣi or Vārāṣāṣi, <i>s. a. Benares</i> , . . . . .	21, 24, 60, 61, 327	Mādhyaṇḍina, . . . . .	296, 299
	3	Taittirīya, . . . . .	25, 40, 115
Vardhamāna, <i>s. a. Wadhvān</i> , . . . . .	261	Vāṇ-Mādhyaṇḍina, . . . . .	173
Vardhamānanagarī, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	261	Vāṇsānyin, . . . . .	331, 341
		Vēlamkulan, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	261, 262
		Vēlāṇḍu, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	22n
		velasu, . . . . .	3 D



	PAGE
Vēlhāka, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	153
veḷḷilai (veḷḷilai), <i>betel leaves</i> , . . . . .	92n
Veḷvola, <i>s a</i> Beḷvola, . . . . .	201, 206
Vēmba nādu, <i>dt</i> , . . . . .	331
Vēmbāra, <i>vr</i> , . . . . .	268
Vēmbarrū, <i>vr</i> , . . . . .	87
Vēmbil, <i>s a</i> Vēmbarrū, . . . . .	86, 87, 88
vēna (vēndiya), . . . . .	86
Vēnādu or Vēnād, <i>s a</i> Travancore, . . . . .	234, 237, 239
vēngatibhuvanīmalla, <i>brūda</i> , . . . . .	330
Vēngi, <i>one thousand, dt</i> , . . . . .	132
Vēngi, <i>vr</i> , . . . . .	261
Vēngi or Vēngi, <i>co</i> , . . . . .	27, 55, 56, 131, 178, 179, 322
Vēngīpura, <i>s a</i> Pedda-Vēgi, . . . . .	58, 69
Venkaṭāchalapati, <i>ti</i> , . . . . .	328
Venkaṭādū, <i>Karṇāṭa ch</i> , . . . . .	339, 390
Vēnkaṭārāja, <i>Viṣayanagara prince</i> , . . . . .	340
Vēnkaṭēsa, <i>s a</i> Venkaṭāchalapati, . . . . .	341
Vērāval (Verāwal), <i>vr</i> , . . . . .	4, 343n
vētnika, . . . . .	168n
Vibhishana, <i>k</i> , . . . . .	342, 345
Vidhu, <i>s a</i> Viṣṇu, . . . . .	326
Vidyādharaḥṣaṇḍādeva, <i>Bhaṭṭa ch</i> , . . . . .	271, 273
Vidyānagarī, <i>s a</i> Viṣayanagara, . . . . .	329, 340
Vidyānātha, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	166
Vigraha or Vigharārāja, <i>ch</i> , . . . . .	11, 12
Vigraha or Vigharārāja, <i>s a</i> Viśalādēva-Vigharārāja, . . . . .	154
Vigrahāditya, <i>te</i> , . . . . .	74
Vigrahapāla, <i>Chāḥamāna k. of Naddūla</i> , . . . . .	64, 67, 71, 83
Vigrahapāla III, <i>Pāla k</i> , . . . . .	321, 322
Vigrahārāja, <i>Chāḥamāna k. of Sākambharī</i> , . . . . .	62, 82, 251
viḥāra or viḥāra, . . . . .	245, 301, 302, 320, 327, 328
Vihākarātamaśra, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	276n
Viṣāda, <i>Chāḥamāna k. of Naddūla</i> , . . . . .	80, 81, 82, 83, 152
Viṣāda, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	150, 151, 153
Viṣayanāyga, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	18
Viṣapāla, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	153
Viṣaṣeṭṭi, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	24
Viṣaya-Aparājita-vikramavarman, <i>Gaṅga-Pallava k</i> , . . . . .	87
Viṣayabhaṭṭārikā, <i>queen of Chandraāditya</i> , . . . . .	102
Viṣaya-Dēvavarman or Dēvavarman, <i>Śālāṅkāyana k</i> , . . . . .	56, 57, 58, 59
Viṣyāditya, <i>Āṣṭapa k</i> , . . . . .	17, 22, 23

	PAGE
Viṣyāditya, <i>ch</i> , . . . . .	49, 50, 56
Viṣyāditya, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	132
Viṣyāditya, <i>W' Chalukya k</i> , . . . . .	201, 206
Viṣyāditya III, <i>E Chalukya ch</i> , . . . . .	322
Viṣyāditya I, <i>E Chalukya k</i> , . . . . .	55, 134
Viṣyāditya II, <i>do</i> , . . . . .	27, 55, 134
Viṣyāditya III, <i>do</i> , . . . . .	48, 49, 50, 55, 134, 179n
Viṣyāditya IV, <i>do</i> , . . . . .	55, 134
Viṣyāditya V, <i>do</i> , . . . . .	49, 134
Viṣyāditya VI, <i>sur. of Ammaraja II</i> , . . . . .	48, 56, 132
Viṣyāditya VII, <i>E Chalukya k</i> , . . . . .	322
Viṣayalaya, <i>Chōla k</i> , . . . . .	89n
viṣayalēkha, . . . . .	284
Viṣayanāṅgalam, <i>vr</i> , . . . . .	225
Viṣayanagara, <i>vr</i> , . . . . .	174, 262, 328, 330, 340
Viṣaya Nandivarman, <i>Śālāṅkāyana k</i> , . . . . .	57, 58, 59n
Viṣayapala, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	70
Viṣayī, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	117
Vikrama, <i>s a</i> Vikramāditya VI, . . . . .	178, 179
Vikrama Chōḷa, <i>Chōla k</i> , . . . . .	209, 219
Vikramāditya I, <i>E Chalukya k</i> , . . . . .	55, 132
Vikramāditya II, <i>do</i> , . . . . .	49, 55, 134
Vikramāditya I, <i>W' Chalukya k</i> , . . . . .	98, 99, 101, 102, 201, 205
Vikramāditya II, <i>do</i> , . . . . .	202, 206
Vikramāditya VI, <i>W' Chalukya k</i> , . . . . .	15, 280, 258, 280, 281
Vikramāditya-kāla, <i>s a</i> Vikrama-samvat, . . . . .	12
Vikramānkaḍēvacharita, . . . . .	178
Vikramavalōka, <i>sur. of Govinda II</i> , . . . . .	261n
Villamarāyaṇ Nedutigulam, <i>vr</i> , . . . . .	331, 341
Vilāṣam, <i>vr</i> , . . . . .	86n
Vimāla, <i>Pṛadvatya ch</i> , . . . . .	62n, 72n, 81, 82, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 154
Vimalachandragopi, <i>Jaina teacher</i> , . . . . .	118n
Vimāla-Śāb, Vimāla-Śāba or Vimalī-Śāb, <i>s a</i> Vimāla-vasaḥi, . . . . .	81, 148n
Vimāla-vasaḥi or Vimāla-Vasaḥikā, <i>Vimāla's temple</i> , . . . . .	81, 148n, 149, 154
Vimāla-vasati or Vimāla-vasatikā-tirtha, <i>s a</i> Vimāla-Vasaḥi, . . . . .	148n, 149
Vinayāditya, <i>W' Chalukya k</i> , . . . . .	15, 16, 101n, 201, 205
Vināyaka, <i>s a</i> Gaṇapati, . . . . .	277, 278
Vināyakapāla, <i>s a</i> Mahipāla, . . . . .	139n
Vinayamahādēvi, <i>queen of Kāmārāja II</i> , . . . . .	95
Vindhya, <i>mo</i> , . . . . .	38, 42, 44, 46, 47
Vindhya or Vindhya-varman, <i>Paramāra k</i> , . . . . .	105, 107, 108, 114, 121
Vindhyas, <i>s a</i> Mālava, . . . . .	107n
Vindhyaśvara, <i>sur. of Śrīvaraha II</i> , . . . . .	42, 46

	PAGE		PAGE
Vinitōśvara, <i>te</i> , . . . . .	280	Vishnu-purāṇa, . . . . .	42n
Vijya, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	19	Vishnuśarma, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	169, 170
Vijyamā, <i>queen of Keta II</i> , . . . . .	262n	Vishnuśvāmī, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	172, 282, 284, 287, 288
Vipracītyāna, <i>sur of Kuppenayya</i> , . . . . .	132	Vishnuvaidhana, <i>Hoysala k</i> , . . . . .	179n
Vira Chōḍa, <i>E Chalukya ch</i> , . . . . .	322	Vishnuvardhana I, <i>E Chalukya k</i> , . . . . .	317, 318, 319
Viradhavala, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	153	Vishnuvaidhana II, <i>do</i> , . . . . .	55, 133
Viradhavala, <i>Vāghēlā k</i> , . . . . .	73	Vishnuvaidhana III, <i>do</i> , . . . . .	55, 134
Vīśaguna, <i>s a Vira-Chōḍa</i> , . . . . .	322	Vishnuvardhana IV, <i>do</i> , . . . . .	55, 134
virakal, . . . . .	17	Vishnuvardhana V, <i>do</i> , . . . . .	55, 134
viśama, . . . . .	258, 263n	Vishnuvardhana-Mahāśāya, <i>sur of Kulōttunga-Chōḍa I</i> , . . . . .	261n
Vīrama or Vīramadēva, <i>Vāghēlā k</i> , . . . . .	73	Viśvanātha, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	341
Vīra Mahuttama or Vīra Mahāmāntri, <i>sur of Lahadha</i> , . . . . .	151, 162	Viśvanātha Nāyaka, <i>Madura Nāyaka</i> , . . . . .	330, 341
Vīrana, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	331, 341	Viśvēśvara, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	115
Vīrapāchāya, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	331, 341	Viyaraka, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	3
Vīranam, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	234n	Vizagapatam, <i>di</i> , . . . . .	317
Vīranūtiyāna, <i>sur of Amoghavarsha I</i> , . . . . .	27, 39	Vonones, <i>k</i> , . . . . .	147
Vīranūtiyānadēva, <i>Bastar ch</i> , . . . . .	165	Vōpadēva, <i>Kākāura ch</i> , . . . . .	124, 127, 167, 170, 182, 183, 187
Vīra Nōlamba-Pallava-Permānadi-Jayasingha-dēva, <i>W Chalukya prince</i> , . . . . .	261n	Vōpadēva, <i>Kākāura prince</i> , . . . . .	167, 168, 170, 183
Vīra Nṛsimha or Vīra-Nārasimha, <i>Vyaya-nagara k</i> , . . . . .	340	Voppasvāmī, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	288
Vīra-Pāndya, <i>Pāndya k</i> , . . . . .	227	Vōttanōka, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	287, 288
Vīra-Pāndya, 'who took the head of the Chōḍa', . . . . .	84, 234n	Vidhabastī (Vridhdhastin), <i>Buddhist preacher</i> , . . . . .	245
Vīrarājendra I, <i>Chōḍa k</i> , . . . . .	179n, 218	Vīśhabha, <i>s a Rīśhabha</i> , . . . . .	155n
Vīrarājendra-Chōḍadēva, <i>sur of Kulōttunga-Chōḍa III</i> , . . . . .	218, 220	Vīśhabhapuriśvara, <i>te</i> , . . . . .	212
Vīrasimhadēva, <i>Bastar ch</i> , . . . . .	165	Vīśhṇi, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	38n
Vīśōḍhiyam, <i>Tamil grammar</i> , . . . . .	230	Vu (Bu)ddhasvāmī, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	288
Vīrasōmēśvara, <i>te</i> , . . . . .	162	Vūhunda, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	80, 81
Vīrāṭa, <i>s a Berār</i> , . . . . .	231n	Vyāghra or Vyāghrarāja, <i>s. a Vāgharāja</i> , . . . . .	124, 127, 188
Vīratānēśvara, <i>te</i> , . . . . .	89n	Vyāghrarāja, <i>k</i> , . . . . .	184n
vīrōdhābhāsa, <i>alamkāra</i> , . . . . .	255n	Vyāpāṭa (vyāpṛita), . . . . .	61n
Vīśadēva, <i>Vāghēlā k</i> , . . . . .	73	Vyāsa, <i>riśht</i> , . . . . .	6, 10, 133n, 171, 206, 282, 285, 300, 345
Vīśadēva-Vīgharāja, <i>Chāhamāna k of Śākambhari</i> , . . . . .	62, 67n, 154	Vyāsa-bhāṭṭāraka, <i>s. a Vyāsa</i> , . . . . .	133n
vīśarga, . . . . .	25, 171, 188, 268, 282		
Vīśadha, <i>ch</i> , . . . . .	2, 3		
Vīśamasiddhi, <i>sur of Vishnuvardhana I</i> , . . . . .	317, 319		
vīśaya, <i>a district</i> , . . . . .	40, 47, 132, 287, 288		
vīśayapāṭi, . . . . .	273		
Vishnu, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	25, 28, 37, 88, 89, 40, 84n, 101, 115n, 125n, 160, 161, 162, 199, 204, 208n, 240, 250, 256n, 260n, 269, 286, 304, 317, 328, 327, 328, 340, 341		
Vīśhṇu, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	117		
Vīśhṇuchittiyam, <i>Telugu poem</i> , . . . . .	330n and add.		
Vīśhṇukundin, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	269		

## W

Waddamarri, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	261n
Wadhwan, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	3
Wanasa, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	29
Warangal, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	164, 165, 256, 257, 258n, 260n, 262n
Wardak, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	143, 147

## Y

Yādava, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	72, 83n, 119n, 165, 200
Yadu, <i>dy</i> , . . . . .	26, 38, 39, 340





	PAGE		PAGE
Yadavāmi, <i>m</i> , . . . . .	288	Yalatore, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	230
Yājñavalkya <i>smṛiti</i> , 59n, 176n and add, 274n, 345n		Yalburge, <i>iz</i> , . . . . .	164, 178, 312
yājñika, . . . . .	106, 117	Yanamadala, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	280n
Yākamabbe or Yākamāmbikā, <i>f</i> , . . . . .	259, 266	Yammūh, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	56
Yakṣadāsa, <i>k</i> , . . . . .	2, 3	Yōga, <i>sur</i> of Avanuvvarman II., 1, 2, 3, 9n, 130, 131	
Yama, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	27, 299	yōgas —	
Yamunā, <i>s a</i> Jamna, . . . . .	230, 327	Saubhāgya, . . . . .	176, 181
Yāpaniya <i>saṃgha</i> , <i>school of Jaina teachers</i> , . . . . .	49, 56	Śubha, . . . . .	309
Yasōdharman, <i>k</i> , . . . . .	286	Śula, . . . . .	119, 120
Yasōdhavalanōva, <i>Paramāra k</i> , . . . . .	149	yōgini, <i>s a</i> yugini, . . . . .	177, 178, 181
Yasōvarddhana, <i>Pratihāra ch</i> , . . . . .	280	Yujaka, <i>s a</i> Jujalla, . . . . .	72, 83, 158
Yasōvarman, <i>Paramāra k</i> , . . . . .	105, 114, 120, 121	Yōṣa, <i>ch</i> , . . . . .	11
Yasōvrgiāha, <i>k</i> , . . . . .	303	Yuddhamalla I., <i>E Chālukya k</i> , . . . . .	55, 134
yātrotāsava, . . . . .	341	Yuddhamalla II., <i>da</i> , . . . . .	49, 55
years of the cycle —		yuddhavlra, . . . . .	114n
Ānanda, . . . . .	257n	Yuddhakhīra, <i>metrical k</i> , . . . . .	113, 255, 270, 280
Babudhānya, . . . . .	129	Yugadīnārti or Yugādijio, <i>s a</i> Ādinātha, . . . . .	181
Chitrabhadra, . . . . .	12	yavarāja, . . . . .	55, 132, 139, 140, 178, 303
Hēma uubi (Hēmalamba), . . . . .	259, 266	Yavarāja I., <i>Kalachuri k</i> , . . . . .	3
Īśvara, . . . . .	128, 167, 170	Yayudhana, <i>s a</i> Sātyaki, . . . . .	38n
Khara, . . . . .	161, 312, 318		
Kīlaka, . . . . .	176		
Kshaya, . . . . .	80, 81		
Nala, . . . . .	261n		
Parābhava, . . . . .	129n, 176, 181		
Paridhātun, . . . . .	267n		
Plava, . . . . .	219n		
Plavanga, . . . . .	129n, 176, 219n		
Prabhava, . . . . .	330, 340		
Raudra, . . . . .	134, 138, 120n		
Saumya, . . . . .	163		
Virōdhi, . . . . .	306, 309		
Viśāvasau, . . . . .	129n, 176, 257n		
Yuva, . . . . .	25, 40		
years of the reign, 42, 47, 57, 59, 84n, 86, 88, 89, 92, 99, 101, 102, 171, 201, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 232, 239, 240, 258n, 261n, 291			

## Z

Zeda, <i>vi</i> , . . . . .	240
Ziffardau, <i>s a</i> Śīrwardhana, . . . . .	43
Zodiac, signs of the —	
Dhanu, . . . . .	56, 134, 207, 210, 216
Kārtik, . . . . .	208, 214, 227n, 228n
Kārtika, . . . . .	212, 224
Kumbha, . . . . .	214, 216, 219n, 221n, 225
Makara, . . . . .	213
Mēsha, . . . . .	209, 210, 211, 214, 220n, 224, 226
Mina, . . . . .	210, 211, 212, 219n, 221n, 227n, 228n
Mithuna, . . . . .	215, 223, 224, 227n
Rishabha or Vrishabha, . . . . .	220n, 223
Simha, . . . . .	211, 212, 228n
Tulā, . . . . .	92, 208, 215, 217, 226, 227n, 235, 237
Vṛśchika, . . . . .	208, 209, 225, 237